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HISTORY  
OF  
E N G L A N D  
FROM  
THE FIRST INVASION BY THE ROMANS  
TO  
THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I.

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BY JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

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VOL. V.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**THIS** Volume comprises THE REIGNS OF THE SISTER QUEENS, MARY AND ELIZABETH. The reign of Mary, though short and inglorious, is not devoid of interest; and the restoration of the Catholic worship, the persecution of the Reformers, and the conspiracies and insurrections of the discontented, are subjects which will claim and engage the attention of the reader.

The long reign of her successor, a reign which occupied nearly the half of a century, will offer to his view a succession of still more interesting events. He will observe the steps by which Elizabeth abolished the ancient, and introduced the reformed, hierarchy and worship; the severities with which she repressed the discontent of the Catholics and the intemperance of the Puritans; her ambiguous, and often unjustifiable, conduct towards the unfortunate Mary Stuart; her intrigues with the Scottish, French, and Flemish religionists; and her wars, the consequences of those intrigues, with their several sovereigns; the extension of the English commerce under her auspices; the triumphs of the English navy over the formidable



fleets of Spain; the successive rise and fall of her different favourites; and the cares, the sorrows, and the despondency of her declining age. It is difficult to imagine subjects better calculated to interest the feelings of Englishmen.

In the composition of this Volume, the author has carefully compared the narratives of preceding writers; has perused with attention the many collections of state papers belonging to the period; and has frequently consulted the dispatches of the French, the Spanish, and the Imperial ambassadors. He is satisfied with the result of his researches:—they have enabled him (so at least he flatters himself) to elucidate much that has been thought obscure, and to discover much that has been hitherto unknown.

*Hornby, May 4, 1823.*

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				PAUL IV.

LADY JANE GREY PROCLAIMED QUEEN—THE LADY MARY IS ACKNOWLEDGED—HER QUESTIONS TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES—EXECUTION OF NORTHUMBERLAND—MISCONDUCT OF COURTENEY—QUEEN SEEKS TO RESTORE THE ANCIENT SERVICE—ELIZABETH CONFORMS.—CRANMER OPPOSES.—PARLIAMENT.—INTRIGUES OF NOAILLES—INSURRECTION OF WYAT—FAILURE AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CONSPIRATORS.—ELIZABETH AND COURTENEY IN DISGRACE—TREATY OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN MARY AND PHILIP—RECONCILIATION WITH ROME.

THE declining health of Edward had attracted the notice of the neighbouring courts: to the two rival sovereigns, Charles V. of Germany, and Henry II. of France, it offered a new subject of political intrigue. The presumptive heir to the sick king

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I.

Intrigues of  
foreign  
courts.



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was his sister Mary, a princess who, ever since the death of her father, had been guided by the advice, and under persecution had been protected by the remonstrances, of the emperor. Gratitude, as well as consanguinity, must attach her to the interests of her benefactor and relative : probably she would, in the event of her succession, throw the power of England into the scale against the pretensions of France : it was even possible that partiality to the father might induce her to accept of the son for her husband. On these accounts both princes looked forward with considerable solicitude to the approaching death of Edward, and the result of the plot contrived by the ambition of Northumberland.

1553.  
June 23.

Charles dispatched from Brussels, Montmorenci, Marnix, and Renard, as ambassadors extraordinary to the English court. They came under the pretence of visiting the infirm monarch ; but their real object was to watch the proceedings of the council, to study the resources of the different parties, to make friends for the lady Mary, and, as far as prudence would allow, to promote her succession to the throne<sup>1</sup>.

The same reasons which induced the emperor to favour, urged the king of France to oppose, the interest of Mary. Aware of the design of his rival, Henry dispatched to London the bishop of Orleans, and the chevalier de Gyè, with instructions to counteract the attempts of the imperial envoys : but the slow progress of these ministers was anticipated by the industry and address of Noailles, the resident ambassador, who, though he would not commit his sovereign by too explicit an avowal of his sentiments, readily offered to the council the aid of France, if foreigners should attempt to disturb the tran-

<sup>1</sup> Their instructions are in the collection the library of Besançon, tom. iii. fol. 1. of the papers of the ambassador Renard, in

quillity of the realm. The hint was sufficient. Northumberland saw that he had nothing to fear, and every thing to hope, from the policy of the French monarch<sup>2</sup>.

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It was on the evening of the sixth of July that Edward expired at Greenwich. To conceal the knowledge of his death, the guards had been doubled in the palace, and all communication had been intercepted between his chamber and the other apartments. Yet that very night, while the lords sat in deliberation, the secret was communicated to Mary by a note from the earl of Arundel, unfolding the design of the conspirators. She was then at Hoddesdon, in the neighbourhood of London, and, had she hesitated, would by the next morning have been a prisoner in the Tower. Without losing a moment she mounted her horse, and rode with the servants of her household to Kenninghall, in Norfolk<sup>3</sup>.

Proceedings  
of the council.  
July 6.

The council broke up after midnight; and Clinton, the lord admiral, took possession of the Tower, with the royal treasures, the munitions of war, and the prisoners of state. The three next days were employed in making such previous arrangements as were thought necessary for the success of the enterprise. While the death of Edward was yet unknown, the officers of the guards and of the household, the lord mayor, six aldermen, and twelve of the principal citizens, were summoned before the council. All these were informed of the recent settlement of the crown, and required to take an oath of allegiance to the new sovereign: the latter were dismissed with an injunction not to betray the secret, and to watch over the tranquillity of the city. On the fourth morning it was determined to publish the import-

<sup>2</sup> Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles,    <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 56.  
ii. 45. 50. 53.



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ant intelligence: and the chief of the lords, attended by a numerous escort, rode to Sion house, to announce to the lady Jane her succession to the throne of her royal cousin.

Lady Jane  
Grey.

Jane has been described to us as a young woman of gentle manners, and superior talents; addicted to the study of the scriptures and the classics, but fonder of dress than suited the austere notions of the reformed preachers. Of the designs of the duke of Northumberland in her favour, and of the arts by which he had deceived the simplicity of Edward, she knew nothing: nor had she suffered the dark and mysterious predictions of the duchess to make any impression on her mind. Her love of privacy had induced her to solicit, what in the uncertain state of the king's health was readily granted, permission to leave London, and to spend a few days at Chelsea: she was enjoying herself in this retirement, when she received by the lady Sidney, her husband's sister, an order from the council to return immediately to Sion house, and to await there the commands of the king. She obeyed; and the next morning was visited by the duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, and the earls of Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. At first the conversation turned on indifferent subjects; but there was in their manner an air of respect, which awakened some uneasiness in her mind, and seemed to explain the hints already given to her by her mother-in-law. Soon afterwards that lady entered, accompanied by the duchess of Suffolk, and the marchioness of Northampton: and the duke, addressing the lady Jane, informed her that the king her cousin was dead; that before he expired, he had prayed to God to preserve the realm from the infection of papistry, and the misrule of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth: that on account of their being bastards, and by

July 9.

July 10.

act of parliament incapable of the succession, he had resolved to pass them by, and to leave the crown in the right line ; and that he had therefore commanded the council to proclaim her, the lady Jane, his lawful heir, and in default of her and her issue, her two sisters Catherine and Mary. At these words the lords fell on their knees, declared that they took her for their sovereign, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in support of her right. The reader may easily conceive the agitation of spirits which a communication so important and unlooked for was likely to create in a young woman of timid habits and delicate health. She trembled, uttered a shriek, and sunk to the ground. On her recovery she observed to those around her, that she seemed to herself a very unfit person to be a queen : but that, if the right were her's, she trusted God would give her strength to wield the sceptre to his honour, and the benefit of the nation.

Such is the account of this transaction given by Jane herself, in a letter from the Tower to queen Mary<sup>4</sup>. The feelings which she describes, are such as we might expect ; surprise at the annunciation, grief for the death of her royal cousin, and regret to quit a station in which she had been happy. But modern writers have attributed to her much, of which she seems to have been ignorant. The beautiful language which they put into her mouth ; her forcible reasoning in favour of the claim of Mary ; her philosophic contempt of the splendour of royalty ; her refusal to accept a crown which was not her right ; and her reluctant submission to the commands of her parents, must be considered as the fictions of historians, who, in their zeal to

<sup>4</sup> This letter appears to have been the confession required from her on her committal to the Tower. It has been preserved in an Italian translation made by Pollini, from a

copy in English, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzione d'Inghilterra*, published in 1594, p. 355---358.



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I.

Proclaimed  
queen.

exalt the character of their heroine, seem to have forgotten that she was only sixteen years of age.

The following day the young queen was conducted by water to the Tower, the usual residence of our kings preparatory to their coronation: she made her entry in state. Her train was borne by her mother, the duchess of Suffolk: the lord treasurer presented her with the crown; and her relations saluted her on their knees. On the same afternoon the heralds proclaimed the death of Edward and the succession of Jane: and a printed instrument was circulated, to acquaint the people with the grounds of her claim. It alleged, 1°. That though the succession, by the 35th of Henry VIII. stood limited to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, yet neither of them could take any thing under that act, because, by a previous statute of the 28th of the same reign, which still remained in force, both daughters had been pronounced bastards, and incapable of inheriting the crown: 2°. That even, had they been born in lawful wedlock, they could have no claim to the succession after Edward, because, being his sisters only by the half-blood, they could not inherit from him according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm: 3°. That the fact of their being single women, ought to be a bar to their claim, as by their subsequent marriages they might place the sovereign power in the hands of a foreign despot, who would be able to subvert the liberties of the people, and to restore the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome: 4°. That these considerations had moved the late king to limit, by his will and by deed, the inheritance of the crown to the daughters of the duchess of Suffolk, as being nigh to him of blood, and “naturally born within the realm:” 5°. And that therefore the lady Jane, the eldest daughter, had taken upon herself, as belonging to her of right, the government of the kingdoms of England and

Ireland, and of all their dependencies<sup>5</sup>. To the arguments contained in this laboured proclamation the people listened in ominous silence. They had so long considered Mary the presumptive heir, that they did not comprehend how her claim could be defeated by any pretensions of a daughter of the house of Suffolk. Not a single voice was heard in approbation: a vintner's boy had the temerity to express his dissent, and the next day paid the forfeit of his folly with the loss of his ears.

The following morning arrived at the Tower a messenger from Mary, the bearer of a letter, in which, assuming the style and tone of their sovereign, she upbraided them with their neglect to inform her of the death of her brother, hinted her knowledge of their disloyal intention to oppose her right, and commanded them, as they hoped for favour, to proclaim her accession immediately in the metropolis, and as soon as possible, in all other parts of the kingdom.

Letters between Mary and the council.  
July 11.

This communication caused no change in their counsels, awakened no apprehension in their minds. Mary was a single and defenceless female, unprepared to vindicate her right, without money, and without followers. *They* had taken every precaution to ensure success. The exercise of the royal authority was in their hands: the royal treasures were at their disposal: the guards had sworn obedience: a fleet of twenty armed vessels lay in the river; and a body of troops had been assembled in the Isle of Wight, ready at any moment to execute their orders. Depending on their own resources, contrasted with the apparent helplessness of their adversary, they affected to dread her flight more than her resistance, and returned an

<sup>5</sup> Noailles, ii. 62. Burnet, ii. rec. 239. State Trials, i. 754. The words, "born with-  
Somers' Tracts, i. 174. The heads of this instrument are taken out of the will of Edward VI. which is published in Howell's  
in the realm," were added to exclude the Scotch line.

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July 12.

answer under the signatures of the archbishop, the chancellor, and twenty-one councillors, requiring her to abandon her false claim, and to submit as a dutiful subject to her lawful and undoubted sovereign<sup>6</sup>.

The adherents of Mary.

In a few hours the illusion vanished. The mass of the people knew little of the lady Jane, but all had heard of the ambition of Northumberland. His real object, it was said, was now unmasked. To deprive the late king of his nearest relatives and protectors, he had persuaded Somerset to take the life of the lord admiral, and Edward to take that of Somerset. The royal youth was the next victim. He had been removed by poison to make place for the lady Jane<sup>7</sup>, who, in her turn, would be compelled to yield the crown to Northumberland himself. These reports were circulated and believed, and the public voice, wherever it might be expressed with impunity, was unanimous in favour of Mary. The very day on which the answer to her letter had been dispatched, brought the alarming intelligence that she was already joined by the earls of Bath and Sussex<sup>8</sup>, and by the eldest sons of the lords Wharton and Mor-

<sup>6</sup> Fox iii. 12. Strype iii. rec. 3. The emperor was equally persuaded of her inability to contend with the council, and on the 23d of June advised her to offer them a pardon for all past offences, and to consent, if they required it, that they should hold the same offices under her, and that no change should be made in the establishment of religion. Renard's MSS. folio 6. But when he learned that she meant to fight for her right, he exhorted her to persevere: puisqu'elle s'y est mise si avant, qu'elle perde la crainte, evite de la donner a ceux que sont de son côté, et qu'elle passe tout outre. Ibid. fol. 22.

<sup>7</sup> This opinion was so general, that the emperor, Aug. 23, wrote to the queen that she ought to put to death all the conspirators who had any hand in "the death" of the late king. Renard apud Griffet xi. Renard's

dispatches are in three volumes in the library at Besançon; but the more interesting of those respecting Mary were selected from the third volume, and communicated to Griffet, the author of the valuable notes to the best edition of Daniel's History of France. From them Griffet compiled, in a great measure, his "Nouveaux Eclaircissemens sur l'Histoire de Marie Reine d'Angleterre," 12mo. Amst. et Paris, 1766, of which an English translation was published under the title of "New Lights thrown upon the History of Mary, Queen of England," 8vo. London, 1771. The papers employed by Griffet were never replaced: but those which remain bear abundant testimony to his accuracy and fidelity.

<sup>8</sup> Mary granted to the earl of Sussex a licence to wear "his cap, coif, or night-cap,



daunt ; that the gentlemen of the neighbouring counties were hastening to her aid with their tenants and dependants ; and that in a short time a numerous and formidable army would be embattled under her banners. Northumberland saw the necessity of dispatch : but how could he venture to leave the capital, where his presence awed the disaffected, and secured the co-operation of his colleagues ? He proposed to give the command of the forces to the duke of Suffolk, whose affection for his daughter was a pledge of his fidelity, and whose want of military experience might be supplied by the knowledge of his associates. But he could not deceive the secret partisans of Mary, who saw his perplexity, and to liberate themselves from his controul, urged him to take the command upon himself. They praised his skill, his valour, and his good fortune : they exaggerated the insufficiency of Suffolk, and the consequences to be apprehended from a defeat : and they prevailed upon Jane, through anxiety for her father, to unite with them in their entreaties to Northumberland. He gave a tardy and reluctant consent. When he took leave of his colleagues he exhorted them to fidelity with an earnestness, which betrayed his apprehensions : and, as he rode through the city at the head of the troops, he remarked, in a tone of despondency, to Sir John Gates, “ The people crowd to look upon us : but not one exclaims, God speed ye<sup>9</sup>. ”

July 13.

From the beginning the duke had mistrusted the fidelity of the citizens : before his departure he requested the aid of the preachers, and exhorted them to appeal from the pulpit to the religious feelings of their hearers. By no one was the task per-

Bridley  
preaches  
against her.

<sup>9</sup> or two of them at his pleasure, in the royal “ son.” Oct. 2, Heylin’s Mary, 190.  
<sup>9</sup> presence, or in the presence of any other per-  
<sup>9</sup> Godwin, 106. Stow, 610, 611.

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July 16.

formed with greater zeal than by Ridley, bishop of London, who, on the following Sunday, preached at St. Paul's cross before the lord mayor, the aldermen, and a numerous assemblage of the people. He maintained, that the daughters of Henry VIII. were, by the illegitimacy of their birth, excluded from the succession. He contrasted the opposite characters of the present competitors, the gentleness, the piety, the orthodoxy of the one, with the haughtiness, the foreign connexions, and the popish creed of the other. As a proof of Mary's bigotry, he narrated a chivalrous but unsuccessful attempt, which he had made within the last year, to withdraw her from the errors of popery<sup>10</sup>: and in conclusion, he conjured the audience, as they prized the pure light of the gospel, to support the cause of the lady Jane, and to oppose the claim of her idolatrous rival. But the torrent of his eloquence was poured in vain. Among his hearers there were many indifferent to either form of worship. Of the rest, the protestants had not yet learned that religious belief could affect hereditary right; and the catholics were confirmed by the bishop's arguments, in their adhesion to the interests of Mary<sup>11</sup>.

THE SUCCESS.

July 14.

That princess, to open a communication with the emperor in Flanders, had unexpectedly left Kenninghall; and, riding forty miles without rest, had reached, on the same evening, the castle of Framlingham. There her hopes were hourly cheered with the most gratifying intelligence. The earl of Essex, the lord Thomas Howard, the Jerninghams, Bedingfields, Sulyards, Pastons, and most of the neighbouring gentlemen successively arrived, with their tenants, to fight under her standard<sup>12</sup>. Sir

<sup>10</sup> See note (A).<sup>11</sup> *Concionatores, quos, bene multos, Londini constituit, nihil profecerunt: imo nequidem egregius ille doctrina vitæque sanctitate vir Ridleus episcopus æquis auribus auditus**est. Utinam vir optimus hac in re lapsus non fuisset: Godwin, 106. See Stow, ii. 611. Burnet, [238. Heylin, 184. Hollinshed, 1089.*<sup>12</sup> See note (B).

Edward Hastings, sir Edmund Peckam, and sir Robert Drury, had levied ten thousand men in the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, Berks, and Middlesex; and purposed to march from Drayton for Westminster and the palace: her more distant friends continued to send her presents of money, and offers of service: Henry Jerningham prevailed on a hostile squadron, of six sail, which had reached the harbour of Yarmouth, to acknowledge her authority: and a timely supply of arms and ammunition from the ships, relieved the more urgent wants of her adherents. In a few days, Mary was surrounded by more than thirty thousand men; all volunteers in her cause, who refused to receive pay, and served through the sole motive of loyalty<sup>13</sup>.

In this emergency, doubt and distrust seem to have unnerved the mind of Northumberland, who had marched from Cambridge, in the direction of Framlingham, accompanied by his son the earl of Warwick, by the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, and the lord Grey. With an army of eight thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, inferior, indeed, in number to his opponents, but infinitely superior in military appointments and discipline, he might, by a bold and immediate attack, have dispersed the tumultuous force of the royalists; and have driven Mary across the sea, to the court of her imperial cousin. But he saw, as he advanced, the enthusiasm of the people in her cause: he heard that he had been proclaimed a rebel, and that a price had been fixed on his head<sup>14</sup>: and he feared that sir Edward Hastings would, in a few days,

Northumber-  
land alarmed.  
July 17.

<sup>13</sup> Noailles, ii. 94. She, however, gave orders that "where the captains perceived any soldier wanting money, his captain should relieve him, but in such sort, that it appeared not otherwise but to be of his own liberality." Journal of council in Haynes, 157.

<sup>14</sup> The reward to the captor was an estate in land of the yearly value of £1000, if he were a nobleman, of £500 if a knight, of 500 marks, if a gentleman, and £100 if a yeoman: Ibid.



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cut off his communication with the capital. At Bury his heart failed him. He ordered a retreat to Cambridge, and wrote to the council for a numerous and immediate reinforcement. The men perceived the irresolution of their leader: their ignorance of his motives, gave birth to the most disheartening reports: and their ranks were hourly thinned by desertion.

The council  
proclaims  
Mary.

July 18.

In the council there appeared no diminution of zeal, no want of unanimity. It was resolved to send for a body of mercenaries, which had been raised in Picardy; to issue commissions for the levying of troops, in the vicinity of the metropolis<sup>15</sup>; and to offer eight crowns per month, besides provisions, to volunteers. But, as such tardy expedients did not meet the urgency of the case, the lords proposed to separate, and hasten to the army, at the head of their respective friends and dependents. Though Suffolk had been instructed to detain them within the walls of the Tower, he either saw not their object, or dared not oppose their pleasure. The next morning, the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir John Mason, left the fortress, and separated in different directions, but with a previous understanding to meet again at Baynard's castle<sup>16</sup>. There they were joined by the lord mayor, the recorder, and a deputation of aldermen, who had been summoned by a trusty messenger; and the discussion was opened by the earl of Arundel, who, in a set speech, declaimed against the ambition of Northumberland, and asserted the right of the two daughters of Henry VIII. The moment he had finished, the earl of Pembroke drew his sword, exclaiming, "If the arguments of my lord of Arundel do not per-

<sup>15</sup> Some of them may be seen in Strype, iii. rec. p. 4., in his Cranmer, App. 165, and in Hearne's Sylloge ep. 121.

<sup>16</sup> That very morning they signed a letter

to lord Rich, thanking him for his services in favour of Jane. (Strype's Cranmer, App. 164.) Did they not know that he had already transferred them to Mary? Haynes, i. 159.

“suade you, this sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel.” He was answered with shouts of approbation. The whole body rode in procession through the streets: at St. Paul’s cross they proclaimed Mary, amidst acclamations which drowned the voice of the herald. *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral: beer, wine, and money, were distributed among the people: and the night was ushered in with bonfires, illuminations, and the accustomed demonstrations of public joy<sup>17</sup>.

While the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget carried the intelligence of this revolution to Framlingham, the earl of Pembroke, with his company of the guard, took possession of the Tower. The next morning, the lady Jane departed to Sion house. Her reign had lasted but nine days; and they had been days of anxiety and distress. She had suffered much from her own apprehensions of an unfortunate result, more from the displeasure of her husband, and the imperious humour of his mother<sup>18</sup>. The moment she was gone, the lords, without any distinction of party, united in sending an order to Northumberland to disband his forces, and to acknowledge Mary for his sovereign. But he had already taken the only part which prudence suggested. Sending for the vice-chancellor, Dr. Sands, who, on the preceding Sunday, had preached against the daughters of Henry, he proceeded to the market place, where, with tears of grief running down his cheeks, he proclaimed the lady Mary, and threw his cap into the air in token of joy. The

Northumber-  
land is arrest-  
ed.

July 20.

<sup>17</sup> Godwin, 107, 108. Stow, 612. King’s MSS. xvii. A. ix. Their letter to the queen is in Strype’s *Cranmer*, App. 106.

<sup>18</sup> The quarrel arose from the ambition of Guilford. After a long discussion, Jane consented to give him the crown by act of parliament: but when she was left to herself, she repented of her facility, and informed

him that she would make him a duke, but not king. In his anger he abstained from her company and her bed, and threatened to go back to Sion house; the duchess chided and upbraided her; and she was so alarmed, that she persuaded herself they had given her poison. See her letter in Pollini, 357.

CHAP.

I.

July 22.

The queen  
enters the ca-  
pital.

next morning he was arrested on a charge of high treason, by the earl of Arundel, and was conducted, with several of his associates, to the Tower. It required a strong guard to protect the prisoners from the vengeance of the populace<sup>19</sup>.

The lady Elizabeth had taken no part in this contest. To a messenger, indeed, from Northumberland, who offered her a large sum of money, and a valuable grant of lands, as the price of her voluntary renunciation of all right to the succession, she replied, that she had no right to renounce, as long as her elder sister was living. But, if she did not join the lady Jane, she did nothing in aid of the lady Mary. Under the excuse of a real or feigned indisposition, she confined herself to her chamber, that, whichever party proved victorious, she might claim the negative merit of non-resistance. Now, however, the contest was at an end: the new queen approached her capital; and Elizabeth deemed it prudent to court the favour of the conqueror. At the head of a hundred and fifty horse, she met her at Aldgate. They rode together in triumphal procession through the streets, which were lined with the different crafts in their gayest attire. Every eye was directed towards the royal sisters. Those who had seen Henry VIII. and Catharine, could discover little in the queen, to remind them of the majestic port of her father, or of the beautiful features and graceful carriage of her mother. Her figure was short and small: the lines of care were deeply impressed on her counte-

July 31.

<sup>19</sup> Stow, 612. Godwin, 109. The number of prisoners for trial was twenty-seven—the dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*; the marquess of *Northampton*; the earls of *Huntingdon* and *Warwick*; the lords *Robert, Henry, Ambrose, and Guilford Dudley*; the lady *Jane Dudley*; the bishops of *Canterbury, London, and Ely*; the lords *Ferrers,*

*Clinton, and Cobham*; the judges *Montague and Cholmeley*, and the chancellor of the *augmentations*; *Andrew Dudley, John Gates, Henry Gates, Henry Palmer, John Cheke, John York*, knights; and *Dr. Cocks*. Haynes, 192, 193. When this list was given to the queen, she struck out the names in italics, and reduced the number from twenty-seven to eleven.



nance: and her dark, piercing eyes struck with awe all those on whom they were fixed. In personal appearance Elizabeth had the advantage. She was in the bloom of youth, about half the age of the queen. Without much pretension to beauty, she could boast of agreeable features, large blue eyes, a tall and portly figure, and of hands, the elegant symmetry of which she was proud to display on every occasion<sup>20</sup>. As they passed, their ears were stunned with the acclamations of the people: when they entered the Tower, they found kneeling on the green, the state prisoners, the duchess of Somerset, the duke of Norfolk, the son of the late marquess of Exeter, and Gardiner, the deprived bishop of Winchester. That prelate pronounced a short congratulatory address. Mary, affected unto tears, called them *her* prisoners, bade them rise, and having kissed them, gave them their liberty. The same day she ordered a dole to be distributed, of eightpence, to every poor householder in the city.

In the appointment of her official advisers, the new queen was directed by necessity as much as choice. If the lords, who, escaping from the Tower, had proclaimed her in the city, expected to retain their former situations, the noblemen and gentlemen who had adhered to her fortunes, when every probability was against her, had still more powerful claims on her gratitude. She

The new  
council.

<sup>20</sup> They are thus described by the Venetian ambassador, in his official communication to the senate. The queen is donna di statura piccola, di persona magre e delicata, dissimile in tutto al padre et alla madre.... ha gli occhi tanto vivi, che inducano non solo riverentia ma timor. Elisabeth e piu tosto graziosa che bella, di persona grande e ben formata, olivastra in complexione, belli occhi, e sopra tutto bella mano, della quale ne fa professione. The writer was M. Gio. Michele, galantissimo e virtuosissimo gentilhuomo (Ep. Poli, v. App. 349.) who, on his

return to Venice, compiled an account of England, by order of the senate. It was read in that assembly, May 13, 1557. The MS. is in the Barberini library, N<sup>o</sup>. 1208: and a copy among the Lansdown MSS. DCCCXL. B. fol. 139. It is remarkable, that though Bohun says, "her skin was of pure white," and Naunton, that her "complexion was fair," yet Michele, who often saw her, here asserts, that she was olivastra di complexione, of an olive or dark complexion.

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sought to satisfy both classes, by admitting them into her council: and to these she added a few others, chiefly Gardiner and Tunstall, the deprived bishops of Winchester and Durham, who, under her father, had been employed in offices of trust, and had discharged them with fidelity and success. The acknowledged abilities of the former soon raised him to the post of prime minister. He first received the custody of the seals, and was soon afterwards appointed chancellor<sup>21</sup>. The next to him in ability and influence in the council, was the lord Paget.

Aug. 2.

Sept. 21.

Proclama-  
tions.

Aug. 30.

Though the queen found herself unexpectedly in debt from the policy of Northumberland, who had kept the officers and servants of the crown three years in arrear of their salaries<sup>22</sup>; she issued two proclamations, which drew upon her the blessings of the whole nation. By the first she restored a depreciated currency to its original value; ordered a new coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns, angels and half-angels, of fine gold; and of silver groats, half-groats, and pennies of the standard purity; and charged the whole loss and expense to the treasury. By the other she remitted to her people, in gratitude for their attachment to her right, the subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods, which had been granted to the crown by the late parliament<sup>23</sup>. At the same time she introduced, within the palace, an innovation highly gratifying to the younger branches of the nobility, though it forebode little good to the reformed preachers. Under Edward, their fanaticism had given to the court a sombre

<sup>21</sup> Noailles, ii. 123. Gardiner was peculiarly obnoxious to the French ministers, from the uncourteous manner in which, on two occasions, he had executed the harsh and imperious mandates of his master, Henry VIII. Noailles complains, that imprisonment had not tamed him. Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Noailles, ii. 92. His object had been to attach them to his cause, through the fear of losing their arrears.

<sup>23</sup> Strype, iii. 8. 10. St. 1 Mary, c. xvii. The sovereign was to pass at thirty, the angel at ten shillings. Noailles, 141.

and funereal appearance. That they might exclude from it the pomps of the devil, they had strictly forbidden all richness of apparel, and every fashionable amusement. But Mary, who recollected with pleasure the splendid gaieties of her father's reign, appeared publicly in jewels and coloured silks: the ladies, emancipated from restraint, copied her example: and the courtiers, encouraged by the approbation of their sovereign, presumed to dress with a splendour that became their rank in the state<sup>24</sup>. A new impulse was thus communicated to all classes of persons: and considerable sums were expended by the citizens, in public and private decorations, preparatory to the coronation. That ceremony was performed after the ancient rite, by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester<sup>25</sup>: and was concluded in the usual manner, with a magnificent banquet in Westminster hall<sup>26</sup>. The same day a general pardon was proclaimed, with the exception, by name, of sixty individuals who had been committed to prison, or confined to their own houses, by order of council, for treasonable or seditious offences committed since the queen's accession.

But though Mary was now firmly seated on the throne, she found herself without a friend, to whom she could open her mind with freedom and safety. Among the leading members of her council there was not one who had not, in the reigns of her

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Aug. 3.

Oct. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Elle a desja osté les *superstitions*, qui estoient par cydevant, que les femmes ne portassent dorures ni habillemens de couleur, estant elle mesme et beaucoup de sa compagnie, parees de dorures, et habillées à la Francoise de robes à grandz manches. Noailles, ii. 104. Elle est l'une des dames du monde, qui prend maintenant autant de plaisir en habillemens. 146. Les millords et jeunes seigneurs portent chausses autant exquises, soit de thoiles et drapz d'or et broderies, que

j'en aye peu veoir en France ne ailleurs, 211.

<sup>25</sup> "It was done royally, and such a multitude of people resorted out of all parties of the realme to se the same, that the like had not been seen tofore." Cont. of Fabian, 557.

<sup>26</sup> Strype, iii. 36. Stow, 616. Hollins. 1091. In the church Elizabeth carried the crown. She whispered to Noailles, that it was very heavy. "Be patient," he replied; "it will seem lighter, when it is on your own head." Renard apud Griffet, xiii.



CHAP.  
I.

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The queen  
consults the  
emperor

father or her brother, professed himself her enemy ; nor did she now dare to trust them with her confidence, till she had assured herself of their fidelity. In this distress she had recourse to the prince, who had always proved himself her friend, and who, she persuaded herself, could have no interest in deceiving her. She solicited the advice of the emperor on three very important questions : the punishment of those who had conspired to deprive her of the crown, the choice of her future husband, and the restoration of the ancient worship. It was agreed between them that the correspondence on these subjects should pass through the hands of the imperial ambassador, Simon de Renard ; and that he, to elude suspicion, should live in comparative privacy, and very seldom make his appearance at court.

respecting  
the traitors.

1<sup>o</sup>. To the first question Charles replied, that it was the common interest of sovereigns that rebellion should not go unpunished ; but that she ought to blend mercy with justice ; and, having inflicted speedy vengeance on the chief of the conspirators, to grant a free and unsolicited pardon to the remainder.

July 20.

In compliance with this advice, Mary selected out of the list of prisoners seven only for immediate trial : the duke of Northumberland, the contriver and executor of the plot ; his son, the earl of Warwick ; the marquess of Northampton, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, and sir Thomas Palmer, his principal counsellors and constant associates. It was in vain that the imperial ministers urged her to include the lady Jane in the number. Were she spared, the queen, they alleged, could never reign in security. The first faction that dared, would again set her up as a rival. She had usurped the crown ; and policy required that she should pay the forfeit of her presumption. But Mary undertook her defence. She could not, she said, find in her heart or in her conscience to put her unfor-

fortunate cousin to death. Jane was not so guilty as the emperor believed. She had not been the accomplice of Northumberland, but merely a puppet in his hands. Neither was she his daughter-in-law; for she had been validly contracted to another person, before she was compelled to marry Guilford Dudley. As for the danger arising from her pretensions, it was but imaginary. Every requisite precaution might be taken, before she was restored to liberty<sup>27</sup>.

For the trial of the three noblemen, the duke of Norfolk had been appointed high steward. When they were brought before their peers, Northumberland submitted to the consideration of the court the following questions: Could that man be guilty of treason who had acted by the authority of the council, and under the warrant of the great seal; or could those persons sit in judgment upon him who, during the whole proceeding, had been his advisers and accomplices? It was replied, that the council and great seal of which he spoke, were not those of the sovereign, but of an usurper; and that the lords to whom he alluded, were able in law to sit as judges, so long as there was no record of attainder against them. In these answers he acquiesced: pleaded guilty together with his companions; and petitioned the queen that she would commute his punishment into decapitation; that mercy might be extended to his children who had acted under his direction; that he might have the aid of an able divine to prepare himself for death; and might be allowed to confer with two lords of the council on certain secrets of state, which had come to his knowledge, while he was prime minister. To these requests Mary assented<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Renard apud Griffet, xi.

<sup>28</sup> Stow, 614. Howell's State Trials, 765. Persons (in his Wardword, p. 44)

informs us that in consequence of the last request, Gardiner and another counselor (the informer of Persons) visited him in

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## I.

And punish-  
ment.

Aug. 21.

Of the three lords, Northumberland alone, of the four commoners, who also pleaded guilty, sir John Gates and sir Henry Palmer were selected for execution. The morning before they suffered, they attended and communicated at a solemn mass in the Tower, in presence of several lords, and of the mayor and aldermen. On the scaffold a few words passed between Gates and the duke. Each charged the other with the origin of the conspiracy; but the altercation was conducted with temper, and they ended by reciprocally asking forgiveness. Northumberland, stepping to the rail, addressed the spectators. He acknowledged the justice of his punishment; but denied that he was the first projector of the treason. He called on them to witness that he was in charity with all mankind: that he died in the faith of his fathers, though ambition had induced him to conform in practice to a worship which he condemned in his heart: and that his last prayer was for the return of his countrymen to the catholic church, from which he had been instrumental in leading them astray. Gates and Palmer suffered after the duke, each expressing similar sentiments, and soliciting the prayers of the beholders<sup>29</sup>.

the Tower. The duke earnestly petitioned for life. Gardiner gave him little hope, but promised his services. Returning to court, he intreated the queen to spare the prisoner, and had in a manner obtained her consent; but the opposite party in the cabinet wrote to the emperor, who by letter persuaded Mary "that it was not safe for her or the state to "pardon his life." From Renard's dispatches I have no doubt that this account is substantially correct.

<sup>29</sup> If we may believe Fox (iii. 13.) Northumberland was induced to make this profession of his belief, by a delusive promise of pardon. He himself asserts the contrary. "I "do protest to you, good people, earnestly,

"even from the bottom of my heart, that, this, "which I have spoken, is of myself, not being "required nor moved thereto of any man, nor "for any flattery, nor hope of life. And I take "witness of my lord of Worcester here, my "ghostly father, that he found me in this mind "and opinion, when he came to me." Stow, 615. Indeed he was known, in Edward's reign, to have no other religion than interest, and on one occasion spoke so contumeliously of the new service, that archbishop Cranmer in a moment of zeal or passion, challenged him to a duel. *Ad duellum provocaret.* Parker, *Ant. Brit.* 341. "He offered "to combat with the duke." Morrice *apud* Strype, 430.



2<sup>o</sup>. Under the reign of Edward, Mary had spontaneously preferred a single life: but, from the moment of her accession to the throne, she made no secret of her intention to marry. Of natives two only were proposed to her choice, both descended from the house of York; Cardinal Pole, and Courteney, whom the queen had recently liberated from the Tower. The cardinal she respected for his talents and virtues, his advocacy of her mother's right, and his sufferings in her cause. But his age and infirmities forbad her to think of him for a husband <sup>30</sup>. Courteney was young and handsome: his royal descent and unmerited imprisonment (for his character was unknown) had made him the favourite of the nation: and his mother the countess of Exeter was the individual companion and bed-fellow of the queen. Mary at first betrayed a partiality for the young man: she created him earl of Devonshire: she sought, by different artifices, to keep him near herself and his mother: and she made it her study to fashion his manners, which during his confinement in the Tower, had been entirely neglected. The courtiers confidently predicted their marriage; and Gardiner promoted it with all the influence of his station. But if Courteney had made any impression on the heart of the queen, it was speedily effaced by his misconduct. Having once tasted of liberty, he resolved to enjoy it without restraint. He frequented the lowest society: he spent much of his time in the company of prostitutes; and he indulged in gratifications disgraceful to his rank, and shocking to the piety and feelings of the queen. It was in vain that she commissioned a gentleman of the court to guide his inexperience; in vain that the French and Venetian ambas-

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Queen pro-  
poses to  
marry.  
July 29.

<sup>30</sup> Quant au Cardinal, je ne scay pas qui qu'elle demande, et qui luy est propre. Non-  
parle que la royne y eut oppinion; car il n'est ailles, 207.  
ne d'aage, ne de sancté convenables à ce

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sadors admonished him of the consequences of his folly: he scorned their advice, refused to speak to his monitor, and pursued his wild career, till he had entirely forfeited the esteem and favour of his sovereign. In public she observed, that it was not for her honour to marry a subject; but to her confidential friends she attributed the cause to the immorality of Courteney<sup>31</sup>.

The emperor  
offers his son.

The foreign princes, mentioned by the lords of the council, were the king of Denmark, the prince of Spain, the infant of Portugal, the prince of Piedmont, and the son of the king of the Romans. Mary, who had already asked the advice of the emperor, waited with impatience for his answer. It was obviously the interest of Charles that she should prefer his son Philip. His inveterate enemy, the king of France, was in possession of the young queen of Scots; within two or three years that princess would be married to the dauphin; and in all probability the crown of Scotland would be united to that of France. But if Charles had hitherto envied the good fortune of Henry, accident had now made him amends: the queen of England was a better match than the queen of Scotland; and if he could persuade Mary to give her hand to Philip, that alliance would confer on him a proud superiority over his rival. He was, however, careful not to commit himself by too hasty an answer: but trusted for a while to the address and influence of Renard. That

Aug. 14.

<sup>31</sup> Noailles, 111, 112. 147. 218. 220. Ceste Royne est en mauvaise opinion deluy, pour avoir entendu qu'il fait beaucoup de jeunesses, et mesme d'aller souvent avecques les femmes publiques et de mauvaise vie, et suivre d'autres compagnies sans regarder la gravité et rang qu'il doit tenir pour aspirer en si hault lieu . . . . Mais il est si mal ayse à conduire, qu'il ne veult croire personne, et comme celluy qui a demeuré toute sa vie

dans une tour, se voyant maintenant jouyr d'une grande liberté il ne se peult saouler des delices d'icelle, n'ayant aucune craincte des choses qu'on luy mette devant les yeulx. Ibid. 219, 220. I have transcribed these passages; because Hume, to account for the rejection of Courteney, has given us a very romantic statement, for which he could have no better authority than his own imagination.

portant but most delicate point in his mission : to bear in mind that the inclination of a woman was more likely to be inflamed than extinguished by opposition : to draw to light, by distant questions and accidental remarks, the secret dispositions of the queen ; to throw into his conversation occasional hints of the advantages to be derived from a foreign alliance ; and, above all, to commit no act, to drop no word, from which she might infer that he was an enemy to her marriage with Courteney<sup>32</sup>. Renard obeyed his instructions : he watched with attention the successive steps by which that nobleman sunk in the royal estimation ; and soon announced to his sovereign that Courteney had no longer any hold on the affections of Mary. Charles now ordered him to inform the queen that he approved of the reasons which had induced her to reject her young kinsman, and was sorry that the unambitious piety of cardinal Pole made him prefer the duties of a clergyman to the highest of worldly distinctions. Still perhaps she had no cause to regret the loss of either : a foreign prince would bring, as a husband, a firmer support to her throne : and, were it that his age would allow him, he should himself aspire to the honour of her hand. He might, however, solicit in favour of others ; nor could he offer to her choice one more dear to himself than his son the prince of Spain. The advantages of such an union were evident : but let her not be swayed by his authority : she had only to consult her own inclination and judgment, and to communicate the result to him without fear or reserve<sup>33</sup>.

Sept. 20.

It was soon discovered by the courtiers that Philip had been

Opposition to  
Philip.

<sup>32</sup> Car si elle y avoit fantaisie, elle ne layroit, si elle est du naturel des autres femmes, de passer outre, et si se resentiroit a jamais de ce que vous lui en pourriez avoir dit. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 38.

ce monde que de nous allier nous mêmes avec elle. — Mais au lieu de nous, ne lui saurions mettre en avant personnage, qui nous soit plus cher que notre propre fils. Ibid. fol. 49. Griffet, xiv.

<sup>33</sup> Nous ne voudrions choisir autre partie en



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proposed to the queen, and had not been rejected. The chancellor was the first to remonstrate with his sovereign. He observed to her that her people would more readily submit to the rule of a native than of a foreigner; that the arrogance of the Spaniards had rendered them odious in other nations, and would never be borne by Englishmen; that Philip by his haughty carriage had already earned the dislike of his own subjects; that such an alliance must be followed by perpetual war with the king of France, who would never consent that the Low Countries should be annexed to the English crown; and that the marriage could not be validly celebrated without a dispensation from the pope, whose authority was not yet acknowledged in the kingdom. Gardiner, who spoke the sentiments of the majority of the council, was followed by others of his colleagues; they were opposed by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget <sup>34</sup>.

On no persons did this intelligence make a deeper impression than on the French and Venetian ambassadors, who deemed it their duty to throw every obstacle in the way of a marriage which would so greatly augment the power of Spain. They secretly gave advice to Courteney; they promised their influence to create a party in his favour; and they laboured to obtain in the ensuing parliament a declaration against the Spanish match. Noailles went even further. He intrigued with the discontented of every description: and though it was contrary to the instructions

<sup>34</sup> Noailles, i. 214. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 48. Griffet, xvi. xix. Most of our historians represent Gardiner as the enemy of Courteney, and the deviser of the Spanish match. It is, however, evident, from the dispatches of both ambassadors, that he was the friend of Courteney, and the great opponent of the marriage. It must also have been

so understood at the time: for Persons, who never saw those dispatches, says, "Every child acquainted with that state knoweth, or may learn, that B. Gardiner was of the contrary part or faction that favoured young Edward Courteney, the earl of Devonshire, and would have had him to marry the queen." Wardword, 46.

of his sovereign, he endeavoured to propagate a notion, that the rightful heir to the crown was neither Mary, nor Elizabeth, nor Jane, but the young queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, daughter to the eldest sister of Henry VIII<sup>35</sup>.

3<sup>o</sup>. That attachment to the ancient faith which Mary had shewn during the reign of her brother, had not been loosened by the late unsuccessful attempt to identify the cause of rebellion with that of the reformation. On her accession she acquainted both the emperor and the king of France with her determination to restore the catholic worship. Henry applauded her zeal, and offered the aid of his forces, if it were necessary, towards the accomplishment of the work ; but Charles advised her to proceed with temper and caution, and to abstain from any public innovation, till she had obtained the consent of her parliament. It was in compliance with his wish that she suffered the archbishop to officiate according to the established form at the funeral of her brother in Westminster Abbey : but a solemn dirge and high mass were chaunted for him at the same time in the chapel of the Tower, in presence of the nobility and courtiers, to the number of three hundred persons<sup>36</sup>. She issued no order for the public restoration of the ancient service : but she maintained that she had a right to worship God as she pleased within her own palace ; and was highly flattered by the compliance of those who followed her example. The proceedings against the bishops, deprived in the last reign, were revised and reversed in a new court of delegates, held by the royal authority ; and Gardiner, Bonner, Tun-

Orders re-  
specting  
religion.

July 21.

Aug. 8

<sup>35</sup> Noailles, 145. 157. 161. 164. 168. 194. 211. 221.

<sup>36</sup> Noailles, 108. 129. Griffet, xi. Non se trop haster avec zele—mais qu'elle s'accommode avec toute douceur se conformant aux definitions du parlement, sans rien faire

toutefois de sa personne qui soit contre sa conscience, ayant seulement la messe à part en sa chambre—qu'elle attende jusques elle aye opportunité de rassembler parlement Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 24.

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Riots.

Aug. 12.

Aug. 13.

stall, Heath, and Day, recovered the possession of their respective churches. The real object of the queen could not remain a secret; the reformed preachers from the pulpit alarmed the zeal of their hearers; and the catholic clergy, trusting to the protection of the sovereign, feared not to transgress the existing laws. A riot was occasioned by the unauthorized celebration of mass in a church in the horse market. The council reprimanded and imprisoned the priest; and the queen sending for the lord mayor and aldermen, ordered them to put down all tumultuous assemblies. But the passions of the reformers had been excited: and the very next day the peace of the metropolis was interrupted by another ebullition of religious animosity. Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, had been appointed to preach at St. Paul's cross. In the course of his sermon he complained of the late innovations, and of the illegal deprivation of the catholic prelates. "Pull him down," suddenly exclaimed a voice in the crowd. The cry was echoed by several groups of women and children: and a dagger, thrown with considerable violence, struck one of the columns of the pulpit. Bourne, alarmed for his life, withdrew into St. Paul's church, under the protection of Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers.

Aug. 14.

Aug. 18.

This outrage, evidently preconcerted, injured the cause, which it was designed to serve. It furnished Mary with a pretext to forbid, after the example of the two last monarchs, preaching in public without licence. The citizens were made responsible for the conduct of their children and servants: and the lord mayor was told to resign the sword into the hands of the sovereign, if he were unable to maintain the peace of the city<sup>37</sup>. A proclamation followed, in which the queen declared that she could

<sup>37</sup> Journal of council in *Archæologia* xviii. 173, 174. Haynes, i. 168—170.



not conceal her religion, which God and the world knew that she had professed from her infancy: but that she had no intention to compel any one to embrace it till farther order were taken by common consent: and therefore she strictly forbad all persons to excite sedition among the people, or to ferment dis-sension by using the opprobrious terms of heretic or papist<sup>38</sup>.

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I.

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The reformers now fixed their hopes on the constancy of the lady Elizabeth, the presumptive heir to the throne. They already considered her as the rival of the queen; and it was openly said that it would not be more difficult to transfer the sceptre to her hands than it had been to place it in those of Mary. On this account it had been proposed by some of the royal advisers, as a measure of precaution, to put Elizabeth under a temporary arrest: but Mary refused her assent, and rather sought to weaken her sister's interest with the reformers, by withdrawing her from the new to the ancient worship. For some time the princess resisted every attempt: but when she learned that her repugnance was thought to arise, not from motives of conscience, but from the persuasions of the factious, she solicited a private audience, threw herself on her knees, and excused her past obstinacy, on the ground that she had never practised any other than the reformed worship, nor ever studied the articles of the ancient faith. Perhaps, if she were furnished with books, and aided by the instructions of divines, she might see her errors, and embrace the religion of her fathers. After this beginning, the reader will not be surprised to learn that her conversion was effected in the short course of a week. Mary now treated her with extraordinary kindness: and Elizabeth, to prove her sincerity, not only accompanied her sister to mass, but

Elizabeth  
conforms.

Sept. 2.

Sept. 8.

Dec. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Wilk. Con. iv. 86.

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opened a chapel in her own house, and wrote to the emperor for leave to purchase in Flanders a chalice, cross, and the ornaments usually employed in the celebration of the catholic worship<sup>39</sup>.

Cranmer's  
declaration.

But the protestant cause was consoled for the defection of Elizabeth by the zeal of the archbishop. Cranmer had hitherto experienced the lenity of the queen. Though he had been the author of her mother's divorce, and one of the last to abandon the conspiracy of Northumberland, he had not been sent to the Tower, but received an order to confine himself to his palace at Lambeth. In this retirement he had leisure to mourn over the failure of his hopes, and to anticipate the abolition of that worship, which he had so earnestly laboured to establish. But to add to his affliction, intelligence was brought him that the catholic service had been performed in his church at Canterbury; that by strangers this innovation was supposed to have been made by his order or with his consent; and that a report was circulated of his having offered to celebrate mass before the queen. Cranmer hastened to refute these charges by a public denial: and in a declaration which, while its boldness does honour to his courage, betrays by its asperity the bitterness of his feelings, asserted that the mass was the device and invention of the father of lies, who was even then persecuting Christ, his holy word, and his church; that it was not he, the archbishop, but a false, flattering, lying and deceitful monk, who had restored the ancient worship at Canterbury: that he had never offered to say mass before the queen, but was willing with her permission to shew that it contained many horrible blasphemies; and with the aid to Peter Martyr to prove, that the doctrine

<sup>39</sup> Compare the dispatches of Noailles, Griffet, xi. xxiv. 138. 141. 160, with those of Renard in

and worship established under Edward, was the same as had been believed and practised in the first ages of the Christian church<sup>40</sup>. Of this intemperate declaration several copies were dispersed, and publicly read to the people in the streets. The council sent for the archbishop, and “after a long and serious  
Sept. 8. “debate committed him to the Tower, as well for the treason “committed by him against the queen’s highness, as for the “aggravating the same his offence by spreading abroad seditious “bills, and moving tumults to the disquietness of the present “state.” A few days afterwards, Latimer, who probably had  
Sept. 13. imitated the conduct of the metropolitan, was also sent to the same prison for “his seditious demeanour<sup>41</sup>.”

To Julius III. the Roman pontiff, the accession of Mary had been a subject of triumph. Foreseeing the result, he immediately appointed cardinal Pole his legate to the queen, the emperor and the king of France. But Pole hesitated to leave his retirement at Magguzzano, on the margin of the lake of Guarda, without more satisfactory information; and Dandino the legate at Brussels, dispatched to England a gentleman of his suite, Gianfrancesco Commendone, chamberlain to the pontiff. Commendone came from Gravelines to London in the character of a stranger, whose uncle was lately dead, leaving accounts of importance unsettled in England. For some days he wandered unknown through the streets, carefully noting whatever he saw or heard: till chance brought him into the company of an old acquaintance of the name of Lee, now a servant in the royal household. Through him Commendone procured more than one interview with Mary; and carried from her the following message to the pope and the cardinal: that it was her most  
Aug. 25.

The Pope appoints Pole his legate.

<sup>40</sup> Strype’s Cranmer, 305.

175. Haynes, i. 183, 184.

<sup>41</sup> Journal of council, in Archæol. xviii.



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anxious wish to see her kingdom reconciled with the holy see: that for this purpose she meant to procure the repeal of all laws trenching on the doctrine or discipline of the catholic church: that on the other hand she hoped to experience no obstacle on the part of the pontiff, or of her kinsman the papal representative: and that for the success of the undertaking it would be necessary to act with temper and prudence; to respect the prejudices of her subjects; and most carefully to conceal the least trace of any correspondence between her and the court of Rome<sup>42</sup>.

Meeting of  
parliament.  
Oct. 5.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Mary met her first parliament<sup>43</sup>. Both peers and commoners, according to the usage of ancient times, accompanied their sovereign to a solemn mass of the holy ghost; the chancellor in his speech to the two houses, the speaker in his address to the throne, celebrated the piety, the clemency, and the other virtues of their sovereign; and her ears were repeatedly greeted with the loudest expressions of loyalty and attachment. The two objects, which at this moment she had principally at heart, were to remove from herself the stain of illegitimacy, and to restore to its former ascendancy the religion of her fathers. To the first she anticipated no objection; the second was an attempt of more doubtful result; not that her subjects, in general, were opposed to the ancient worship, but that they expressed a strong antipathy to the papal jurisdiction. The new service was, indeed, every where established; but it had

<sup>42</sup> Pallavicino, ii. 397. Quirini's collection of Pole's letters, iv. 111.

<sup>43</sup> Burnet has fallen into two errors, with respect to this parliament: 1st. that Nowel, representative for Loo, in Cornwall, was not allowed to sit, because, being a clergyman, he was *represented* in the convocation, where-

as the reason stated, is, that *he had a voice in the convocation*. Journals, 27. 2d. That the lords *altered* the bill of tonnage and poundage. They objected, indeed, to two provisos; but the commons, instead of allowing them to be altered, withdrew the old, and introduced a new bill. Journals, 28, 29.

been embraced through compulsion rather than conviction. Men felt for it little of that attachment, with which spontaneous proselytes are always inspired. Only four years had elapsed since its introduction; and their former habits, prepossessions, and opinions, pleaded in favour of a worship with which they had been familiarized from their infancy. But the supremacy of the pontiff appeared to them in a different light. Its exercise in England had been abolished for thirty years. The existing generation knew no more of the pope, his pretensions, or his authority, than they had learned from his adversaries. His usurpation and tyranny had been the favourite theme of the preachers, and the re-establishment of his jurisdiction had always been described to them as the worst evil which could befall their country. In addition it was said and believed, that the restoration of ecclesiastical property was essentially connected with the recognition of the papal authority. If the spoils of the church had been at first confined to a few favourites and purchasers, they were now become, by sales and bequests, divided and subdivided among thousands; and almost every family of opulence in the kingdom, had reason to deprecate a measure, which, according to the general opinion, would induce the compulsive surrender of the whole, or of a part of its possessions.

By the council it was at first determined to attempt both ob- First session.  
jects by a most comprehensive bill, which should repeal at once all the acts that had been passed in the two last reigns, affecting either the marriage between the queen's father and mother, or the exercise of religion as it stood in the first year of Henry VIII. By the peers no objection was made; but during the progress of Oct. 10.  
the bill through the upper house, it became the general subject of conversation, and was condemned as an insidious attempt to restore the authority of the pope. The ministers felt alarm

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I.

Oct. 21.

Second session.

at the opposition which was already organized among the commons: and the queen, coming unexpectedly to the house of lords, gave the royal assent to three bills (the only bills which had been passed), and prorogued the parliament for the space of three days<sup>44</sup>.

In the succeeding session two new bills were introduced, in the place of the former; one confirming the marriage of Henry and Catharine, the other regulating the national worship. In the first all reference to the papal dispensation was dexterously avoided. It stated that, after the queen's father and mother had lived together in lawful matrimony for the space of twenty years, unfounded scruples and projects of divorce had been suggested to the king by interested individuals, who, to accomplish their design, procured in their favour, the seals of foreign universities by bribery, of the national universities by intrigues and threats; and that Thomas, then newly made archbishop of Canterbury, most ungodlily, and against all rules of equity and conscience, took upon himself to pronounce, in the absence of the queen, a judgment of divorce, which was afterwards, on two occasions, confirmed by parliament: but that, as the said marriage was not prohibited by the law of God, it could not be dissolved by any such authority: wherefore, it enacted that all statutes confirmatory of the divorce, should be repealed, and the marriage between Henry and Catharine should be adjudged to stand with God's law, and should be reputed of good effect and validity, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. Against this bill, though it was equivalent to a statute of bas-

<sup>44</sup> Historians have indulged in fanciful conjectures to account for the shortness of the session. The true reason may be discovered in Mary's letter to cardinal Pole of 28th of October. Plus difficultatis fit circa auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ quam veræ religionis cul-

tum....siquidem primus ordo comitiorum existimaverat consultum ut omnia statuta.... abrogarentur....Cum vero hæc deliberatio secundo ordini comitiorum innotuisset, statim suspicatus est hæc proponi in gratiam pontificis, &c. Quirini, iv. 119.



tardy in respect of Elizabeth, not a voice was raised in either house of parliament<sup>45</sup>.

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I.

The next motion was so framed as to elude the objections of those who were hostile to the pretensions of the see of Rome. It had no reference to the alienation of church property; it trenched not on the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown; it professed to have no other object than to restore religion to that state in which Edward found it on his accession, and to repeal nine acts passed through the influence of a faction during his minority. The opposition was confined to the lower house, in which, on the second reading, the debate continued two days. But though the friends of the new doctrines are said to have amounted to one third of the members, the bill passed apparently without a division<sup>46</sup>. By it was at once razed to the ground, that fabric which the ingenuity and perseverance of archbishop Cranmer had erected in the last reign: the reformed liturgy, which Edward's parliament had attributed to the inspiration of the holy Ghost, was now pronounced "a new thing imagined and devised by a few of singular opinions:" the acts establishing the first and second books of common prayer, the new ordinal, and the administration of the sacrament in both kinds, that authorizing the marriages of priests, and legitimatizing their children, and those abolishing certain festivals and fasts, vesting in the king the appointment of bishops by letters patent, and regulating the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction, were repealed: and in lieu thereof, it was enjoined that from the twentieth day of the next month should be revived and practised

Oct. 28.

Restoration of  
the ancient  
service.

Nov. 8.

<sup>45</sup> St. 1 Mary, sess. 2. c. 1. Sine scrupulo aut difficultate. Mary to Pole, Nov. 15th. Quirini, iv. 122.

<sup>46</sup> Noailles says, ce qui a demeuré huit jours en merveilleuse dispute: a n'a sçeu pas-

ser ce bill, que la tierce partie de ceulx du tiers estat ne soyent demeuréz de contraire opinion. Noailles, ii. 247. Yet the journals mention no division. Journals, 29.

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I.

such forms of divine worship and administration of sacraments, as had been most commonly used in England in the last year of Henry VIII<sup>47</sup>.

Other enact-  
ments.

By other bills passed in this parliament, all bonds, deeds, and writings, between individuals, bearing date during the short reign of the lady Jane, were made as good and effectual in law, as if the name of the rightful sovereign had been expressed : all treasons created since the 25th of Edward III., with all new felonies and cases of præmunire, introduced since the first of Henry VIII. were abolished ; but at the same time the statute of Edward VI. against riotous assemblies, was in part revived, and extended to such meetings, as should have for their object, to change, by force, the existing laws in matters of religion. To these must be added several private bills, restoring in blood those persons who had been deprived of their hereditary rights by the iniquitous judgments passed in the preceding reign<sup>48</sup>, and one of severity, attainting the authors and chief abettors of the late conspiracy to exclude the queen from the succession. It was, however, limited to the persons whose condemnation has been already mentioned, and to Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Guilford Dudley, Jane Dudley his wife, and sir Ambrose Dudley, who had been arraigned, and convicted on their own confessions during the sitting of parliament. Mary had no intention that they should suffer : but she hoped that the knowledge of their danger would secure the loyalty of their friends ; and when she signed the pardon of Northampton and Gates, gave orders that the other prisoners should receive every indulgence compatible with their situation<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> 1 Mary, sess. 2. c. 2. Quod non sine contentione, disputatione acri et summo labore fidelium factum est. Mary to Pole. Quirini, iv. 122.

<sup>48</sup> See note (C).

<sup>49</sup> St. 1 Mary, c. xvi. Journal of council, Archæologia, xviii. 176.

CHAP.  
I.Parties re-  
specting the  
queen's mar-  
riage.

But that which, during the sitting of the parliament, chiefly interested and agitated the public mind, was the project of marriage between Mary, and Philip of Spain. The court was divided into two factions. At the head of the imperialists were the earl of Arundel, the lord Paget, and Rochester comptroller of the household, all three high in the favour of the queen: they were still opposed by Gardiner, the chancellor, who, though he received but little support from the timidity of his colleagues in the council, was in public seconded by the voices of the more clamorous, if not the more numerous, portion of the people. Protestants and catholics, postponing their religious animosities, joined in reprobating a measure which would place a foreign and despotic prince on the English throne; and eagerly wished for the arrival of Pole, whom rumour described as an enemy to the Spanish match, and who was believed to possess considerable influence over the royal mind<sup>50</sup>. But their expectations were disappointed by the policy of their adversaries; who predicted to Mary that the presence of a papal legate would prove the signal of a religious war; and at the same time alarmed the emperor with the notion that Pole was in reality a competitor with Philip for the hand of their sovereign<sup>51</sup>. The former wrote to the cardinal not to venture nearer than Brussels: the latter commissioned Mendoza to stop him in the heart of Germany. At the instance of that messenger he returned to Dillinghen on the Danube; where he received an order from the pontiff to suspend the prosecution of his journey, till he should receive further instructions<sup>52</sup>.

It was a more difficult task to detect and defeat the intrigues

Intrigues of  
Noailles.

<sup>50</sup> Y est il plus demandé que je n'eusse jamais pensé, le desirans maintenant tant les protestants que catholiques. Noailles, 271.

<sup>51</sup> Noailles, 244. Griffet, xviii.

<sup>52</sup> Pallavicino, ii. 403.



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of Noailles, the French ambassador. That minister, urged by his antipathy to the Spanish cause, hesitated not to disobey the commands of his sovereign<sup>53</sup>, and to abuse the privileges of his office. He connected himself with Courteney, with the leaders of the protestants, and with the discontented of every description: he admitted them to midnight conferences in his house: he advised them to draw the sword for the protection of their liberties; he raised their hopes with the prospects of aid from France; and he sought by statements, often false, always exaggerated, to draw from Henry himself a public manifestation of his hostility to the intended marriage<sup>54</sup>.

Address to the  
queen,  
Oct. 30.

The commons, at the commencement of the second session, had been induced to vote an address to the queen, in which they prayed her to marry, that she might raise up successors to the throne, but to select her husband not from any foreign family, but from the nobility of her own realm. Noailles, who in his dispatches predicted the most beneficial result from this measure, took to himself the whole of the merit<sup>55</sup>. Mary, on the other hand, attributed it to the secret influence of Gardiner; who, having been outnumbered in the cabinet, sought to fortify himself with the aid of the commons. But the queen had inherited the resolution or obstinacy of her father. Opposition

<sup>53</sup> Je vous prie, Mons. de Noailles, comme ja je vous ay escript, fermer du tout les oreilles à tous ces gens passionnez, qui vous mettent partis en avant. The king to Noailles, Nov. 9th, p. 249. I suspect, however, that this was written merely for the purpose of being shewn to the queen, if events should render it necessary for the exculpation of Henry. For that prince, on Jan. 26, orders him to do exactly the contrary. Il faudra conforter soulz main les conducteurs des entreprises que scavez, le plus dextrement que faire se pourra: et s'eslargir plus ouvertment et fran-

chement parler avecques eulx que n'avez encores fait: en maniere qu'ilz mettent la main a l'œuvre, iii. 36.

<sup>54</sup> This is evident from many of his dispatches, p. 228, 302.

<sup>55</sup> Noailles, ii. 233. The emperor also attributed the address to Gardiner, and therefore wrote to Renard, puisque vous cognoissez les desseins du chancellier tendre à continuer sa pratique pour Courtenay. tant plus est il requis, que soyez soigneux à la contreminer, et lui gagner, si faire se peult, la volonté. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 89.

might strengthen, it could not shake her purpose. She declared that she would prove a match for all the cunning of the chancellor<sup>56</sup>; and, sending the very same night for the imperial ambassador, bad him follow her into her private oratory; where, on her knees at the foot of the altar, and before the sacrament, she first recited the hymn, *Veni creator spiritus*; and then called God to witness that she pledged her faith to Philip, prince of Spain, and while she lived, would never take any other man for her husband<sup>57</sup>.

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I.

Oct. 30.

Though this rash and uncalled-for promise was kept a profound secret, the subsequent language of the queen proved to the courtiers that she had taken her final resolution. The young earl of Devonshire, fallen from his hopes, abandoned himself to the guidance of his interested advisers. He was under the strongest obligations to Mary. She had liberated him from the prison to which he had been confined from his infancy by the jealousy of her father and brother: she had restored him to the forfeited honours and property of his family; and she had constantly treated him with distinction above all the nobility at her court. Inexperience may be pleaded in extenuation of his fault: but, if gratitude be a duty, he ought to have been the last person to engage in a conspiracy against his benefactress. Yet he listened to those who called themselves his friends, and urged him to the most criminal attempts. They proposed to commence with the murder of Arundel and Paget, the most powerful among the partisans of Philip. Perhaps, if *they* were removed, fear or persuasion might induce Mary to accept the offer of Courteney. Should she remain obstinate, he might, in defiance of her authority, marry

Courteney  
conspires  
against her.

Nov. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Griffet, xxviii.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. xx.

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Nov. 17.

Elizabeth, and repair with her to Devonshire and Cornwall, where the inhabitants were devoted to his family; and he would find the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, many other lords, and every naval and military adventurer, ready to join his standard<sup>58</sup>. But the discipline of the Tower was not calculated to impart to the mind that energy of character, that intrepidity in the hour of trial, which becomes a conspirator. Courteney had issued from his prison timid and cautious: though his ambition might applaud the scheme of his friends, he had not the courage to execute it; and a new plan was devised, that he should take the horses from the royal stables at Greenwich, as he was in the habit of doing for his pleasure, should ride to an appointed place, embark in a vessel lying in the river, and cross the sea to France: that the same night his adherents should assassinate Arundel and Paget, and hasten to Devonshire: and that the earl should rejoin them in that county, as soon as circumstances might require<sup>59</sup>. But Noailles, aware that the flight of Courteney would compromise his sovereign, opposed the project on the pretence that the moment he left the shores of England, he might bid adieu to the English crown. Other plans were suggested and discussed; but the timidity of the earl checked the eagerness of his advisers: he gladly took hold of some circumstances to conceive new expectations of the royal favour, and prevailed on his friends to suspend their efforts, till they were better apprised of the final determination of Mary<sup>60</sup>.

Nov. 24

Queen answers the address.

In the beginning of November the queen had suffered much

<sup>58</sup> Noailles, ii. 246. 254.

<sup>59</sup> Id. 258.

<sup>60</sup> Id. 271. On Dec. 1, Noailles informs his court, that though Elizabeth and Courteney are proper instruments to cause a rising, there is reason to suspect that nothing will

be done, on account of Courteney's timidity; who probably will let himself be taken before he will act; comme font ordinairement les Anglois, qui ne scavent jamais fuyr leur malheur, ny prevenir le peril de leur vie. Id. 289.



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from a malady to which she was annually subject: after her recovery it was believed that she continued to feign indisposition, for the purpose of postponing the unpleasant task imposed on her by the address of the commons. But in a few days she sent for the lower house: the speaker read the address; and when it was expected that the chancellor, according to custom, would answer in her name, she herself replied: that for their expressions of loyalty, and their desire that the issue of her body might succeed her on the throne, she sincerely thanked them: but in as much as they pretended to limit her in the choice of a husband, she thanked them not. The marriages of her predecessors had always been free: nor would she surrender a privilege which they had enjoyed. If it was a subject that interested the commons, it was one that interested her still more; and she would be careful in her choice, not only to provide for her own happiness, but, which was equally dear to her, for the happiness of her people. This answer was highly applauded by all present<sup>61</sup>. Nov. 17.

In the mean time Elizabeth remained at court, watched by the imperialists, and caressed by their opponents; one day terrified by the fear of a prison, and the next day flattered with the prospect of a crown. No pains were spared to create dissension between the royal sisters; to awaken jealousy in the one, alarm and resentment in the other. But Elizabeth explained away the charges against her, and Mary, by her conduct, belied the predictions of her enemies<sup>62</sup>. If she detained her

<sup>61</sup> Noailles, 269. Griffet, xxviii. It has been groundlessly supposed that the queen found the commons refractory, and on that account dissolved the parliament. In her letter to Pole, of Nov. 15, Mary tells him that the session could not be prolonged, *quæ latius prorogari non possunt*; but that she

would call another parliament in three months. Ep. Pol. iv. 119.

<sup>62</sup> Elizabeth was said to have received nocturnal visits from Noailles, which she convinced Mary to be false. Noailles, 309. On the other hand, she was told that Mary meant to declare her a bastard by act of par-

## CHAP.

## I.

Dec. 6.

sister at court till the dissolution of the parliament, she treated her with kindness and distinction; and at her departure dismissed her with marks of affection, and a present of two sets of large and valuable pearls<sup>63</sup>.

Imperial ambassadors to conclude the treaty.

1534.  
Jan. 2.

The emperor, at the suggestion of Paget, had written to six of the lords of the council, respecting the marriage of the queen: and Gardiner, convinced at length that to oppose was fruitless, consented to negotiate the treaty on such terms as he deemed requisite to secure the rights and liberties of the nation. The counts of Egmont and Lalain, the lord of Courrieres, and the sieur de Nigry, arrived as ambassadors extraordinary, and were admitted to audience in presence of the whole court. When they offered to Mary the prince of Spain for her husband, she replied, that it became not a female to speak in public on so delicate a subject as her own marriage: they were at liberty to confer with her ministers, who would make known her intentions; but this she would have them to bear in mind (fixing at the same time her eyes on the ring on her finger) that her realm was her first husband, and that no consideration should induce her to violate that faith, which she had pledged at the time of her coronation<sup>64</sup>.

Jan. 12.

The terms, which had been already discussed between the chancellor and the resident ambassador, were speedily settled; and it was stipulated that immediately on the marriage Philip and Mary should reciprocally assume the styles and titles of their respective dominions: that he should aid the queen in the government of the realm, saving its laws, rights, privileges, and customs, and preserving to her the full and free disposal of all

liament; and she was supposed to be in disgrace, because the queen *sometimes* gave the precedence in company to the countess of Lennox and the duchess of Suffolk, the

representatives of her aunts the Scottish and French queens. Noailles, 234, 273.

<sup>63</sup> Id. 309.

<sup>64</sup> Griffet, xxx.

benefices, offices, lands, revenues, and fruits which should not be granted to any but native subjects of the realm : that he should settle on her a jointure of 60,000 pounds, secured on landed property in Spain and the Netherlands ; that the issue by this marriage should succeed according to law to England and the territories belonging to the emperor in Burgundy and the Low Countries, and (failing don Carlos, the son of Philip, and the issue of don Carlos) to the kingdoms of Spain, Lombardy, and the two Sicilies ; and that Philip should promise upon oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges ; to exclude all foreigners from office in his court ; not to carry the queen abroad without her previous request, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility ; not to claim any right to the succession if he should survive his consort ; not to take from the kingdom ships, ammunition, or jewels belonging to the crown ; and lastly, not to engage the nation in the war between his father and the French monarch, but to preserve, as much as in him lay, the peace between England and France<sup>65</sup>.

As soon as the treaty was signed, the chancellor explained the articles to the lord mayor and aldermen ; and displayed, in an eloquent discourse, the many and valuable benefits which he anticipated from an union between their sovereign and a prince, the apparent heir to so many rich and powerful territories. The death of the queen without issue prevented the accomplishment of his predictions ; but he deserves praise for the solicitude with which he guarded the liberties of the nation against the possible attempts of a foreign prince on the throne : and to his honour it may be remarked, that when Elizabeth thought of marrying the duke of Anjou, she ordered her minis-

Jan. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Rym. xv. 377---381.



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ters to take this treaty, negotiated by Gardiner, for the model of their own.

The official annunciation of the marriage provoked its opponents to speak and act with greater freedom. They circulated the most incredible tales, and employed every artifice to kindle and inflame the public discontent. One day it was reported that Edward was still alive; the next, that an army of 8000 imperialists was coming to take possession of the ports, the Tower, and the fleet: the private character of Philip, and the national character of the Spaniards, were loaded with the imputation of every vice which could disgrace a prince or a people: of Mary herself it was said, that at her accession she had promised to make no change in religion, and to marry no foreigner; and that now, as she had broken her faith, she had forfeited her right to the crown. Among the leading conspirators some advised an immediate rising: the more prudent objected the severity of the weather, the impassable state of the roads, and the difficulty of collecting their followers, or of acting in concert in the midst of winter. They finally determined to wait for the arrival of Philip, who was expected in the spring; at the first news of his approach to arm and oppose his landing; to marry Courteney to the lady Elizabeth; to place them under the protection of the natives of Devonshire, and to proclaim them king and queen of England. Of any previous affection between the parties there appears no evidence; but Elizabeth had been taught that this marriage was her only resource against the suspicions of Mary and the malice of Philip: and the disappointment of Courteney induced him to consent to a measure which would bring the crown once more within his grasp. Noailles now flattered himself that he should infallibly reap the fruit of his intrigues, if he could only keep for a few days the weak and vacillating mind of the earl

Jan. 15.

firm to his engagements <sup>66</sup>. The representations of the ambassadors so wrought on the king of France, that he authorized him to give the conspirators hope of assistance, sent him the paltry sum of 5000 crowns for the relief of the more needy, and ordered the governors of his ports, and the officers of his navy, to give them such aid and countenance, as might not be deemed an open infraction of the peace between the two countries <sup>67</sup>.

The council, however, was not inattentive to the intrigues of the ambassador, or the designs of the factious. Paget had sent to admonish Elizabeth of her duty to the queen <sup>68</sup>, and Gardiner, in a private conference with Courteney, extracted the whole secret from his fears or simplicity <sup>69</sup>. The next day the conspirators learned that they had been betrayed: yet, surprised and unprepared as they were, they resolved to bid defiance to the royal authority: and Thomas, brother to the duke of Suffolk, exclaimed, that he would put himself in the place of Courteney, and stake his head against the crown <sup>70</sup>. They immediately departed, the duke to arm his tenants in Warwickshire, sir

CHAP.  
I.

Jan. 26.

Rising of the  
conspirators.

Jan. 21.

<sup>66</sup> Noailles, iii. 16, 17, 18. 22, 23. La-dicte dame Elizabeth est on peyne d'estre de si pres esclairée: ce qui n'est faict sans quelque raison: car je vous puis asseurer, sire, qu'elle desire fort de se mettre hors de tutelle; et a ce que j'entends, il ne tiendra que au milord de Courteney qu'il ne l'épouse, et qu'elle ne le suive jusques au pays de Dampchier (Devonshire),....ou ils seroient pour avoir une bonne part a ceste couronne.... Mais le malheur est tel que ledict de Courteney est en si grand crainte, qu'il n'ose rien entreprendre. Je ne veois moyen qui soit pour l'empeschier sinon la faulte de cuer. ii. 310.

<sup>67</sup> Id. iii. 36. This was in consequence of a dispatch, in which Noailles informed him that it was the plan of the conspirators to proclaim Courteney and Elizabeth: (ils deliberent d'eslever pour leur roy et royne milord de Courteney, et madame Elizabeth, iii. 23;)

and that they solicited for the purpose pecuniary aid from France. See the passage in the original, which is omitted in the printed copies, MSS. i. 273.

<sup>68</sup> It was occasioned by information given by the officers of her household, that a stranger, calling himself a pastor of the French church, had, during the last month, had several conferences with her. It was suspected that he was an agent of the disaffected: and a motion was made, to confine the princess for greater security. But the queen would not listen to it. Griffet, xxv.

<sup>69</sup> Noailles, iii. 31. 43.

<sup>70</sup> Qu'il est deliberé de tenir son lieu, qu'il fault qu'il soit roy ou pendu, Noailles, iii. 48. As late as January 26, Noailles writes: toutes choses, graces a Dieu, sont en bon chemin: et bientost j'espere que vous, sire, en aurez d'autres nouvelles, iii. 45.



CHAP.  
I.

Jan. 25.

Jan. 26.

James Croft to raise the borderers of Wales, and sir Thomas Wyatt to put himself at the head of the discontented in Kent. Courteney remained near the queen, making a parade of his loyalty, but mistrusted and despised. It was the wish of the conspirators, that Elizabeth should retire from the vicinity of the metropolis to Dunnington castle. A letter to her, from Wyatt, recommending an immediate removal, was intercepted by the council; and Mary sent her an order to return to the court, under the pretence that, at Dunnington, she would be unprotected, and at the mercy of the insurgents. It was in vain that Croft, in person, urged the recommendation of Wyatt. She neither followed his advice, nor obeyed the order of the queen, but alleging indisposition, remained at Ashridge, where, shutting himself up in her chamber, she ordered her servants to fortify the house, and called upon her friends to arm in her defence<sup>71</sup>.

In calculating the probability of success, the conspirators had been misled by the late revolution. With the exception of the duke of Suffolk and his brothers, they reckoned among them no

<sup>71</sup> At the departure of the conspirators Elizabeth left her residence for Ashridge, thirty miles farther off, Noailles, iii. 44. Here Croft exhorted her to go on to Dunnington, Fox, iii. 794. Wyatt's intercepted letter, to the same effect, was acknowledged by him at his trial, Howell's State Trials, i. 863. Mary's letter, to recall her to London, is in Strype, iii. 83. and Hearne, 154. That Elizabeth fortified her house at Ashridge, and assembled armed men, is stated by Noailles, January 26, ou, comme on dict, se faiet desja assemblée de gens à sa devotion, iii. 44. and by Renard, in his letter to the emperor: Elizabeth faisoit gens de guerre—elle se fortifie en sa maison, ou elle est malade, Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 287. 289. She was afterwards examined respecting her reasons for wishing to go to Dunnington: at first she affected not to know that she had such a house, or that she had ever spoken with any

one on the subject: but when sir James Croft was produced before her, she said: "I do remember that master Hobby and mine officers, and you, sir James, had such talk: but what is that to the purpose, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times." Sir James, after expressing his sorrow to be a witness against her, falling on his knees, said, "I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge." Fox, iii. 794. And yet, Noailles, in his despatch of January 23, reckons him among the chiefs, "les entrepreneurs," who were not dispirited, though their secret had been betrayed, Noailles, iii. 31. The reader must excuse the length and frequency of these notes. They are necessary to support a narrative, which might otherwise be attributed to the imagination or the partiality of the writer.



firm to his engagements<sup>66</sup>. The representations of the ambassador so wrought on the king of France, that he authorized him to give the conspirators hope of assistance, sent him the paltry sum of 5000 crowns for the relief of the more needy, and ordered the governors of his ports, and the officers of his navy, to give them such aid and countenance, as might not be deemed an open infraction of the peace between the two countries<sup>67</sup>.

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James Croft to raise the borderers of Wales, and sir Thomas Wyatt to put himself at the head of the discontented in Kent. Courteney remained near the queen, making a parade of his loyalty, but mistrusted and despised. It was the wish of the conspirators, that Elizabeth should retire from the vicinity of the metropolis to Dunnington castle. A letter to her, from Wyatt, recommending an immediate removal, was intercepted by the council; and Mary sent her an order to return to the court, under the pretence that, at Dunnington, she would be unprotected, and at the mercy of the insurgents. It was in vain that Croft, in person, urged the recommendation of Wyatt. She neither followed his advice, nor obeyed the order of the queen, but alleging indisposition, remained at Ashbridge where, shutting herself up in her chamber, she ordered her servants to fortify the house, and called upon her friends to arm in her defence<sup>71</sup>.

In calculating the probability of success, the conspirators had been misled by the late revolution. With the exception of the duke of Suffolk and his brothers, they reckoned among them no

<sup>71</sup> At the departure of the conspirators Elizabeth left her residence for Ashbridge, thirty miles farther off, Noailles, iii. 44. Here Croft exhorted her to go on to Dunnington, Fox, iii. 794. Wyatt's intercepted letter, to the same effect, was acknowledged by him at his trial, Howell's State Trials, i. 863. Mary's letter, to recal her to London, is in Strype, iii. 83. and Hearne, 154. That Elizabeth fortified her house at Ashbridge, and assembled armed men, is stated by Noailles, January 26, ou, comme on dict, se faict desja assembleé de gens à sa devotion, iii. 44. and by Renard, in his letter to the emperor: Elizabeth faisoit gens de guerre --- elle se fortifie en sa maison, ou elle est malade, Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 287. 289. She was afterwards examined respecting her reasons for wishing to go to Dunnington: at first she affected not to know that she had such a house, or that she had ever spoken with any

one on the subject: but when sir James Croft was produced before her, she said: "I do remember that master Hobby and mine officers, and you, sir James, had such talk: but what is that to the purpose, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times." Sir James, after expressing his sorrow to be a witness against her, falling on his knees, said, "I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge." Fox, iii. 794. And yet, Noailles, in his despatch of January 23, reckons him among the chiefs, "les entrepreneurs," who were not dispirited, though their secret had been betrayed, Noailles, iii. 31. The reader must excuse the length and frequency of these notes. They are necessary to support a narrative, which might otherwise be attributed to the imagination or the partiality of the writer.

individual of illustrious name or extensive influence : but they had persuaded themselves, that the nation unanimously condemned the Spanish match, and that, as public opinion had recently driven Jane, so it would now, with equal facility, drive Mary from the throne. The experience of a few days dispelled the illusion. 1°. The men of Devonshire, on whose attachment to the house of Courteney so much reliance had been placed, were the first to undeceive them. Sir Peter Carew, with Gibbs, and Champenham, the appointed leaders, having waited in vain for the arrival of the recreant earl, assembled the citizens of Exeter, and proposed to them to sign an address to the queen. It stated that the object of the Spaniards, in coming to England, was to oppress the natives, to live at free quarters, and to violate the honour of the females : that every Englishman was ready to sacrifice his life before he would submit to such tyranny : and that they had, therefore, taken up arms to resist the landing of the foreigners, if they should approach the western coast. But the people shewed no disposition to comply : and, on the arrival of the earl of Bedford, a few were apprehended ; the rest sought an asylum in France. 2°. Though Sir James Croft reached his estates on the borders of Wales, he was closely followed, and, before he could raise his tenants, was made prisoner in his bed. 3°. The duke of Suffolk was equally unfortunate. Of his disaffection no suspicion had been entertained. Instead of suffering with Northumberland on the scaffold, he had been permitted, after a detention of only three days in the Tower, to retire to his own house : the clemency of the queen had preserved him from the forfeiture of his property and honours : his duchess had been received at court with a distinction which excited the jealousy of Elizabeth : and Suffolk himself had given to Mary repeated



## CHAP.

## I.

Jan. 25.

assurances of his attachment to her person, and of his approbation of her marriage. But, under these appearances, he concealed far different sentiments. A precisian in point of religion, a disciple of the most stern and uncompromising among the reformed teachers, he deemed it a duty to risk his life, and the fortune of his family, in the support of the new doctrines. With his brothers, the lords John and Thomas Grey, and fifty followers, he left Shene for his estates in Warwickshire. To me, it seems uncertain, whether he meant, with the other conspirators, to set up the lady Elizabeth as the competitor of Mary, or to revive the claim of his daughter, the lady Jane<sup>72</sup>. In the towns through which he passed, he called on the inhabitants to rise, like their brethren in the south, and to arm in defence of their liberties, which had been betrayed to the Spaniards. They listened with apathy to his eloquence, and refused the money which he scattered among them: the earl of Huntingdon, once his fellow-prisoner in the Tower, pursued him, by command of the queen: and a trifling skirmish, in the neighbourhood of Coventry, convinced him that he was no match for the forces of his adversary. He bade his followers reserve themselves for a more favourable opportunity; and trusted himself to the fidelity of a tenant, of the name of Underwood, who, through the fear of punishment, or the hope of reward, betrayed him to his pursuers. In less than a fortnight from his departure, he was an inmate of the Tower<sup>73</sup>.

Wyat in Kent.

It was in Kent, only, that the insurrection assumed a formidable appearance, under the direction of sir Thomas Wyatt. If we may believe his own assertion, he ought not to be charged

<sup>72</sup> The last is asserted by Thuanus, tom. i. of the lady Elizabeth, Noailles, iii. 48.

par. ii. p. 449. Stow, 622. Heylin, 165—<sup>73</sup> Griffet, xxxii. Lodge, i. 187. Stow, 203. I am inclined to doubt it, because 618. Hollins. 1094, 1095. Noailles describes his brother as a partisan

with the origin of the conspiracy. It was formed without his knowledge, and was first communicated to him by the earl of Devonshire: but he engaged in it with cheerfulness, under the persuasion that the marriage of the queen with Philip, would be followed by the death of the lady Elizabeth, and by the subversion of the national liberties. By the apostacy of Courteney, he became one of the principals in the insurrection: and while his associates, by their presumption and weakness, proved themselves unequal to the attempt, he excited the applause of his very adversaries, by the secrecy and address with which he organized the rising, and by the spirit and perseverance with which he conducted the enterprise<sup>74</sup>. The moment he drew the sword, fifteen hundred armed men assembled around him: while five thousand others remained at their homes, ready, at the first toll of the alarum-bell, to crowd to his standard. He fixed his head-quarters in the old and ruinous castle of Rochester: a squadron of five sail, in the Thames, under his secret associate Winter, supplied him with cannon and ammunition: and batteries were erected to command the passage of the bridge, and the opposite bank of the river. Yet fortune did not appear to favour his first attempts. Sir Robert Southwell dispersed a party of insurgents under Knevet: the lord Abergavenny defeated a large reinforcement led by Isley, another of the conspirators: and the citizens of Canterbury rejected his entreaties, and derided his threats. It required all his address to keep his followers together. Though he boasted of the succours which he daily expected from France, though he circulated reports of successful risings in other parts of the country, the leading insurgents began to waver: many sent to the council offers to

Jan. 24.

<sup>74</sup> Howell's State Trials, i. Noailles calls *asseuré de quoy j'aye jamais ouy parler*, iii. Wyat, *ung gentilhomme le plus vaillant*, et 59.

CHAP.  
I.

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return to their duty, on condition of pardon : and there is reason to believe, that the main force under Wyat would have dissolved of itself, had it been suffered to remain a few days longer in a state of inactivity<sup>75</sup>.

Defeats the  
royalists.

Jan. 26.

But the duke of Norfolk had already marched from London, with a detachment of guards, under the command of sir Henry Jerningham. He was immediately followed by 500 Londoners, led by captain Bret, and was afterwards joined by the sheriff of Kent with the bands of the county. This force was far inferior in number to the enemy ; and, what was of more disastrous consequence, some of its leaders were in secret league with Wyat. The duke having in vain made an offer of pardon, ordered the bridge to be forced. The troops were already in motion, when Bret, who led the van, halted his column, and raising his sword, exclaimed, “ Masters, we are going to fight in an unholy quarrel against our “ friends and countrymen, who seek only to preserve us from the “ dominion of foreigners. Wherefore I think that no English “ heart should oppose them, and am resolved for my own part “ to shed my blood in the cause of this worthy captain, master “ Wyat.” This address was seconded by Brian Fitzwilliam : shouts of “ a Wyat, a Wyat,” burst from the ranks : and the Londoners, instead of advancing against the rebels, faced about to oppose the royalists. At that moment Wyat himself joined them at the head of his cavalry ; and the duke, with his principal officers, apprehending a general defection, fled towards Gravesend. Seven pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the insurgents : their ranks were recruited from the deserters ; and the whole body, confident of victory, began their march in the direction of London<sup>76</sup>.

Jan. 29.

<sup>75</sup> Noailles, iii. 46, 47. Lodge, i. 187.  
Cont. of Fabian, 558. Hollins, 1023. 1095.

<sup>76</sup> Noailles, the day before the event, informed his sovereign of the intended deser-



This unexpected result revealed to the queen the alarming secret that the conspiracy had pushed its branches into the very heart of the metropolis. Every precaution was immediately taken for the security of the court, the Tower and the city: the bridges for fifteen miles were broken down, and the boats secured on the opposite bank of the river: the neighbouring peers received orders to raise their tenantry, and hasten to the protection of the royal person; and a reward of £100 per annum in land was offered for the apprehension of Wyatt. That chieftain now reckoned fifteen thousand men under his standard. He had already reached Deptford; and a message from the ministers, inquiring into the extent of his demands, betrayed their diffidence, and added to his presumption. In the court and the council-room, nothing was to be heard but expressions of mistrust and apprehension: some blamed the precipitancy of Gardiner in the change of religion; some the interested policy of the advisers of the Spanish match; and the imperial ambassadors, with the exception of Renard, fearing for their lives, escaped in some merchant vessels lying in the river<sup>77</sup>. The queen alone appeared firm and collected; she betrayed no symptom of fear, no doubt of the result; she ordered her ministers to provide the means of defence, and undertook to fix, by her confidence and address, the wavering loyalty of the Londoners<sup>78</sup>. The lord mayor had called an extraordinary meeting of the citizens; and, at three in the afternoon, Mary, with the sceptre in her hand, and accompanied by her ladies and officers of state, entered

Jan. 30.

Feb. 1.

Queen's  
speech in the  
Guildhall.

Feb. 2.

tion of the officers of the Londoners. De ceux la mesme, selon que le bruit en court, les principaulx capitaines des gens de pied se tourneront vers icelles, quand ce viendra au besoin. iii. 47.

<sup>77</sup> Noailles, iii. 53. Griffet, xxx. iii.

<sup>78</sup> So says Renard, *ibid.* and a writer among Poli epis. Tu, cæteris tam repentino tuo pe-

riculo perturbatis, animo ipsa minime fracta ac debilitata es, sed ita te gessisti, &c. tom. v. App. 332. Noailles, on the contrary, says: Je me deliberay en cape de veoir de quel visage elle et sa compagnie y alloient, que je cogneus estre aussy triste et desplorée qu'il se peult penser. iii. 51.

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I.

the Guildhall. She was received with every demonstration of respect: and in a firm and dignified tone, complained of the disobedience and insolence of the men of Kent. At first the leaders had condemned her intended marriage with the prince of Spain: now they had betrayed their real design. They demanded the custody of her person, the appointment of her council, and the command of the Tower. Their object was to obtain the exercise of the royal authority, and to abolish the national worship. But she was convinced that her people loved her too well, to surrender her into the hands of rebels. "As for this marriage," she continued, "ye shall understand that I enterprised not the doing thereof, without the advice of all our privy council: nor am I, I assure ye, so bent to my own will, or so affectionate, that for my own pleasure I would choose where I lust, or needs must have a husband. I have hitherto lived a maid; and doubt nothing, but with God's grace I am able to live so still. Certainly, did I think that this marriage were to the hurt of you my subjects, or to the impeachment of my royal estate, I would never consent thereunto. And I promise you, on the word of a queen, that if it shall not appear to the lords and commons in parliament, to be for the benefit of the whole realm, I will never marry while I live. Wherefore stand fast against these rebels, your enemies and mine; fear them not, for, I assure ye, I fear them nothing at all: and I will leave with you my lord Howard and my lord admiral, who will be assistant with the mayor for your defence." With these words she departed; the hall rang with acclamations; and by the next morning more than twenty thousand men had enrolled their names for the protection of the city<sup>79</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> Hollins. 1096. Noailles, iii. 52. 66. Fox, Fox adds, "she seemed to have perfectly iii. 25. She spoke with so much ease, that "conned it without book." Ibid.

That day Wyatt entered Southwark. But his followers had dwindled to seven thousand men, and were hourly diminishing. No succours had arrived from France: no insurrection had burst forth in any other county: and the royal army was daily strengthened by reinforcements. The batteries erected on the walls of the Tower compelled him to leave Southwark<sup>80</sup>: but he had by this time arranged a plan with some of the reformers in the city, to surprise Ludgate an hour before sunrise: and for that purpose directed his march towards Kingston. Feb. 6. Thirty feet of the bridge had been destroyed: but he swam across the river, procured a boat from the bank, and returning, laboured with a few associates at the repairs, while his men refreshed themselves in the town. At eleven at night the insurgents passed the bridge; at Brentford they drove in the advance post of the royalists: but an hour was lost in repairing the carriage of a cannon, and, as it became too late for Wyatt to keep his appointment at Ludgate, the chief of his advisers abandoned him in despair. Among these were Poinet, the protestant bishop of Winchester, who now hastened to the continent; and sir George Harper, who rode to St. James's, and announced the approach and expectations of Wyatt. Feb. 7. He arrived about two hours after midnight: the palace was instantly filled with alarm: the boldness of the attempt gave birth to reports of treason in the city and the court: and the ministers on their knees, particularly the chancellor, conjured the queen to provide for her own safety, by retiring into the Tower. But Mary scorned the timidity of her advisers: from the earl of Pembroke and lord Clinton she received assurances that they would do their duty: and

<sup>80</sup> Here his followers had pillaged the house of Gardiner, and destroyed the books in his library, "so that a man might have gone up " to the knees in the leaves of books, cut out " and thrown under foot." Stow, 619.



## CHAP.

## L

in return she announced her fixed determination to remain at her post. In a council of war it was decided to place a strong force at Ludgate, to permit the advance of Wyatt, and then to press on him from every quarter, and to enclose him like a wild beast in the toils<sup>81</sup>.

He is made  
prisoner.

At four in the morning the drum beat to arms; and in a few hours the royalists, under Pembroke and Clinton, amounted to ten thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. The hill opposite St. James's, was occupied with a battery of cannon, and a strong squadron of horse: lower down, and nearer to Charing Cross, were posted two divisions of infantry; and several smaller parties were detached to different points in the vicinity. About nine, Wyatt reached Hyde Park Corner. Many of his followers had shrunk away in the darkness of the night: the rest were appalled at the sight of the formidable array before their eyes. But their leader saw that to recede must be his ruin: he still relied on the co-operation of the conspirators and reformers in the city: and after a short cannonade, seizing a standard, rushed forward to charge the cavalry. They opened; allowed three or four hundred men to pass; and closing, cut off the communication between them and the main body. The insurgents, separated from their leader, did not long sustain the unequal contest: about one hundred were killed, great numbers wounded, and four hundred made prisoners. Wyatt paid no attention to the battle which raged behind his back. Intent on his purpose, he hastened through Piccadilly, insulted the gates

<sup>81</sup> Griffet, xxxv. Cum tui te hortando et obsecrando urgere non desisterent, ut in arcem te reciperes, ne tum quidem ullius timoris signum dedisti. Pol. ep. tom. v. App. 332. "It was more than marvel to see that day the invincible heart and constancy of the

"queen." Hollins. 1098. Renard says that she shewed, tel coeur qu'elle dit ne se vouloir retirer, si le comte de Pembroke et Clinton vouloient faire leur devoir, et incontinent envoya devers eux, qui la suppliarent ne bouger. Renard's MSS. iii. 287.

of the palace, and proceeded towards the city. No molestation was offered by the armed bands stationed on each side of the street. At Ludgate he knocked, and demanded admittance, "for the queen had granted all his petitions."—"Avaunt, traitor," exclaimed from the gallery the lord William Howard, "thou shalt have no entrance here." Disappointed and confounded, he retraced his steps, till he came opposite the inn called the Bel Savage. There he halted a few minutes. To the spectators he seemed absorbed in thought: but he was quickly aroused by the shouts of the combatants, and with forty companions continued to fight his way back, till he reached Temple Bar. He found it occupied by a strong detachment of horse; whatever way he turned, fresh bodies of royalists poured upon him: and Norroy king at arms advancing, exhorted him to spare the blood of his friends, and to yield himself a prisoner. After a moment's pause he threw away his sword, and surrendered to sir Maurice Berkely; who carried him first to the court, and thence to the Tower. There, in the course of a few hours, he was rejoined by the chief of the surviving conspirators. The nobility and gentry crowded to St. James's to offer their congratulations to the queen; who thanked them in warm terms for their loyalty and courage. Two were excepted, Courteney and the young earl of Worcester; who, on the first advance of the enemy, through timidity or disaffection, had turned the heads of their horses and fled, exclaiming that all was lost<sup>82</sup>.

At the termination of the former conspiracy, the queen had permitted but three persons to be put to death, an instance of

<sup>82</sup> Stow, 620—622. Strype, iii. 89. Noailles, iii. 59. 64—69. Courtenay et le Comte d'Orcestre pour leur premiere guerre se retirerent arriere contre la cour, sans coup frapper, et dirent que tout estoit perdu, que la vic-

toire estoit aux enemys.... Il (Courtenay) montra ce qu'il avoit dans le cueur, dont ladite dame est fort irritée. Renard's MSS. iii. 289.

CHAP.

I.

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Execution of  
Jane Grey  
and her hus-  
band.

Feb. 8.

Feb. 12.

clemency, considering all the circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages. But the policy of her conduct had been severely arraigned both by the emperor and some of her own counsellors. Impunity, they argued, would encourage the factious to a repetition of their offence; men ought to be taught by the punishment of the guilty, that if they presume to brave the authority of the sovereign, it must be at the peril of their lives and fortunes. Mary now began to admit the truth of these maxims: she condemned her former lenity as the cause of the recent insurrection; and while her mind was still agitated with the remembrance of her danger, was induced to sign, on the morrow of the action at Temple Bar, a warrant for the execution of "Guilford Dudley and his wife," at the expiration of three days. On the fatal morning, permission was granted them to take a last farewell; but Jane refused the indulgence, saying, that in a few hours they should meet in heaven. From the window of her cell she saw her husband led to execution, and beheld his bleeding corpse brought back to the chapel. *He* had been beheaded on Tower-hill, in sight of an immense multitude; *she*, on account of her royal descent, was spared the ignominy of a public execution. With a firm step and cheerful countenance she mounted the scaffold, which had been erected on the green within the Tower; acknowledged in a few words to the spectators her crime in having consented to the treason of Northumberland, though she was not one of the original conspirators; expressed her confidence of being saved through the sole merits of Christ; and having repeated a psalm with Feckenham, formerly abbot of Westminster, laid her head on the block. At one stroke it was severed from the body<sup>83</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> Fox, iii. 29. Hollins. 1099. Noailles, said to be the productions of this unfortunate lady. They breathe a contempt of death, iii. 125. Fox has published several letters



Her life had before been spared as a pledge for the loyalty of the house of Suffolk. That pledge was indeed forfeited by the rebellion of the duke, but it would perhaps have been to the honour of Mary if she had overlooked the provocation, and refused to visit on the daughter the guilt of the father. Her youth ought to have pleaded most powerfully in her favour: and, if it were feared that she would again be set up by the factious as a competitor with her sovereign, the danger might certainly have been removed by some expedient less cruel than the infliction of death.

The chief of the conspirators had been conveyed to the Tower, to abide their trials; against the common men, who had been taken in the field, it was determined to proceed by martial law. About fifty of those who had deserted with Bret, were hanged in different parts of the metropolis: half a dozen suffered in Kent; and the remainder, amounting to four hundred, were led to the palace with halters round their necks. Mary appeared at a balcony, pronounced their pardon, and bade them return in peace to their homes<sup>84</sup>.

Other executions.

Feb. 14, 15.

Feb. 20.

Most of the prisoners in the Tower, on the expression of their sorrow, obtained their discharge. Of six, who were brought to the bar, sir Nicholas Throckmorton alone pleaded his cause with success. There can be little doubt that he was deeply engaged in the conspiracy: but he claimed the benefit of the recent statute, abolishing all treasons created since the reign of Edward III.; contended, against the decision of the judges, that words could not constitute an overt act; and convinced the jury that

sublime sentiments of piety, and a profound hatred of the ancient creed, expressed in the most bitter language against its professors. It is, however, difficult to believe them the compositions of a young woman of seventeen.

<sup>84</sup> Noailles and Renard represent the sufferers as more numerous; but our own writers, who could not be mistaken, agree in the number mentioned in the text.

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I.

no evidence had been adduced to shew that he had been an active accomplice of the rebels. He saved his life; but a verdict, returned in opposition to the declared opinion of the bench, was in those days a novelty, which drew the vengeance of the court on the jurors. All were committed. Some made their submission: the others were fined, and discharged <sup>85</sup>.

Feb. 23.

Of the five conspirators who had received judgment, Croft obtained a pardon. 1°. The duke of Suffolk fell unpitied. His ingratitude to the queen, his disregard of his daughter's safety, and his meanness in seeking to purchase forgiveness by the accusation of others, had sharpened the public indignation against him. 2°. He was followed to the block by his brother the lord Thomas Grey, a nobleman of equal ambition and greater courage, whose influence over the duke was unbounded, and who was believed to have drawn him into this unfortunate enterprise. 3°. William Thomas had been private secretary to Edward VI. Discontent and fanaticism had urged him to the most daring attempts: he was convicted of a design to murder the queen; and, though he stabbed himself in his prison, expired on the scaffold. 4°. To these must be added the great supporter of the insurrection, sir Thomas Wyatt: but his weak and wavering conduct in the Tower provoked a suspicion that he had little claim to that firmness of mind for which he had before obtained credit. These executions have induced some writers to charge Mary with unnecessary cruelty; perhaps those, who compare her with her contemporaries in similar circumstances, will hesitate to subscribe to that opinion. If, on this occasion, sixty of the insurgents were sacrificed to her justice or resentment, we shall find in the history of the next reign that, after a rebellion of a

<sup>85</sup> Hollins. 1126. State Trials, i. 869—900.

less formidable aspect, some hundreds of victims were required to appease the offended majesty of Elizabeth <sup>86</sup>.

Both that princess and the earl of Devonshire, as the reader will recollect, had, some weeks before, been apprized of the design of the conspirators, and had given to it a tacit, if not a verbal assent. Of this it is probable that Mary knew nothing. But the refusal of the former to join her sister during the insurrection, and the flight of the latter at the very commencement of the conflict, had awakened suspicion: and that suspicion was converted almost into certainty by three intercepted dispatches of the French ambassador, written in the month of January <sup>87</sup>. Courteney was apprehended at the house of the earl of Suffolk, and committed to the Tower; and Hastings, Southwell, and Cornwallis, members of the council, received a commission to repair to Ashbridge, and to conduct Elizabeth to the court. She received them in bed, complaining of a painful and dangerous malady: but two physicians having attested that she was able to travel, she reluctantly accompanied them by short stages to London, and made her entrance, not as a prisoner, but in state, riding in a litter, and attended by two hundred gentlemen in scarlet. She appeared pale and bloated, and reports were even circulated that she had been poisoned, and could not recover; but within a week she was well, and demanded an audience of the queen. An answer was returned, that she must first establish her innocence <sup>88</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.

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Arrest of Elizabeth and Courteney.

<sup>86</sup> If we look at the conduct of the government after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, we shall not find that the praise of superior lenity is due to more modern times.

<sup>87</sup> Gardiner at the very commencement of the insurrection had intercepted these dispatches, dated on the 26th, 28th, and 30th of January. They were written in cipher,

the secret of which the ambassador flattered himself would not be discovered. Noailles, 91. 133, 134. It appears, however, from Renard's letters to the emperor, that Noailles was deceived. Renard's MSS. iii. 286. Griffet, xxxvii.

<sup>88</sup> Noailles, 88. 100. Griffet, xxxvii. Fox, 792. Strype, iii. 150.



## CHAP.

## I.

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Evidence  
against them.

By this time a considerable mass of presumptive evidence both against the princess and against Courteney had been collected from intercepted letters, and from the depositions of the prisoners in the Tower. The council was in possession of two notes sent by Wyatt to Elizabeth: the first advising her to remove to Dunnington, the second informing her of his victorious entry into Southwark; the three dispatches of the French ambassador had been deciphered, and had disclosed the plans of the conspirators in her favour: and a most important letter, or copy of a letter, supposed to have been written by her to the king of France, had by some unknown means found its way into the hands of the queen. The duke of Suffolk declared that the object of the insurrection was the dethronement of Mary, and the succession of Elizabeth. William Thomas added, that it was resolved to put the queen immediately to death. Wyatt acknowledged that he had written more than once to the princess: and, on his confrontation with Courteney, charged that nobleman with having first suggested the insurrection, and with being as real a traitor as himself. Croft confessed that he had solicited Elizabeth to retire to Dunnington: lord Russell that he had privately conveyed to her letters from Wyatt: and another prisoner that had been privy to a correspondence between Courteney and Carew, after the rising in Devonshire<sup>89</sup>. Though both declared their innocence, Gardiner maintained in the council that the evidence would justify their imprisonment in the Tower: the queen asked each lord in succession to take upon himself the custody of her sister in his own house: and, when all had declined the dangerous and ungracious office, a warrant was made out for her committal. Elizabeth received the

<sup>89</sup> Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 287. Griffet, iii. 120. 141. and by Fox, 794. See note xxxvii, xxxix. 89. He is confirmed by Noailles, 71.

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intelligence with terror; she insisted on seeing the queen; she maintained with oaths and curses that she had never received any letter from Wyatt, had never written to the king of France, nor ever consented to any device which might endanger the life or crown of her sovereign. But she was compelled to submit, and took possession of her cell, under the conviction, that in a few days she would have to suffer the fate of her mother <sup>90</sup>.

The emperor from Brussels, and the imperial faction in the council, strongly urged the expediency of bringing her to trial and execution: she was saved by the firmness of one, who has been often, but falsely, described as thirsting for her blood. Gardiner, while he pleaded the cause of Elizabeth and Courteney, acknowledged that both had been privy to the design of the rebels; that they would willingly have accepted the crown, had the insurrection proved successful; and that they both deserved punishment for the treason which they had cherished in their hearts: but he contended that they had not implicated themselves by any overt act; and that there was no sufficient evidence to include them within the letter of the law. His enemies grasped at the opportunity to ruin him in the estimation of the queen. They objected that he still retained his former partiality for Courteney and his adherents: that he had secretly sent instructions to the earl to prepare him for examination: and that he had refused to hear witnesses, who would have clearly established the guilt, both of that nobleman and of Elizabeth. Though

They are  
saved by Gar-  
diner.

May 17.

" "To this present hower," she says, "I pro-  
" test afore God (who shal juge my trueth,  
" whatsoever malice shal devise) that I never  
" practised, conciled, nor consented to any  
" thinge, that might be prejudicial to your par-  
" son any way, or dangerous to the state by any  
" mene.—As for the traitor Wyatt, he might  
" paraventur writ me a lettare: but on my faith

" I never received any from him; and as for  
" the copie of my lettare sent to the French.  
" kinge, I pray God confound me eternally, if  
" ever I sent him word, message, token, or let-  
" tar by any menes;—and to this my trueth I  
" wil stand in to my dethe." Neve on Philips,  
App. No. II.

## CHAP.

## I.

May 18.

May 19.

May 28.

Queen's conduct to Noailles.

Mary was irritated against the two prisoners, she was willing to listen to reason. Gardiner convinced her that he had been faithful in the discharge of his duty, and was correct in his exposition of the law: she compelled Paget, his chief adversary, to ask him pardon: and the next day Elizabeth was released from the Tower<sup>91</sup>. The imperial ambassador, in obedience to his instructions, then suggested that she might be sent to reside in the court at Brussels: but his advice was overruled; and the lord Williams of Taine, and sir Henry Bedingfield, conducted her to the palace of Woodstock. A few days later Courteney was transferred from the Tower to Fotheringhay castle<sup>92</sup>.

Another subject of discussion was the conduct to be observed in relation to Noailles, whose clandestine intrigues with the con-

<sup>91</sup> Noailles had heard of this division in the council. In his letter of the 18th, he foretold the ruin of the chancellor; in that of the 19th, he was compelled to relate his triumph. But being in disgrace with the queen and her ministers, he was unable to discover the cause of the quarrel, which he supposed to be respecting matters of religion. Noailles, iii. 219. 225. The real fact is related by Renard in his dispatches, apud Griffet, xl. xli. xliii.

<sup>92</sup> When prisoners, to save their own lives, accuse others, their depositions are not, separately, more worthy of credit than the contrary assertions of the accused. On both sides there is the same motive for falsehood. But in the present case the charge against Elizabeth and Courteney is confirmed by several dispatches of Noailles, written in the months of December and January, immediately preceding the rebellion. To his evidence, in his statements to his own sovereign, little objection can be made.—It has, indeed, been said that Wyatt, at his death, declared both the prisoners innocent. But a little reflection will shew that nothing can be deduced from the words and conduct of Wyatt. 1<sup>o</sup>. He visited Courteney, and remained with him

half an hour in his cell. If we believe the sheriffs, he asked Courteney's pardon for having accused him: if we believe lord Chandois, who was also present, he exhorted him to confess his offence. It is plain, that from such contradictory statements, nothing certain can be elicited. 2<sup>o</sup>. It was rumoured, that on the scaffold, he pronounced both the prisoners innocent. This was reported by Noailles to his court; but two persons who had propagated the same story in the city, were put in the pillory, for spreading false intelligence.—His words are said to have been: "where it is noised abroad that I should accuse the lady Elizabeth, and the lord Courteney, it is not so, good people; for I assure you neither they, nor any other now yonder, in hold, was privy of my rising before I began, as I have declared no less to the queen's council; and that is most true." It may certainly be true; for he rose unexpectedly, six weeks before the time originally fixed upon. But Dr. Weston immediately said, "mark this, my masters, that that which he hath shown to the council of them in writing, is true." Wyatt made no reply. Was not this silence equivalent to an acknowledgment? See Stow, 624.



spirators had been by them betrayed to the council. Renard maintained to the queen, that, by fomenting a rebellion within the realm, he had forfeited the privilege of an ambassador: that he ought to be sent out of England, or put under arrest, till the pleasure of his sovereign was known; and that the king of France should be informed, that if the culprit had been treated with so much lenity, it was not through any doubt of his guilt, but through respect for him whose representative he had been. But to the majority of the council this measure appeared too bold and hazardous. It might lead to a war, which it was their object to avoid: and they determined to connive at his past, and to watch his subsequent conduct. Mary, however, who knew the secret enmity of the man, could ill disguise her feelings: and on more than one occasion answered him with an asperity of language, of the real cause of which he appears not to have been aware<sup>98</sup>. The Venetian ambassador, who had seconded the attempts of Noailles, was recalled by the senate.

The rebellion had suspended, for a few weeks, the proceedings relative to the queen's marriage; but in the beginning of March the count Egmont returned from Brussels with the ratification of the treaty on the part of the emperor. On an appointed day the lords of the council accompanied Mary to her private oratory; and the count was introduced by the lord admiral, and the earl of Pembroke. The queen, having knelt before the altar, said, that she took this solemn occasion to express her mind in their presence, and to call on God to witness the truth of her words. She had not determined to marry through dislike of celibacy, nor had she chosen the prince of Spain through respect of kindred. In the one and the other, her chief object had been

Ratification of  
the treaty of  
marriage

March 10.

<sup>98</sup> Griffet, xxxviii.

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I.

to promote the honour of her crown, and to secure the tranquillity of her realm. To her people she had pledged her faith on the day of her coronation; it was her firm resolve to redeem that pledge: nor would she ever permit affection for her husband to seduce her from the performance of this, the first, the most sacred of her duties. After this address she exchanged the ratification of the treaty with the ambassador: he espoused her in the name of the prince of Spain: and she put on her finger a valuable ring, sent by the emperor as a present from his son<sup>94</sup>.

Proceedings  
of parliament.  
April 2.

The parliament had been summoned to meet at Oxford, but was transferred to Westminster, apparently at the request of the citizens. The chief object of the queen was to silence the arguments of the insurgents by the authority of the legislature. 1<sup>o</sup>. The cause of the lady Jane had been espoused by many of the reformed preachers. They had then no objection to a female sovereign. But the failure of their hopes had removed the veil from their eyes; and the more violent had now discovered that the government of a woman was prohibited by the word of God. In the Old Testament it had been ordered to take the king from the midst of the "brethren," an expression which, they contended, must exclude all females; and in the New, we are taught that the man is the head of the woman, whence they inferred, that no woman ought to possess the supreme authority over men<sup>95</sup>. In confirmation of their doctrine they appealed to the statutes of the realm. What authority did they give to queens? It was to kings, and to kings alone, that they assigned the royal prerogatives, and the punishment of offences against the crown. In opposition to this dangerous notion it was now declared, without a dissentient voice in either house, that by the ancient law of the

<sup>94</sup> Griffet, xxxix.

<sup>95</sup> Strype, iii. 11.

land, whatever person, male or female, is invested with the kingly office, he, or she, ought to possess and exercise, in their full extent, all the pre-eminence, jurisdiction, and powers, belonging to the crown<sup>96</sup>. 2<sup>o</sup>. To prove the policy of the intended marriage with Philip against the reasoning of its adversaries, the members were requested to cast their eyes on the situation of the neighbouring nations. France and Scotland were the natural enemies of England. Hitherto they had been connected only by treaties; but now the young queen of Scotland was contracted to the dauphin of France. Where was England to find a counterpoise but in the marriage of the queen to Philip of Spain? Let the issue of Mary Stuart inherit the two crowns of France and Scotland. By this marriage the issue of the English queen would inherit England with the Netherlands; and that country, in the estimation of every reasonable man, would prove a more valuable acquisition to the English crown, than Scotland could ever prove to that of France<sup>97</sup>. But, it was objected, would not this marriage place the liberties of the nation at the mercy of a foreign despot? Undoubtedly not. Let them examine the articles of the treaty. They had been drawn after long and mature deliberation: they contained every security which the most ingenious could devise, or the most timorous could desire: they excluded all foreigners from office; they placed the honour, the franchises, and the rights of the natives beyond danger or controversy. Satisfied by this reasoning, both houses unanimously concurred in an act, confirming the treaty of marriage, and declaring that the queen, after its solemnization, should continue to enjoy and exercise the sovereignty as sole queen, without any right or claim to be given unto Philip as

<sup>96</sup> St. 1 Mary, sess. 3, c. 1.

118. Also his account of Gardiner's speech,

<sup>97</sup> See a state paper in Noailles, iii. 109. iii. 152.



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I.

May 5.

Arrival of Philip

tenant by courtesy, or by any other manner<sup>98</sup>. Mary having thus obtained her chief object, dissolved the parliament in person, with an address, which was repeatedly interrupted by the acclamations of the audience. Both lords and commons assured her that the prince of Spain, on his arrival, would receive a most hearty welcome from a dutiful and affectionate people<sup>99</sup>.

Still the king of France indulged a hope that some favourable incident might occur to interrupt the marriage. He not only opened an asylum for the English rebels, who had fled from justice, but encouraged them to fit out vessels for the purpose of cruising against the subjects of Charles: and he ordered his ambassador in England to persist in his intrigues, and to keep alive, by his promises, the hopes of the factious<sup>100</sup>. That minister had several warm altercations with Mary. He complained, in a haughty tone, that his dispatches had been intercepted: she that her rebellious subjects were countenanced and protected by his master. He, to intimidate, hinted that at the death of Edward all the treaties between the two crowns had expired; she, for the same purpose, required an explana-

<sup>98</sup> St. 1 Mary, sess. 3. c. 2. According to Noailles, Gardiner, in his speech, had suggested that as the queen and her sister Elizabeth only remained of the descendants of Henry VIII., Mary, like her father, ought to have the power of regulating the succession after her death. Noailles, iii. 153. If it was so, the subject was not followed up. There is no mention of any such motion in the journals.

<sup>99</sup> Griffet, xlvii. *Que me met en entiere confidence que votre venue par deca sera seure et aygreable.* Mary to Philip, Apr. 24th, apud Hearne, sylloge, ep. 156.

<sup>100</sup> One of their contrivances deserves to be mentioned. The most extraordinary sounds were heard to issue from a wall in Aldersgate Street, intermixed with words of ob-

scure meaning, which were immediately interpreted to the crowd by persons in the secret. The voice was believed to be superhuman, the voice of the Holy Ghost warning a wicked and incredulous generation. It inveighed against the marriage of the queen, and the impiety of the mass; and threatened the citizens with war, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. Multitudes assembled daily to listen to the spirit, till workmen, by order of the magistrates, began to demolish the wall: when Elizabeth Crofts, a young woman of eighteen, crept out of her hiding place, and confessed that she had been hired and instructed to act her part by a person of the name of Drakes. She was put on the pillory. Hollins, 1117. Strype, iii. 99. 136. Stow, 624.

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tion of his meaning, that she might take measures for her own security. In the mean time he saw the preparations for the marriage proceeding with activity ; and, to console his chagrin, employed his time in collecting unfounded tales for the information of his sovereign, exaggerating the discontent of the nation, and describing, with a sarcastic smile, the impatience of the old woman, longing for the presence of her young husband<sup>101</sup>. To his sorrow, that husband in a short time arrived. He had sailed from Corunna, and in four days came within sight of Southampton, escorted by the combined fleets of England, the Netherlands, and Spain. The next morning the lords of the council, with a numerous retinue, proceeded to the fleet, and Philip, accompanied by the dukes of Alva and Medina Celi, the admiral of Castile, and don Ruy Gomez, his governor, entered the royal yacht, where he was received by the duke of Norfolk and the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Derby. He had already sworn to the articles of the marriage treaty, in presence of the lords Bedford and Fitzwater, the English ambassadors : he now took an oath before the council, to observe the laws, customs, and liberties of the realm. The moment he set his foot on the beach, he was invested with the order of the garter, and a royal salute was fired by the batteries and the ships in the harbour. The queen had sent him a Spanish genet, richly caparisoned ; and as he rode first to the church, and thence to his lodging, the people crowded around him to see the husband of their sovereign. His youth, the grace of his person<sup>102</sup>, the pleasure displayed in his countenance, charmed the

July 18.

July 19.

<sup>101</sup> Noailles, iii. 195. 211. 240. 251. The blunders of this minister are often amusing. On two occasions he informs his court that the queen is going to reside at York, because York is situated in the neighbourhood of Bristol, where the prince of Spain intends to

land. iii. 96.

<sup>102</sup> "He is so well proportioned of body, arme, legge, and every othere limme to the same, as nature cannot worke a more perfect paterne." Elder apud Andrews, i. 20.

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I.

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spectators: they saluted him with cries of "God save your grace;" and he, turning on either side, expressed his thankfulness for their congratulations. Before he dismissed the English lords, he addressed them in a Latin speech. It was not, he said, want of men or of money, that had drawn him from his own country. But God had called him to marry their virtuous sovereign, and he was come to live among them, not as a foreigner, but as a native Englishman. He received with pleasure their assurances of faith and loyalty; and promised, in return, that they should always find him a grateful, affable, and affectionate prince. Then turning to the Spanish lords, he expressed a wish that, while they remained in England, they would conform to the customs of England; and, to give the example, drank farewell to the company in a tankard of ale, a beverage, which he then tasted for the first time<sup>103</sup>.

Marriage of  
Philip and  
Mary.  
July 25.

Philip, before he left Southampton, ordered his fleet to sail to Flanders, and sent the queen a present of jewels, valued at one hundred thousand crowns. On the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, the marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church at Winchester, before crowds of noblemen collected from every part of Christendom, and with a magnificence which has seldom been surpassed. Immediately before the ceremony, Figueroa, an imperial counsellor, presented to Gardiner, the officiating prelate, two instruments, from which he said it would appear that his sovereign, thinking it beneath the dignity of so great a queen to marry one who was not a king, had resigned to his son the crown of Naples with the duchy of Milan. The bishop, before he proceeded to the marriage ceremony, read aloud these cessions and the articles

<sup>103</sup> Noailles, iii. 284. Contin. of Fabian, 561. Pollini, 362.



of the treaty. After the mass, the king and queen left the church, under a canopy, walking hand in hand, Mary on the right and Philip on the left, with two naked swords borne before them. They dined in public, in the episcopal palace; and several days were devoted to feasting and rejoicings<sup>104</sup>. From Winchester the royal pair proceeded, by slow journeys, to Windsor and the metropolis. The city had been beautified at considerable expense, and the most splendid pageants had been devised to welcome their arrival. If external appearances could be taken for proofs of internal feeling, the king and queen might justly flatter themselves that they reigned in the hearts and affections of their subjects.

The facility with which Mary had effected her marriage, shewed how much the failure of the insurrection had added to the power of her government; and she immediately resolved to attempt that which she had long considered an indispensable duty, the restoration of the religious polity of the kingdom to that state in which it existed at the time of her birth. The reader will recollect that in her first parliament she had prudently confined her efforts to the public re-establishment of the ancient form of worship. The statute was carried into execution on the appointed day, almost without opposition: the married clergy, according to the provisions of the canon law, were removed from their benefices<sup>105</sup>; and Gardiner, with the secret approbation of the pontiff, had consecrated

Re-union with  
Rome.

<sup>104</sup> "No one but the bishop dined at the same table with the king and queen. On one side was placed a cupboard, containing, for shew, 96 large vases of gold and silver. As soon as dinner was over, the tables were removed; and the rest of the day was spent in dancing. Pollini, 373.

<sup>105</sup> The canon law had been restored to its

former authority by the repeal of the nine statutes. The clergymen who were removed might, by conforming, recover their benefices.—If we may judge of other dioceses from that of Canterbury, the number of married was to that of unmarried clergymen as one to five. Harmer, 138.

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catholic prelates to supersede the few protestant bishops, who remained in possession of their sees<sup>106</sup>. Thus one half of the measure had been already accomplished: the other, the recognition of the papal supremacy, a more hazardous task, was entrusted to the care and dexterity of the chancellor. There were two classes of men, from whom he had to fear opposition; those who felt conscientious objections to the authority of the pontiff, and those who were hostile to it from motives of interest. The former were not formidable either by their number or their influence: for the frequent changes of religious belief had generated in the higher classes an indifference to religious truth. Their former notions had been unsettled; and no others had been firmly planted in the place. Unable or unwilling to compare the conflicting arguments of polemics, they floated on a sea of uncertainty, ready at all times to attach themselves to any form of religion which suited their convenience or interest<sup>107</sup>. But the second class comprised almost every opulent family in the kingdom. They had all shared the plunder of the church: they would never consent to the restoration of that jurisdiction which might call in question their right to their present possessions. Hence Gardiner saw that it was necessary, in the first place, to free them from apprehen-

<sup>106</sup> They were seven; Holgate, of York, Taylor, of Lincoln, Hooper, of Worcester, Harley, of Hereford, Ferrar, of St. David's, Bush, of Bristol, and Bird, of Chester. Some of them had married; some had been consecrated according to the new ordinal, which was held to be insufficient; and all had accepted their bishoprics to hold them at the pleasure of the crown, with the clause, *quamdiu bene se gesserint*. On one, or other, or all of these grounds, they were deprived. Rym. xv. 370, 371.

<sup>107</sup> This is the character of the English

gentry and nobility at this period, as it is drawn by Renard, Noailles, and the Venetian ambassador, in their dispatches. The latter represents them as without any other religion than interest, and ready at the call of the sovereign to embrace Judaism or Mohammedanism. Il medesimo fariano della Macometana, ove della Judæa, purché il re mostrassi di credere e volere così, e accomodariansi a tutte, ma a quella più facilmente della quale ne sperassero over maggior licentia e libertà di vivere o vero qualche utilità. MSS. Barber. 1208.

CHAP.  
I.Assurance of  
abbey lands.

June 29.

Oct. 5.

sion, and, for that purpose, to procure from the pontiff a bull confirming all past alienation of the property of the church.

This subject had from the commencement been urged on the consideration of the court of Rome. At first Pole, the legate, had been authorized "to treat, compound, and dispense," with the holders of ecclesiastical property, as to the rents and profits which they had hitherto received: afterwards, this power was extended from rents and profits, to lands, tenements, and tithes. But Gardiner was not satisfied<sup>108</sup>. He knew it to be the opinion of Pole that all the property belonging to the parochial livings ought to be restored: and he feared that the words "to treat, compound, and dispense," might furnish the cardinal with a pretext to call individuals before his tribunal. The imperial court entered into the views of the English minister: it was determined to detain the cardinal in Flanders<sup>109</sup>: and Manriquez was ordered to explain the difficulty to the pontiff, in the name of Philip and Mary. Julius, having consulted his canonists and divines, assured the envoy that the wishes of the king and queen should be gratified; and shortly afterwards signed a bull, empowering the legate to give, alienate, and transfer to the present possessors all property moveable or immoveable, which had been torn from the church during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI<sup>110</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> Burnet, iii. rec. 222.

<sup>109</sup> The cardinal had been allowed to go to Brussels, and thence to Paris, to offer the papal mediation in the war between the emperor and the king of France. While he was there, a letter was written to Mary by some one in his suite, dissuading her from the marriage with Philip. Charles attributed it to the cardinal, and from that moment treated him with neglect.

<sup>110</sup> There is a letter from cardinal Morone

to Pole, informing him that all who had been consulted, were of opinion that in this particular case the alienation was lawful, and hoping that there would now be an end of his scruples: *in lei sara cessato tutto lo scrupolo che aveva*. Quirini, iv. 170. The clause "to give, aliene, and transfer," had been devised by Gardiner, as the most likely to tranquillize the present possessors, and to secure them against subsequent claims. Palavicino, ii. 411.



## CHAP.

## I.

Meeting of  
parliament.

Nov. 1.

The parliament had been convoked for the middle of November. Mary no longer regarded the murmurs of the discontented: she was assured of the concurrence of the peers: and, to lessen the chance of opposition in the commons, had ordered the sheriffs to recommend to the electors those candidates, who were distinguished by their attachment to the ancient faith <sup>111</sup>. The procession was opened by the commoners; the peers and prelates followed: and next came Philip and Mary, in robes of purple, the king on horseback, attended by the lords of his household, the queen in a litter, followed by the ladies of her establishment. The chancellor, having taken his place in front of the throne, addressed the two houses. The queen's first parliament, he said, had re-established the ancient worship, her second had confirmed the articles of her marriage; and their majesties expected that the third, in preference to every other object, would accomplish the re-union of the realm with the universal church. As a preliminary step, a bill was introduced to repeal the attainder of cardinal Pole. It was passed with the greatest expedition, and the next day the king and queen attended in person to give it the royal assent <sup>112</sup>.

Nov. 22.

Arrival of  
Pole.

The lord Paget, and sir Edward Hastings, with sir William Cecil, and a numerous train of gentlemen, had already reached Brussels to conduct the legate to England <sup>113</sup>. At Dover he was received by the lord Montague and the bishop of Ely:

<sup>111</sup> It was customary for the ministers to send such instructions. It was done in Edward's reign, Lansdown MSS. iii. 19; and also in Elizabeth's, Strype, i. 32. Clarendon Papers, 92.

<sup>112</sup> Journals of Lords, 467. Commons, 37, 38. Ep. Poli, iv. App. 289. Strype, iii. 155.

<sup>113</sup> Pole, ignorant of the proceedings at Rome, had written a most urgent letter to Philip; who sent Renard to explain the ob-

jections to his admission as legate without sufficient powers. Pole replied, that in addition to his former powers, he had another bull from the pope, promising, in verbo pontificis, to ratify whatever concessions he might think proper to make. Renard lamented that this was not previously known. Immediately on the return of Renard, Pole was desired to prepare for his journey. Pallavicino, ii. 411, ex. registro Poli.

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and, as he advanced, his retinue was swelled by the accession of the country gentlemen, till it amounted to eighteen hundred horse. He entered his barge at Gravesend, where he was presented, by the earl of Shrewsbury and the bishop of Durham, with a copy of the act repealing his attainder; and fixing his cross, the emblem of his dignity, in the prow, he proceeded by water to Westminster. The chancellor received him on his landing, the king at the gate of the palace, and the queen at the head of the stair-case. After a short conversation he retired to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, which had been prepared for his residence <sup>114</sup>.

Nov. 24.

In consequence of a royal message, the lords and commons repaired to the court: and, after a few words from the chancellor, Pole, in a long harangue, returned them thanks for the act which they had passed in his favour, exhorted them to repeal, in like manner, all the statutes enacted in derogation of the papal authority; and assured them of every facility on his part to effect the re-union of the church of England with that of Rome <sup>115</sup>. The chancellor, having first taken the orders of the king and queen, replied, that the two houses would deliberate apart, and signify their determination on the following morning.

Nov. 28.

The motion for the re-union was carried almost by acclamation. In the lords every voice was raised in its favour: in the commons, out of three hundred members, two only demurred, and these desisted from their opposition the next day <sup>116</sup>. It was

<sup>114</sup> Strype, iii. 157. Ep. Poli, v. App. 291. 307. 310. A writ, authorizing him to exercise his powers, had been signed on the 10th of Nov. Strype, *ibid*.

<sup>115</sup> Burnet tells us, that the queen was so much affected, that she mistook her emotion for the "quickenings of a child in her belly." ii. 292. The fact took place four days before. She sent lord Montague to inform the

legate, che infino allora ella non havea voluta confessare apertamente d'esser gravida: ma che nella giunta de sua S. R. s'havia sentito muover la creatura nel ventre, e pero non lo poteva più negare. On the 27th, it was publicly announced by a circular from the council. Fox, iii. 88. Noailles, iv. 23.

<sup>116</sup> Sir Ralph Bagnal (Strype, iii. 204) had refused to vote; the other grounded his ob-

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determined to present a petition in the name of both houses to the king and queen, stating, that they looked back with sorrow and regret on the defection of the realm from the communion of the apostolic see : that they were ready to repeal, as far as in them lay, every statute, which had either caused or supported that defection : and that they hoped, through the mediation of their majesties, to be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and to be received into the bosom of the universal church.

His proceed-  
ings.  
Nov. 30.

On the following day, the feast of St. Andrew, the queen took her seat on the throne. The king was placed on her left hand, the legate, but at greater distance, on her right. The chancellor read the petition to their majesties : they spoke to the cardinal : and he, after a speech of some duration, absolved "all those pre-  
"sent, and the whole nation, and the dominions thereof, from all  
"heresy and schism, and all judgments, censures, and penalties  
"for that cause incurred; and restored them to the communion of  
"holy church in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."  
"Amen," resounded from every part of the hall : and the members, rising from their knees, followed the king and queen into the chapel, where *Te Deum* was chaunted in thanksgiving for the event<sup>117</sup>. The next Sunday the legate, at the invitation of the citizens, made his public entry into the metropolis ; and Gardiner preached at St. Paul's cross, the celebrated sermon, in which he lamented in bitter terms his conduct under Henry VIII. ; and exhorted all, who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the catholic church<sup>118</sup>.

section on the oath of supremacy which he had taken. Ep. Poli, v. App. 314.

<sup>117</sup> Poli ep. v. App. 315---318. Fox, 91. Journal of Commons, 38.

<sup>118</sup> This sermon is noticed by Fox, iii. 92.

A Latin translation of it may be seen inter Ep. Poli, v. 293. 300. Gardiner asserts, that Henry VIII. during the rebellion in 1536, entertained serious thoughts of seeking a reconciliation with the pontiff; and that in



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I.Conduct of  
parliament.

To proceed with this great work, the two houses and the convocation simultaneously presented separate petitions to the throne. That from the lords and commons, requested their majesties to obtain from the legate, all those dispensations and indulgences, which the innovations made during the schism had rendered necessary, and particularly such as might secure the property of the church to the present possessors without scruple of conscience, or impeachment from the ecclesiastical courts. The other, from the clergy, stated their resignation of all right to those possessions of which the church had been deprived; and their readiness to acquiesce in every arrangement to be made by the legate. His decree was soon afterwards published: 1°. That all cathedral churches, hospitals, and schools founded during the schism, should be preserved; 2°. That all persons, who had contracted marriage within the prohibited degrees without dispensation, should remain married; 3°. That all judicial processes made before the ordinaries, or in appeal before delegates, should be held valid; and 4°. That the possessors of church property should not, either now or hereafter, be molested, under pretence of any canons of councils, decrees of popes, or censures of the church; for which purpose, in virtue of the authority vested in him, he took from all spiritual courts and judges the cognizance of these matters, and pronounced, beforehand, all such processes and judgments invalid and of no effect<sup>119</sup>.

1541, he employed him and Knyvett, during the diet at Ratisbon, to solicit secretly the mediation of the emperor for that purpose. They were, however, discovered, and Gardiner was accused of holding communication with Contarini the papal legate. Henry was careful to hush up the matter. See some account of it in Fox, who knew not of Gardiner's commission, Fox, iii. 448, 449.

<sup>119</sup> The next year, on the 14th of July, Paul IV. published a bull, condemning and revoking, in general terms, the alienations of church property to secular uses. Burnet, iii. Rec. 3. This bull did not regard the late proceedings in England; for, egli dichiara de parlare di quelle alienazione, che si erano fatte senza le dovute solennità. Becchetti, Istoria, x. 197. But, to prevent doubts on the sub-

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## I.

Confirmed by  
act of parlia-  
ment.

In the mean time a joint committee of lords and commons had been actively employed in framing a most important and comprehensive bill, which deserves the attention of the reader, from the accuracy with which it distinguishes between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and the care with which it guards against any encroachment on the part of the latter. It first repeals several statutes by name, and then, in general, all clauses, sentences, and articles in every other act of parliament made since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the supreme authority of the pope's holiness or see apostolic<sup>120</sup>. It next recites the two petitions, and the dispensation of the legate; and enacts, that every article in that dispensation shall be reputed good and effectual in law, and may be alleged and pleaded in all courts spiritual and temporal. It then proceeds to state that, though the legate hath by his decree taken away all matter of impeachment, trouble, or danger to the holders of church property; yet, because the title of lands and hereditaments in this realm is grounded on the laws and customs of the same, and to be tried and judged in no other courts than those of their majesties: it is therefore enacted, by authority of parliament, that all such possessors of church property shall hold the same in manner and form

ject. Pole obtained from him a bull, expressly excepting the church property in England from the operation of the second bull, *qua hujus regni bona ecclesiastica ab ejus sanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiuntur*. Poli ep. v. 42. Sept. 16, 1555; and also, "confirming his doings respecting assurance of abbeys lands, &c." Journal of Commons, 42. It was read to both houses at the opening of parliament on the 23d of October. Besides this, the cardinal obtained from him a breve declaratorium ejus bullæ, *qua bonorum ecclesiasticorum alienationes rescinduntur, et confirmatorium eorum, quæ majestatibus vestris remisi*. Poli ep. v. 85.

<sup>120</sup> Most readers have very confused and in-

correct notions of the jurisdiction, which the pontiff, in virtue of his supremacy, claimed to exercise within the realm. From this act, and the statutes which it repeals, it follows, that that jurisdiction was comprised under the following heads: 1°. He was acknowledged as chief bishop of the Christian church, with authority to reform and redress heresies, errors, and abuses within the same. 2°. To him belonged the institution or confirmation of bishops elect. 3°. He could grant to clergymen licences of non-residence, and permission to hold more than one benefice, with cure of souls. 4°. He dispensed in the canonical impediments of matrimony; and 5°. He received appeals from the spiritual courts.

as they would have done, had this act never been made; and, that any person who shall molest such possessors by process out of any ecclesiastical court, either within or without the realm, shall incur the penalty of *præmunire*. Next it provides, that all papal bulls, dispensations, and privileges, not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws of the realm, may be put in execution, used, and alleged in all courts whatsoever: and concludes by declaring, that nothing in this act shall be explained to impair any authority or prerogative belonging to the crown, in the 20th year of Henry VIII.: that the pope shall have and enjoy, without diminution or enlargement, the same authority and jurisdiction, which he might then have lawfully exercised; and, that the jurisdiction of the bishops shall be restored to that state, in which it existed at the same period. In the lords, the bill was read thrice in two days; in the commons, it was passed after a sharp debate on the third reading<sup>121</sup>. Thus was re-established, in England, the whole system of religious polity, which had prevailed for so many centuries before Henry VIII.

The French ambassador had persuaded himself, that the great object of the emperor was to employ the resources of England against his adversary, the king of France; and, that the fondness of Mary for her husband, would induce her to gratify all his wishes, let them be ever so illegal or unjust. On this account, he continued to intrigue with the factious; he warned them

*Intrigues of  
the French  
ambassador.*

<sup>121</sup> From the journals it appears, that the subject of discussion was not so much the substance of the bill, as some of its provisions involving particular interests. In the lords, Bonner, bishop of London, voted against it; the commons added two provisions respecting lands to be hereafter given to the church, and the recovery of those already taken from it;

and requested the erasure of 19 lines regarding the bishop of London and the lord Wentworth. The lords agreed, and the chancellor cut out the 19 lines with a knife; yet the lord Montague, and the bishops of London, and Lichfield and Coventry, voted against the bill in its amended shape. Journals, 484.



CHAP.

I.

that England would soon become a province under the despotic government of Spain ; he exhorted them to be on the watch, to oppose every measure dictated by Philip, and to preserve, at every personal risk, their liberties for their children, and the succession to the crown for the true heir. In his dispatches to his court, he described the discontent of the nation as wound up to the highest pitch ; the embers of revolt, he said, were still alive ; in a few months, perhaps a few weeks, the flame would burst forth with redoubled violence<sup>122</sup>. But he mistook his wishes for realities ; his information frequently proved erroneous ; and his predictions were belied by the event. In the present parliament, he assured his sovereign, that, in pursuance of the emperor's plan, the queen would ask for a matrimonial crown for her husband ; would place the whole power of the executive government in his hands ; and would seek to have him declared presumptive heir to the crown. What projects she might have formed, we know not : but it would be rash to judge of her intentions from the malicious conjectures of Noailles ; and the fact is, that no such measures as he describes, were ever proposed. The two houses, however, joined in a petition to Philip, that, "if it should happen to the queen otherwise than well, in the time of her travel, he would take upon himself the government of the realm during the minority of her majesty's issue, with the rule, order, education, and government of the said issue." The king signified his assent ; and an act passed, intrusting to him the government, till the child, if a female, were fifteen, if a male, eighteen years old ; making it high treason to imagine or compass his death, or attempt to remove him from the said government and guardianship ; and binding him, in the execution of his office, to all the conditions

<sup>122</sup> Noailles, iii. 318. iv. 27. 62. 76. 153.

and restrictions which were contained in the original treaty of marriage<sup>123</sup>. CHAP.  
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The dissolution of the parliament was followed by an unexpected act of grace. The lord chancellor, accompanied by several members of the council, proceeded to the Tower, called before him the state prisoners, still confined on account of the attempts of Northumberland and Wyatt, and informed them, that the king and queen had, at the intercession of the emperor, granted them their liberty. The same favour was also extended to Elizabeth and Courteney. The earl, having paid his respects to Philip and Mary, received a permission, equivalent to a command, to travel for his improvement; and, having remained for some time in the imperial court at Brussels, proceeded to Italy, with recommendatory letters from Philip to the princes of that country. At his departure from England, Elizabeth reappeared at court. By the king and queen she was treated with kindness and distinction; and, after a visit of some months, returned to her own house in the country<sup>124</sup>. Acts of grace.  
  
1555.  
Jan. 18.

In consequence of the act restoring the exercise of the papal authority in England, the viscount Montague, the bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Carne, had been appointed ambassadors to the Roman see. But they had not proceeded far on their journey Embassy to  
Rome.  
  
Feb. 18.

<sup>123</sup> Noailles, iv. 137. Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 10. An unusual circumstance occurred about the close of the session. It was customary for both houses to adjourn at Christmas over the holidays; and several members had sent for their servants and horses to visit their families during the recess. But, on the 22d of Dec. orders were issued, that neither lords nor commons should depart before the end of the parliament. The two houses continued to sit, but 37 members of the lower absented themselves in opposition to the royal command. A bill for the punishment of such knights and burgesses as should neglect their duty, passed the commons: but

the day after it had been read the first time in the lords, the parliament was dissolved. Griffith, however, the attorney-general, indicted the offenders in the king's bench. Six submitted, the rest traversed, and the matter was suffered to die away. Lord Coke represents them as seceding on account of their attachment to the reformed church. See Cobbett's Parliamentary History, i. 625, and the Journals, p. 41.

<sup>124</sup> The conduct of Bedingfield Elizabeth's "jailor" at Woodstock, has been vindicated from the slander of Fox, by Wharton, in his life of sir T. Pope, 75.

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I.

Mar. 23.

Ap. 9.

Ap. 30.

May 23.

June 5.

when Julius died. In the preceding conclave the cardinal Farnese had employed his influence to raise Pole to the papacy: he had even obtained one evening the requisite number of votes: but the English cardinal, irresolute and unambitious, bade him wait till the following morning, and on that morning another candidate was proposed and chosen. On the present vacancy Farnese espoused again the interests of his friend: he procured from the French king letters in favour of Pole; and hastened with these documents from Avignon to Rome. Before his arrival, at the very opening of the conclave, Cervini was unanimously elected, a prelate whose acknowledged merit awakened the most flattering expectations. But the new pontiff, who had taken the name of Marcellus II., died within one-and-twenty days: and the friends of Pole laboured a third time to honour him with the tiara. Philip and Mary and Gardiner employed letters and messengers; the French king, though it was suspected that he secretly gave his interest to the cardinal of Ferrara, promised his best services: and Farnese, without waiting for new credentials, exhibited the letters, which he had brought to the last conclave. But the cardinals, as well in the imperial as in the French interest, refused their voices: the former believing from past events that Pole was in secret an object of suspicion to their sovereign, the latter alleging that they could not vote without new instructions in his favour. Had he been present, he might have obtained the requisite majority of suffrages; in his absence Caraffa was chosen, and took the name of Paul IV. On the very day of the coronation of this pontiff, the English ambassadors reached Rome. Pole had foreseen that the new title of king and queen of Ireland, assumed by Philip and Mary, in imitation of Henry and Edward, might create some difficulty: and had therefore requested that Ireland might



be declared a kingdom before the arrival of the ambassadors<sup>125</sup>. But the death of Julius, succeeded by that of Marcellus, had prevented those pontiffs from complying with his advice: and the first act of the new pope, after his coronation, was to publish a bull, by which, at the petition of Philip and Mary, he raised the lordship of Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom<sup>126</sup>. Till this had been done, the ambassadors waited without the city: three days later they were publicly introduced. They acknowledged the pontiff as head of the universal church, presented to him a copy of the act by which his authority had been re-established, and solicited him to ratify the absolution pronounced by the legate, and to confirm the bishoprics erected during the schism. Paul received them with kindness, and granted their requests. Lord Montague and the bishop of Ely with the usual presents were dismissed: Carne remained as resident ambassador<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> Poli ep. l. v. ep. 5.

<sup>126</sup> See the bull in Bsovius, Ann. Eccl. tom. xx. p. 301: and the extract from Act. Consistorial. inter Poli ep. v. 136. It was sealed with lead; but Pole was careful to procure a second copy sealed with gold. (Ibid. 42. Such was the custom. Thus the bull giving to Henry VIII. the title of Defender of the Faith, has a gold seal to it.) As the natives of Ireland had maintained that the kings of England originally held Ireland by the donation of Adrian IV. and had lost it by their defection from the communion of Rome, the council delivered the second bull to Dr. Carey, the new archbishop of Dublin, with orders that it should be deposited in the treasury, after copies had been made, and cir-

culated throughout the island. Extract from council book, Archæol. xviii. 183.

<sup>127</sup> The ambassadors had acted under the authority originally given to them: but after the departure of lord Montague other credentials arrived, by which they were deputed ambassadors to the new pope. The bishop and Carne, in consequence, went through the former ceremonial a second time, but in a private consistory, on June 21. See Paul's letter to the king and queen, Poli ep. v. 136 ---139. A very erroneous statement of the whole transaction has been copied from Fra Paolo by most of our historians: the above is taken from the original documents furnished by Pole's letters.

## CHAP. II.

## MARY.

PERSECUTION OF THE REFORMERS—SUFFERINGS OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER---RECANTATIONS AND DEATH OF CRANMER---DURATION AND SEVERITY OF THE PERSECUTION---DEPARTURE OF PHILIP---DEATH OF GARDINER---SURRENDER BY THE CROWN OF TENTHS AND FIRST FRUITS---TREASONABLE ATTEMPTS---WAR WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND---VICTORY AT ST. QUINTIN---LOSS OF CALAIS---DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE QUEEN.

CHAP.  
II.

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IT was the lot of Mary to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty, no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted, the papal authority<sup>1</sup>. It might perhaps have been expected that the reformers, from their sufferings under Henry VIII. would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary. They had no

<sup>1</sup>This is equally true of the foreign religionists. See Calvin, *de supplicio Serveti*, Beza *de Hæreticis a civili magistratu punien-* dis, and Melancthon, in *locis com. c. xxxii. de ecclesia*.

sooner obtained the ascendancy during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned, burning the anabaptist, and preparing to burn the catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by the existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death: the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority. But the zeal of archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency: and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the reformed church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient worship with those more recently promulgated by Muncer and Socinus. By the new canon law of the metropolitan, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy: and it was ordained that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts; should be excommunicated on conviction; and after a respite of sixteen days should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment provided by law. Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature: by the accession of Mary the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> If the reader be inclined to dispute the accuracy of this statement, let him consult the work in question (*Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*) under the title *de Hæresibus*, c. 1. 7. 19. 21, and the title *de Judiciis contra hæres.* c. 1, 2, 3, 4.



CHAP.  
II.

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Origin of the  
persecution.

With whom the persecution under Mary originated, is a matter of uncertainty. By the reformed writers the infamy of the measure is usually allotted to Gardiner, more, as far as I can judge, from conjecture and prejudice, than from real information. The charge is not supported by any authentic document: it is weakened by the general tenor of the chancellor's conduct<sup>3</sup>. All that we know with certainty is, that after the queen's marriage this question was frequently debated by the lords of the council: and that their final resolution was not communicated to her before the beginning of November. Mary returned the following answer in writing: "Touching the punishment of heretics we thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean time to do justice to such as, by learning, would seem to deceive the simple: and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion: by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London, I would wish none to be burnt without some of the council's presence, and both there and every where good sermons at the same time<sup>4</sup>."

<sup>3</sup> The only instance in which Gardiner was known to take any part in the persecution, will be mentioned later: and then he acted in virtue of his office as chancellor. When at a later period sir Francis Hastings applied to him the epithet "bloody," Persons indignantly answered: "Verely I beleieve that if a man should ask any good-natured protestant that lived in queen Maries tyme, and hath both wit to judge and indifferency to speake the truthe without passion, he wil confesse that no one great man in that government was further off from blood and bloodiness, or from crueltie and revenge, than bishop Gardiner, who was known to be a most tender-harted and myld man in that behalf; in so much that it was sometymes, and by some great per-

"sonages, objected to him for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge that he bare: yea, to him especially it was imputed, that none of the greatest and most knowen protestantes in queen Maries reigne, were ever called to accompt, or put to trooble for religion." Ward-worde, p. 42. See also Fuller, l. viii. p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> The date of this paper, which disproves the pretended dispute between Gardiner and Pole in Hume, c. xxxvii., is evident from its mentioning those who "have to talk with my lord cardinal at his first coming." It is in Collier, ii. 371. Of course Pole had not yet arrived to hold the language attributed to him by the historian.

Though it had been held in the last reign that by the common law of the land heresy was a crime punishable with death, it was deemed advisable to revive the statutes which had formerly been enacted to suppress the doctrines of the Lollards<sup>5</sup>.

An act for this purpose was brought into the commons in the beginning of the next year: every voice was in its favour: and in the course of four days it had passed the two houses. The reformed preachers were alarmed. The most eminent among them had long since been committed to prison, some as the accomplices of Northumberland, or Suffolk, or Wyat; others for having presumed to preach without licence; and several on charges of disorderly or seditious conduct. To ward off the impending danger, they composed and forwarded petitions, including a confession of their faith, both to the king and queen, and to the lords and commons assembled in parliament. In these instruments they declare, that the canonical books of the Old, and all the books of the New Testament, are the true word of God: that the catholic church ought to be heard, as being the spouse of Christ; and that those who refuse to hear her "obeying the word of her husband," are heretics and schismatics. They profess to believe all the articles of doctrine "set forth in "the symbols of the councils of Nice, of Constantinople, of "Ephesus, of Chalcedon, and of the first and fourth of Toledo; "and in the creeds of the apostles, of Athanasius, of Irenæus, of "Tertullian, and of Damasus: so that whosoever doth not believe "generally and particularly the doctrine of those symbols, they "hold him to err from the truth." They reject free-will, merits, works of supererogation, confession and satisfaction, the invocation of the saints, and the use in the liturgy of an

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II.

Petitions of  
the reformers.

1554.

Dec. 12.

Dec. 16.

<sup>5</sup> See this history, vol. iii. p. 327. 336. St. 1 and 2 of Philip and Mary, 1.

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II.

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unknown tongue. They admit two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper; but disallow transubstantiation, communion under one kind, the sacrifice of the mass, and the inhibition of marriage to the clergy. They offer to prove the truth of their belief by public disputation; and are willing to submit to the worst of punishments, if they do not shew that the doctrine of the church, the homilies, and the service set forth by king Edward, are most agreeable to the articles of christian faith. Lastly, they warn all men against sedition and rebellion, and exhort them to obey the queen in all matters, which are not contrary to the obedience due to God, and to suffer patiently as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge<sup>6</sup>.

Dec. 31. While the ministers in prison sought to mollify their sovereign by this dutiful address, their brethren at liberty provoked chastisement, by the intemperance of their zeal. On the eve of the new year, Ross, a celebrated preacher, collected a congregation towards midnight; administered the communion; and openly prayed that God would either convert the heart of the queen, or take her out of this world. He was surprised in the fact, and imprisoned with his disciples; and the parliament hastened to make it treason to have prayed since the commencement of the session, or to pray hereafter, for the queen's death. It was, however, provided that all, who had been already committed for this offence, might recover their liberty, by making an humble protestation of sorrow, and a promise of amendment<sup>7</sup>.

1555.  
Jan. 16.  
  
The first victims.

Jan. 22. The new year had opened to the reformed preachers with a lowering aspect: before the close of the month, the storm burst on their heads. On the twenty-second of January, the chancellor called before him the chief of the prisoners, apprized

<sup>6</sup> Styrpe, iii. rec. 42. Fox, iii. 97.

<sup>7</sup> 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 9.



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Jan. 28.

Jan. 29.

Feb. 4.

Feb. 8.

Feb. 9.

Feb. 9.

them of the statutes enacted in the last parliament, and put them in mind of the punishment which awaited their disobedience. In a few days the court was opened. Gardiner presided as chancellor, and was attended by thirteen other bishops, and a crowd of lords and knights. Six prisoners were called before them: of whom one pretended to recant; another petitioned for time; and the other four, Hooper, the deprived bishop of Gloucester; Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's; Saunders, rector of Allhallows, in London; and Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, replied, that their consciences forbade them to subscribe to the doctrines now established by law; and that the works of Gardiner himself, had taught them to reject the authority of the bishop of Rome. A delay of twenty-four hours was offered them: on their second refusal, they were excommunicated: and excommunication was followed by the delivery of the prisoners to the civil power. Rogers was the first victim. He perished at the stake in Smithfield: Saunders underwent a similar fate at Coventry, Hooper at Gloucester, and Taylor at Hadley. An equal constancy was displayed by all: and, though pardon was offered them to the last moment, they scorned to purchase the continuance of life by feigning an assent to doctrines, which they did not believe. They were the proto-martyrs of the reformed church of England.

To give solemnity to these, the first prosecutions under the revived statutes, they had been conducted before the lord chancellor. But whether it was, that Gardiner disapproved of the measure, or that he was called away by more important duties, he never afterwards took his seat on the bench; but transferred the ungracious office, in the metropolis, to Bonner, bishop of London. That prelate, accompanied by the lord mayor and sheriffs, and several members of the council, excommunicated

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Sermon of a  
Spanish friar.  
Feb. 10.

six other prisoners, and delivered them to the civil power. But the next day, Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish friar, and confessor to Philip, preached before the court: and, to the astonishment of his hearers, condemned these proceedings in the most pointed manner. He pronounced them contrary, not only to the text, but to the spirit of the gospel: it was not by severity, but by mildness, that men were to be brought into the fold of Christ: and it was the duty of the bishops, not to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance of their misguided brethren. Men were at a loss to account for this discourse, whether it were the spontaneous effort of the friar, or had been suggested to him by the policy of Philip, or by the humanity of the cardinal, or by the repugnance of the bishops. It made, however, a deep impression: the execution of the prisoners was suspended: the question was again debated in the council: and five weeks elapsed before the advocates of severity could obtain permission to rekindle the fires of Smithfield<sup>8</sup>.

Mar. 16.

The bishops  
urged to do  
their duty.

Mar. 18.

Mar. 26.

It is not improbable, that the revival of the persecution was provoked by the excesses which were, at this time, committed by the fanaticism of some among the gospellers<sup>9</sup>, and by the detection of a new conspiracy, which had been organized in the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. As soon as the ringleaders were arrested, and committed to the Tower, the magistrates received instructions to watch over the public peace in their respective districts; to apprehend the propagators of seditious reports, the preachers of erroneous doctrine, the procurers of secret meetings, and those vagabonds, who had no visible means of subsistence; to try, by virtue of a commission of oyer and terminer, the prisoners charged with murder, felony, and

<sup>8</sup> Strype, iii. 209.

<sup>9</sup> See examples in Strype, 210. 212.

other civil offences; and with respect to those accused of heresy, to reform them by admonitions, but, if they continued obstinate, to send them before the ordinary, that "they might, by charitable instruction, be removed from their naughty opinions, or be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf<sup>10</sup>." In obedience to this circular, several of the preachers, with the most zealous of their disciples, were apprehended, and transmitted to the bishops, who, in general, declined the odious task of proceeding against them, on some occasions refusing, under different pretexts, to receive the prisoners, on others, suffering the charge to lie unheard, until it was forgotten. This reluctance of the prelates was remarked by the lord treasurer, the marquess of Winchester, who complained to the council, and procured a reprimand to be sent to Bonner, stating that the king and queen marvelled at his want of zeal and diligence, and requiring him to proceed according to law, for the advancement of God's glory, and the better preservation of the peace of the realm<sup>11</sup>.

May 16.

May 24.

<sup>10</sup> Strype, iii. 213, 214. Burnet, ii. rec. 283. Burnet tells us, ii. 347. and Hume gravely repeats the information, c. xxxvii. that this was an attempt to introduce the Spanish inquisition. The difference was immense. The magistrates were here commanded to send spiritual offenders before the ordinary: it was the leading feature in the inquisition, that it took the cognizance of spiritual offences from the ordinary. In effect, the inquisition was not introduced into England before the reign of Elizabeth, when the high commission court was established on similar principles, and, in a short time, obtained and exercised the same powers as the Spanish inquisition. See those powers in Rymer, xvi. 291—297. 546—551.

<sup>11</sup> Fox, iii. 208. Strype, iii. 217. Burnet, ii. rec. 285. From this reprimand, I have been inclined to doubt, whether Bonner really deserved all the odium which has been heaped upon him. It certainly fell to his

lot, as bishop of London, to condemn a great number of the gospellers: but I can find no proof that he was a persecutor from choice, or went in search of victims. They were sent to him by the council, or by commissioners appointed by the council, Fox, iii. 208. 210. 223. 317. 328. 344. 522. 588. 660. 723. Strype, iii. 239, 240: and as the law stood, he could not refuse to proceed, and deliver them over to the civil power. He was, however, careful in the proceedings to exact from the prisoners, and to put on record, the names of the persons by whom, and a statement of the reasons for which, they had been sent before him, Fox, iii. 514. 593. Several of the letters from the council, shew that he stood in need of a stimulus to goad him to the execution of this unwelcome office; and he complained much that he was compelled to try prisoners, who were not of his own diocese. "I am," said he to Philpot, "right sorry for your trouble: neither would I you



CHAP.  
II.

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The prelates no longer hesitated: of the prisoners sent before them by the magistrates, many recanted, but many also refused to listen to their exhortations, and defied their authority. Conviction followed conviction: and the fate of one victim served only to encourage others to imitate his constancy. To describe the sufferings of each individual would fatigue the patience, and torture the feelings of the reader; I shall therefore content myself with laying before him the last moments of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the most distinguished among the English reformers. During the preceding reign, they had concurred in sending the anabaptists to the stake; in the present, they were compelled to suffer the same punishment, which they had so recently inflicted.

Account of  
Ridley.

1529.

1547.

1550.

The history of the archbishop has been sufficiently detailed in the preceding pages. Ridley was born at Wilmontswick in Tynedale, had studied at Cambridge, Paris, and Louvain, and on his return to England, obtained preferment in the church by the favour of Cranmer. During the reign of Henry he imitated his patron, by conforming to the theological caprice of the monarch: but on the accession of Edward he openly avowed his sentiments, and gave his valuable aid to the metropolitan. His services were rewarded with the bishopric of Rochester, and, on the deprivation of Bonner, with that of London. In learning he was acknowledged superior to the other reformed prelates; and his refusal to avail himself of the permission to marry, though he condemned not the marriages of others, added to his reputation. Unfortunately his zeal for the new doctrines led him to support

“ should think that I am the cause thereof.  
“ I marvel that other men will trouble me with  
“ their matters, but I must be obedient to my  
“ betters. And I fear men speak of me other-  
“ wise than I deserve.” Fox, iii. 462. Of the

council, the most active in these prosecutions, either from choice, or from duty, was the marquess of Winchester. See Fox, iii. 203. 208. 317.

the treasonable projects of Northumberland ; and his celebrated sermon against the claims of Mary and Elizabeth, furnished sufficient ground for his committal to the Tower. There he had the weakness to betray his conscience by conforming to the ancient worship : but his apostacy was severely lashed by the pen of Bradford ; and Ridley, by his speedy repentance and subsequent resolution, consoled and edified his afflicted brethren <sup>12</sup>.

Latimer, at the commencement of his career, displayed little of that strength of mind, or that stubbornness of opinion, which we expect to find in the man, who aspires to the palm of martyrdom. He first attracted notice by the violence of his declamations against Melancthon and the German reformers : then professed himself their disciple and advocate ; and ended by publicly renouncing their doctrine, at the command of cardinal Wolsey. Two years had not elapsed, before he was accused of re-asserting what he had abjured. The archbishop excommunicated him for contumacy ; and a tardy and reluctant abjuration saved him from the stake. Again he relapsed ; but appealed from the bishops to the king. Henry rejected the appeal ; and Latimer on his knees acknowledged his error, craved pardon of the convocation, and promised amendment <sup>13</sup>. He had, however, powerful friends at court, Butts the king's physician, Cromwell the vicar general, and Anne Boleyn the queen consort. By the last he was retained as chaplain. Henry heard him preach ; and, delighted with the coarseness of his invectives against the papal authority, gave him the bishopric of Worcester. In this situation he was cautious not to offend by too open an avowal of his opinions : but the debate on the six articles, put his ortho-

Of Latimer.

1529.

1531.

1532.

1535.

1539.

<sup>12</sup> " He never after polluted himself with that filthy dregs of anti-christian service." Fox, iii. 836. <sup>13</sup> Fox, iii. 379. 383. Wilk. conc. iii. 748, 749.

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II.

1547.

doxy to the test ; and with Cranmer he ventured to oppose the doctrine, but had not the good fortune with Cranmer to lull the suspicion, of the royal theologian. He forfeited his bishopric ; was confined in the Tower ; and notwithstanding his submission to the superior judgment of Henry, was suffered to languish in prison, till the death of the king, and the accession of Edward, restored him to liberty, and recalled him to court. As preacher to the infant monarch he lashed with apparent indifference the vices of all classes of men ; inveighed with intrepidity against the abuses, which already disfigured the new church ; and painted in the most hideous or most ludicrous colours the practices of the ancient worship. His eloquence was bold and vehement, but poured forth in coarse and sarcastic language, and seasoned with quaint conceits, low jests and buffoonery. Such, however, as it was, it gratified the taste of his hearers ; and the very boys in the streets, as he proceeded to preach, would follow at his heels, exclaiming, “ have at them, father Latimer, have at them.” But it was his misfortune, as it was that of Ridley, to abandon on some occasions theological for political subjects. During the reign of Edward, he treated in the pulpit the delicate question of the succession : and pronounced it better that God should take away the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, than that by marrying foreign princes, they should endanger the existence of the reformed church. The same zeal probably urged him to similar imprudence in the beginning of Mary’s reign, when he was imprisoned, by order of the council, on a charge of sedition<sup>14</sup>.

Disputation at  
Oxford.  
1554.  
Mar. 10.

From the Tower Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, after the insurrection of Wyatt, were conducted to Oxford, and ordered to confer on controverted points with the deputies of the convo-

<sup>14</sup> Strype, iii. 131. Fox, iii. 385.



Ap. 14.

Ap. 20.

1555.

Sep. 12.

Sep. 16.

Sep. 30.

Oct. 1

cation and of the two universities. The disputation was held in public on three successive days. Cranmer was severely pressed with passages from the fathers: Ridley maintained his former reputation: and Latimer excused himself on the plea of old age, of disuse of the Latin tongue, and of weakness of memory. In conclusion, Weston the moderator decided in favour of his own church; and the hall resounded with cries of "vincit veritas:" but the prisoners wrote in their own vindication to the queen, maintaining that they had been silenced by the noise, not by the arguments of their opponents<sup>15</sup>. Two days later they were again called before Weston; and on their refusal to conform to the established church, were pronounced obstinate heretics. From that moment they lived in daily expectation of the fate, which awaited them: but eighteen months were suffered to elapse before Brooks bishop of Gloucester, as papal sub-delegate, and Martin and Story as royal commissioners, arrived at Oxford, and summoned the archbishop before them. The provisions of the canon law were scrupulously observed; Cranmer underwent two examinations; and was then served, as a matter of form, with a citation to answer before the pontiff in the course of eighty days. He owed this distinction to his dignity of archbishop, and to his ordination, which had been performed according to the ancient pontifical: his companions having appeared twice before the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, as commissioners of the legate, and twice refused to renounce their opinions, were degraded from the priesthood,

<sup>15</sup> Cranmer in his letter to the council says: "I never knewe nor heard of a more confused disputation in all my life. For albeit there was one appoynted to dispute agaynste me, yet every man spake hys mynde, and brought forth what hym liked without

"order, and such hast was made, that no answer could be suffered to be given." Letters of Martyrs in Eman. Coll. No. 60. let. 3. This is an exact counterpart to the complaints of the catholics respecting similar disputations in the time of Edward.

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II.Execution of  
Ridley and  
Latimer.  
Oct. 16.

and delivered to the secular power. It was in vain that Soto, an eminent Spanish divine, laboured to shake their resolution. Latimer refused to see him: Ridley was not convinced by his reasoning<sup>16</sup>. At the stake, to shorten their sufferings, bags of gunpowder were suspended from their necks. Latimer expired almost the moment that the fire was kindled: but Ridley was doomed to suffer the most excruciating torments. To hasten his death, his brother-in-law had almost covered him with fagots: the weight checked the progress of the flames, and the lower extremities of the victim were consumed, while the more vital parts remained untouched. One of the by-standers, hearing him repeatedly exclaim, that "he could not burn," opened the pile: and an explosion of gunpowder almost immediately extinguished his life. It is said that the spectators were reconciled to these horrors, by the knowledge that every attempt had been previously made to save the victims from the stake<sup>17</sup>: the constancy, with which they suffered, consoled the sorrow, and animated the zeal of their disciples.

Recantations  
of Cranmer.

From the window of his cell the archbishop had seen his two friends led to execution. At the sight his resolution began to waver: and he let fall some hints of a willingness to relent, and of a desire to confer with the legate<sup>18</sup>. But in a short time he recovered the tranquillity of his mind, and addressed, in defence of his doctrine, a long letter to the queen; which at her request was answered by cardinal Pole<sup>19</sup>. At Rome, on the expiration

Nov. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Alter ne loqui quidem cum eo voluit; cum altero est locutus, sed nihil profecit. Pole to Philip, v. 47.

<sup>17</sup> De illis supplicium est sumptum, non illibenter, ut ferunt, spectante populo, cum cognitum fuisset nihil esse prætermisum, quod ad eorum salutem pertineret. Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Is non ita se pertinacem ostendit, atque

se cupere mecum loqui. Ibid. Magnam spem initio dederat, eique veniam Polus ab ipsa regina impetraverat. Dudith, inter ep. Poli, i. 143.

<sup>19</sup> The letter and answer may be seen in Fox, iii. 563. Strype's Cranmer, App. 206. Le Grand, i. 289.

of the eighty days, the royal proctors demanded judgment: and Paul, in a private consistory, pronounced the usual sentence<sup>20</sup>. The intelligence of this proceeding awakened the terrors of the archbishop. He had not the fortitude to look death in the face. To save his life he feigned himself a convert to the established creed; openly condemned his past delinquency; and, stifling the remorse of his conscience, in seven successive instruments abjured the faith which he had taught, and approved of that which he had opposed. He first presented his submission to the council: and as that submission was expressed in ambiguous language, replaced it by another in more ample form. When the bishops of London and Ely arrived to perform the ceremony of his degradation, he appealed from the judgment of the pope to a general council: but before the prelates left Oxford, he sent them two other papers; by the first of which he submitted to all the statutes of the realm, respecting the supremacy and other subjects; promised to live in quietness and obedience to the royal authority; and submitted his book on the sacrament to the judgment of the church and of the next general council: in the second he professed to believe on all points, and particularly respecting the sacraments, as the catholic church then did believe, and always had believed from the beginning<sup>21</sup>. To Ridley and Latimer life had been offered, on condition that they should recant: but when the question was put, whether the same favour might be granted to Cranmer, it was decided by the council in the negative. His political offences, it was said, might be overlooked; but he had been the cause of the schism in the reign of Henry, and the author of the change of religion in the reign of

<sup>20</sup> Ex actis consistor. apud Quirini, v. 140. Fox, iii. 836. Much confusion has arisen from erroneous dates in Fox, iii. 544.

<sup>21</sup> The submissions are in Strype, iii. 233. 234; the appeal in Fox, iii. 556.



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II.

Feb. 24.

Mar. 13.

Edward; and such offences required that he should suffer “for ensample’s sake”<sup>22</sup>. The writ was directed to the mayor or bailiffs of Oxford: the day of his execution was fixed: yet he cherished a hope of pardon: and in a fifth recantation, as full and explicit as the most zealous of his adversaries could wish, declared that he was not actuated by fear or favour, but that he abjured the erroneous doctrines which he had formerly maintained, for the discharge of his own conscience, and the instruction of others<sup>23</sup>. This paper was accompanied with a letter to cardinal Pole, in which he begged a respite during a few days, that he might have leisure to give to the world a more convincing proof of his repentance, and might do away, before his death, the scandal given by his past conduct<sup>24</sup>. His prayer was cheerfully granted by the queen; and Cranmer in a sixth confession acknowledged, that he had been a greater persecutor of the church than Paul, and wished that like Paul he might be able to make amends. He could not rebuild what he had destroyed: but as the penitent thief on the cross, by the testimony of his lips, obtained mercy, so he (Cranmer) trusted that by this offering of his lips, he should move the clemency of the Almighty. He was unworthy of favour: and worthy not only of temporal but of eternal punishment. He had offended against king Henry and queen Catherine: he was the cause and author of the divorce, and, in consequence, also of the evils which resulted

<sup>22</sup> Strype’s Cranmer, 385.

<sup>23</sup> This recantation is in Fox, iii. 559.

<sup>24</sup> Il envoya prier M. le cardinal Polus de differer pour quelques jours son execution, esperant que dieu l’inspireroit cependant: de quoi ceste royne et susdit Cardinal furent fort ayses, estimans que par l’exemple de sa repentance publique la religion en sera plus fortifiée en ce royaume: ayant depuis faict

une confession publique et amende honorable et volontaire. Noailles, v. 319. There is an entry in the council book of Mar. 13, ordering the printers Rydall and Copland, to give up the printed copies of Cranmer’s recantation to be burned. Burnet, iii. 249. Perhaps it was incorrectly printed: perhaps they waited for that which he said God would inspire him to make.

from it. He had blasphemed against the sacrament, had sinned against heaven, and had deprived men of the benefits to be derived from the eucharist. In conclusion he conjured the pope to forgive his offences against the apostolic see, the king and queen to pardon his transgressions against them, the whole realm, the universal church, to take pity of his wretched soul, and God to look on him with mercy at the hour of his death<sup>25</sup>. He had undoubtedly flattered himself that this humble tone, these expressions of remorse, these cries for mercy, would move the heart of the queen. She, indeed, little suspecting the dissimulation which had dictated them, rejoiced at the conversion of the sinner: but she had also persuaded herself, or been persuaded by others, that public justice would not allow her to save him from the punishment to which he had been condemned.

At length the fatal morning arrived: at an early hour, Garcina, a Spanish friar, who had frequently visited the prisoner since his condemnation, came, not to announce a pardon, but to comfort and prepare him for the last trial. Entertaining no suspicion of his sincerity, Garcina submitted to his consideration a paper, which he advised him to read at the stake, as a public testimony of his repentance. It consisted of five parts: a request that the spectators would pray with him; a form of prayer for himself; an exhortation to others to lead a virtuous life; a declaration of the queen's right to the crown; and a confession of faith, with a retractation of the doctrine in his book on the eucharist. Cranmer having dissembled so long, resolved to carry on the deception. He transcribed and signed the paper: and giving one copy to the Spaniard, retained the other for his own use. But when the friar

His execution.

March 21.

<sup>25</sup> See it in Strype, iii. 235.

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was gone, he appears to have made a second copy, in which, entirely omitting the fourth article, the assertion of the queen's right, he substituted in lieu of the confession contained in the fifth, a disavowal of the six retractations, which he had already made<sup>26</sup>. Of his motives we can judge only from his conduct. Probably he now considered himself doubly armed. If a pardon were announced, he might take the benefit of it, and read the original paper : if not, by reading the copy, he would disappoint the expectations of his adversaries, and repair the scandal which he had given to his brethren. At the appointed hour the procession set forward ; and, on account of the rain, halted at the church of St. Mary, where the sermon was preached by Dr. Cole. Cranmer stood on a platform opposite the pulpit, appearing, as a spectator writes, " the very image of sorrow." His face was bathed in tears : his eyes were sometimes raised to heaven, sometimes fixed through shame on the earth. At the conclusion of the sermon he began to read his paper, and was heard with profound silence, till he came to the fifth article. But when he recalled all his former recantations, rejected the papal authority, and confirmed the doctrine contained in his book, he was interrupted by the murmurs and agitation of the audience. The lord Williams called to him to " remember himself, and play the Christian." " I do," replied Cranmer ; " it is now too late to dissemble. I must now speak the truth." As soon as order could be

<sup>26</sup> Compare Fox, iii. 559, with Strype, iii. 236. To extenuate the fall of Cranmer, his friends have said that he was seduced to make these recantations by the artful promises of persons sent from the court for that purpose. But this pretence is refuted by his last speech. He there makes no such apology for himself, but owns that his confessions proceeded from his wish to save his life. " I renounce and refuse them, as things written with my

hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart : and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be." Strype, iii. 237. These last words would not have been employed, if any promise of mercy had been made : indeed, it is evident from Noailles (note 24), that he did not openly ask for it, though he hoped to obtain it.



restored, he was conducted to the stake, declaring that he had never changed his belief: that his recantations had been wrung from him by the hope of life; and that "as his hand had offended by writing contrary to his heart, it should be the first to receive its punishment." When the fire was kindled, to the surprise of the spectators, he thrust his hand into the flame, exclaiming, "this hath offended." His sufferings were short; the flames rapidly ascended above his head; and he expired in a few moments. The catholics consoled their disappointment by invectives against his insincerity and falsehood; the protestants defended his memory by maintaining that his constancy at the stake had atoned for his apostacy in the prison <sup>27</sup>.

Historians are divided with respect to the part which Pole acted during these horrors. Most are willing to acquit him entirely; a few, judging from the influence which he was supposed to possess, have allotted to him a considerable share of the blame. In a confidential letter to the cardinal of Augsburgh he has unfolded to us his own sentiments without reserve. He will not, he says, deny that there may be men, so addicted to the most pernicious errors themselves, and so apt to seduce others, that they may justly be put to death: for the same purpose as we amputate a limb to preserve the whole body. But this is an extreme case: and, even when it happens, every gentler remedy should be applied before such punishment is inflicted. In general lenity is to be preferred to severity: and the bishops should remember that they are fathers as well as judges, and ought to shew the tenderness of parents, even when they are compelled to punish. This has always been his opinion: it was that of his colleagues who presided with him at the council of Trent,

Conduct of  
Pole.

<sup>27</sup> See a most interesting narrative by an eye-witness, in Strype's *Cranmer*, 384.

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ing parties ; and the men who lived in the daily expectation of being summoned to the stake for their denial of the ancient creed, found leisure to condemn and revile each other for difference of opinion respecting the use of habits and ceremonies, and the abstruse mysteries of grace and predestination<sup>33</sup>.

Number of  
the sufferers.

The persecution continued till the death of Mary. Sometimes milder counsels seemed to prevail ; and on one occasion all the prisoners were discharged on the easy condition of taking an oath to be true to God and the queen<sup>34</sup>. But these intervals were short ; and, after some suspense, the spirit of intolerance was sure to resume the ascendancy. Then new commissions were issued by the crown<sup>35</sup>. The magistrates were careful to fulfil their instructions : and the council urged the bishops “ to reclaim the prisoners, or to deal with them according to law.” The reformed writers have described, in glowing colours, the sufferings, and sought to multiply the number of the victims ; while the catholics have maintained that the reader should distrust the exaggerations of men heated with enthusiasm and exasperated by oppression : and that from the catalogue of the martyrs should be expunged the names of all who were condemned as felons or traitors, or who died peaceably in their beds, or who survived the publication of their martyrdom, or who would for their heterodoxy have been sent to the stake by the reformed prelates themselves, had they been in possession of the power<sup>36</sup>. Yet these deductions will take but little from the infamy of the measure. After every allowance it will be found that, in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion ; a number at the

<sup>33</sup> Phœnix, ii. 44.

<sup>34</sup> Strype, iii. 307. Fox, iii. 660.

<sup>35</sup> See similar commissions under Edward,

Rymer, xv. 181—183. 250.—252. Many were also issued under Elizabeth.

<sup>36</sup> See the second part of note (D).

contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is no where liable to the penalties of death.

If any thing could be urged in extenuation of these cruelties, it must have been the provocation given by the reformers. The succession of a catholic sovereign had deprived them of office and power; had suppressed the English service, the idol of their affections; and had re-established the ancient worship, which they deemed antichristian and idolatrous. Disappointment embittered their zeal; and enthusiasm sanctified their intemperance. They heaped on the queen, her bishops, and her religion, every indecent and irritating epithet which language could supply. Her clergy could not exercise their functions without danger to their lives: a dagger was thrown at one priest in the pulpit; a gun was discharged at another; and several wounds were inflicted on a third, while he administered the communion in his church. The chief supporters of the treason of Northumberland, the most active among the adherents of Wyatt, professed the reformed creed: an impostor was suborned to personate Edward VI.<sup>37</sup>, a pretended spirit published denunciations against the queen, from a hole in a wall: some congregations prayed for her death: tracts filled with libellous and treasonable matter were transmitted from the exiles in Germany<sup>38</sup>; and successive insurrections were planned by the fugitives in France. It is not improbable

Provocation  
given to Mary.

<sup>37</sup> His name was Fetherstone. For the first offence he was publicly whipt; for the repetition of it was executed as a traitor. Stow, 626. 628. Noailles says falsely, that he was torn to pieces by four horses, as traitors were sometimes in France. v. 318.

<sup>38</sup> If scurrility and calumny form the merit of a libel, it will be difficult to find any thing to rival these publications. The reader will meet with some samples in Strype, iii. 251, 252. 328. 388. 410. 460.



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that such excesses would have considerable influence with statesmen, who might deem it expedient to suppress sedition by prosecution for heresy ; but I am inclined to believe that the queen herself was not actuated so much by motives of policy, as of conscience ; that she had imbibed the same intolerant opinion, which Cranmer and Ridley laboured to instil into the young mind of Edward : “ that, as Moses ordered blasphemers to be “ put to death, so it was the duty of a christian prince, and “ more so of one, who bore the title of defender of the faith, to “ eradicate the cockle from the field of God’s church, to cut out “ the gangrene, that it might not spread to the sounder parts”<sup>59</sup>. In this principle both parties seem to have agreed : the only difference between them, regarded its application, as often as it affected themselves.

Negotiation  
between  
France and  
Spain.

But it is now time to turn from these cruelties to the affairs of state. The French ambassador, when he congratulated Philip on the marriage, had been ordered to express an ardent wish for the continuation of the amity between England and France : and the new king, aware of the declaration of Henry, that he had no league but that of friendship with Mary, coldly replied, that he should never think of drawing the nation into a war, as long as it was for its interest to preserve peace. This ambiguous answer alarmed the French cabinet : it was expected, that Eng-

<sup>59</sup> Thus Edward was made to say : *Etsi regibus quidem omnibus . . . . . nobis tamen qui fidei defensor peculiari quodam titulo vocamur, maxime præ cæteris curæ esse debet, to eradicate the cockle, &c.* Rym. xv. 182. 250. To the same purpose Elizabeth in a commission for the burning of heretics, to sir Nicholas Bacon, says “ they have been “ justly declared heretics, and therefore, as “ corrupt members to be cut off from the rest “ of the flock of Christ, lest they should corrupt others professing the true christian

“ faith, . . . . we, therefore, according to regal “ function and office, minding the execution “ of justice in this behalf, require you to “ award and make out our writ of execution,” &c. . . . Rym. xv. 740. And again, *Nos igitur ut zelator justitiæ et fidei catholicæ defensor, volentesque . . . hujusmodi hæreses et errores ubique (quantum in nobis est) eradicare et extirpare, ac hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna puniri, &c.* Id. xv. 741.

land would in a short time make common cause with Spain and the Netherlands against France ; and Noailles was informed that his sovereign had no objection to a negociation for a general peace, provided the first motion did not appear to originate from him. Mary offered her mediation : Pole and Gardiner solicited the concurrence of Charles and Henry ; and the two monarchs, after much hesitation, gave their consent. But pride, or policy, induced them to affect an indifference which they did not feel : many weeks passed in useless attempts by each, to draw from the other some intimation of the terms to which he would consent : and as many more were lost in deciding on the persons of the negotiators, because etiquette required that all employed by the one should be of equal rank with those employed by his opponent. At length the congress opened at Marque, within the English pale ; where the cardinal, Gardiner, Arundel, and Paget, appeared as the representatives of Mary, the mediating sovereign. It was soon found that a treaty was impracticable : Charles would not abandon the interests of his ally Philibert, duke of Savoy, and Henry would not restore the dominions of that prince, unless he were to receive Milan from the emperor. Yet the necessities of the belligerent powers imperiously required a cessation of war : and the English ministers, at the conclusion of the congress, returned with the persuasion, that notwithstanding the insuperable objections to a peace, it would not be difficult to conclude a truce for several years<sup>40</sup>.

In the mean while, the emperor, worn out with disease, and wearied with the cares of government, had repeatedly written to his son to return to Flanders : but the queen, believing herself pregnant, extorted from him a promise not to leave her, till after

1555.  
May 22.

June 8.

Queen's supposed pregnancy.

<sup>40</sup> See the dispatches of Noailles through the whole of vol. iv.

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May 28.

her expected delivery. The delusion was not confined to herself and her husband: even the females of her family, and her medical attendants, entertained the same opinion. Preparations were made: public prayers were ordered for her safety, and that of her child: her physicians were kept in daily attendance; and even ambassadors were named to announce the important intelligence to foreign courts. Week after week passed away: still Mary's expectations were disappointed; and it was generally believed that she was in the same situation with the lady Ambrose Dudley, who very recently had mistaken for pregnancy a state of disease. But the midwife, contrary to her own conviction, thought proper to encourage the hopes of the king and queen: and on a supposition of miscalculation of time, two more months were suffered to elapse before the delusion was removed. Sometimes it was rumoured that Mary had died in child-bed: sometimes that she had been delivered of a son: her enemies indulged in sarcasms, epigrams, and lampoons; and the public mind was kept in a constant state of suspense and expectation. At last the royal pair, relinquishing all hope, proceeded in state from Hampton court through London to Greenwich; whence Philip, after a short stay, departed for Flanders. He left the queen with every demonstration of attachment; and recommended her in strong terms to the care of cardinal Pole<sup>41</sup>.

Aug. 4.

Aug. 26.

Sep. 4.

Death of Gardiner.

Mary consoled her grief for the absence of her husband, by devoting the more early part of each day to practices of charity and devotion, the afternoon to affairs of state, to which she gave

<sup>41</sup> Noailles, iv. 331. 334. v. 12. 50. 77. 83. 99. 126. Michele's memoir to the senate, MSS. Barberini, 1208. The cabinet, after his departure, consisted of the cardinal, whenever he could and would attend, (for he objected to meddle in temporal matters) the

chancellor and treasurer, the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, the bishop of Ely and lord Paget, Rochester, and Petre the secretary. See the instrument of appointment in Burnet, iii. rec. 256.



such attention as in a short time injured her health. The king, though occupied by the war with France, continued to exercise considerable influence in the government of the kingdom. He maintained a frequent correspondence with the ministers; and no appointment was made, no measure was carried into execution, without his previous knowledge and consent<sup>42</sup>. Before his departure he had reluctantly acquiesced in the wish of the queen, who, considering the impoverished state of the church, judged it her duty to restore to it such ecclesiastical property, as during the late reigns had been vested in the crown. She had renounced the supremacy, could she retain the wealth which resulted from the assumption of that authority? She saw the clergy suffering under the pressure of want, was she not bound to furnish relief out of that portion of their property, which still remained in her hands? Her ministers objected the amount of her debts, the poverty of the exchequer, and the necessity of supporting the dignity of the crown: but she replied, that "she set more by the salvation of her soul, than by ten such crowns." On the opening of the parliament, to relieve the apprehensions of the other possessors of church property, a papal bull was read, confirming the grant already made by the legate, and for greater security, excepting it from the operation of another bull recently issued: after which Gardiner explained to the two houses, the wants of the clergy and of the crown, and the solicitude of the queen to make adequate provision for both. He spoke that day and the next, with an ability and eloquence that excited universal applause<sup>43</sup>. But the exertion was too great for his debilitat-

<sup>42</sup> Poli ep. v. 41. 44.

<sup>43</sup> His duobus diebus ita mihi visus est non modo seipsum iis rebus superasse, quibus cæteros superare solet, ingenio, eloquentia, prudentia, pietate, sed etiam ipsas sui corporis

vires. Pole to Philip, v. 46. From this and similar passages in the letters of Pole, I cannot believe that that jealousy existed between him and Gardiner, which it has pleased some historians to suppose.

CHAP.

II.

Nov. 12.

ed frame. His health had long been on the decline: at his return from the house on the second day, he repaired to his chamber, and having lingered three weeks, expired. His death was a subject of deep regret to Mary, who lost in him a most able, faithful, and zealous servant; but it was hailed with joy by the French ambassador, the factious, and the reformers, who considered him as the chief support of her government<sup>44</sup>. During his illness he edified all around him by his piety and resignation, often observing, "I have sinned with Peter, but have not yet learned "to weep bitterly with Peter<sup>45</sup>." By his will he bequeathed all his property to his royal mistress, with a request that she would pay his debts, and provide for his servants. It proved but an inconsiderable sum; though his enemies had accused him of having amassed between thirty and forty thousand pounds<sup>46</sup>.

Mary restores  
the church  
property.

The indisposition of the chancellor did not prevent the ministers from introducing a bill for a subsidy into the lower house. It was the first aid that Mary had asked of her subjects: but Noailles immediately began his intrigues, and procured four of the best speakers among the commons, to oppose it in every stage. It had been proposed to grant two fifteenths, with a subsidy of four shillings in the pound: but, whether it were owing to the hirelings of Noailles, or to the policy of the ministers, who demanded more than they meant to accept, Mary, by message, declined the two fifteenths, and was content with a subsidy of less amount than had been originally proposed<sup>47</sup>.

Nov. 2.

<sup>44</sup> See note (D).

<sup>45</sup> "He desired that the passion of our Saviour might be redde unto him, and when they came to the denial of St. Peter, he bid them stay there, for (saythe he) negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed nondum flevi amare cum Petro". Wardword, 48.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 206.

<sup>47</sup> The subsidy was of two shillings in the pound on lands; eight-pence on goods, to ten pounds; sixteen-pence on goods above ten pounds. St. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 23.: but those who paid for lands were not rated for their personalities. Lord Talbot tells his father, that "the common housse wold have "graunted hurr ii fyftenes," but that she,

The death of Gardiner interrupted the plans of the council. That minister had undertaken to procure the consent of parliament to the queen's plan of restoring the church property vested in the crown: now Mary herself assumed his office, and sending for a deputation from each house, explained her wish, and the reasons on which it was grounded. In the lords, the bill passed with only two dissentient voices: in the commons, it had to encounter considerable opposition, but was carried by a majority of 193 to 126. By it the tenths and first fruits, the rectories, benefices appropriate, glebe lands, and tithes annexed to the crown, since the twentieth of Henry VIII. producing a yearly revenue of about £60,000, were resigned by the queen, and placed at the disposal of the cardinal, for the augmentation of small livings, the support of preachers, and the furnishing of exhibitions to scholars in the universities; but subject, at the same time, to all the pensions and corrodies, with which they had been previously encumbered<sup>48</sup>. In consequence of this cession, Pole ordered that the exaction of the first fruits should immediately cease: that livings of twenty marks and under, should be relieved from the annual payment of tenths; that livings of a greater value should, for the present, contribute only one twentieth toward the charges with which the clergy were burdened; and that the patronage of the rectories and vicarages, previously vested in the crown, should revert to the

"of hurr lyberalyte, refusyd it, and said, she wold not take no more of them at that tyme." Lodge, i. 207. "She gave thanks for the two fifteenths, and was contented to refuse them." Journal of Commons, p. 43. "We have forborne to ask any fifteenths." The queen to the earl of Bath, in Mr. Gage's elegant "History and Antiquities of Hengrave," p. 154. Yet Noailles asserts, that the fifteenths were refused by parliament, and

takes to himself the merit of the refusal, v. 185. 190 252. I often suspect that this ambassador deceived his master intentionally.

<sup>48</sup> Pole, v. 46. 51. 53. 56. Some writers have said, that the queen sought to procure an act, compelling the restoration of church property, in whatever hands it might be. The contrary is evident, from the whole tenor of Pole's correspondence.



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bishops of the respective dioceses, who, in return, should contribute proportionably to a present of seven thousand pounds to be made to the king and queen<sup>49</sup>.

At the same time, that the monastic bodies might not complain of neglect, Mary re-established the grey friars at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the Brigittins at Sion; three houses, the former inhabitants of which had provoked the vengeance of Henry, by their conscientious opposition to his innovations. The dean and prebendaries of Westminster retired on pensions, and yielded their church to a colony of twenty-eight Benedictine monks, all of them beneficed clergymen, who had quitted rich livings, to embrace the monastic institute<sup>50</sup>. In addition, the house of the knights of St. John arose from its ruins, and the dignity of lord prior was conferred on sir Thomas Tresham. But these renewed establishments fell again on the queen's demise: her hospital at the Savoy was alone suffered to remain. She had endowed it with abbey lands; and the ladies of the court, at her recommendation or command, had furnished it with necessaries.

Dudley's  
conspiracy.

While Gardiner lived, his vigilance had checked the intrigues of the factious: his death emboldened them to renew their machinations against the government. Secret meetings were now held; defamatory libels on the king and queen were found

<sup>49</sup> Wilk. Con. 153. 175. 177. Noailles says, that several bills proposed by the court were rejected, v. 252: yet only one of them is mentioned in the journals of either house, "against such as had departed the realm without leave, or should contemptuously make their abode there." It was unanimously passed by the lords, but was lost on a division in the commons. Journals, 46. I may add, that Burnet, ii. 322, represents Story as opposing, in this parliament, "licences" from Rome. The journals shew,

that the "licences" were monopolies, granted by the queen, her father, and her brother. Journals of Commons, p. 44.

<sup>50</sup> Feckenham was again appointed abbot, but only for three years. For the cardinal disapproved of the ancient custom of abbots for life; and had sent to Italy for two monks, who might establish in England the discipline observed in the more rigid communities abroad. Priuli to Beccatello, in Pole's ep. v. app. 347.

scattered in the streets, in the palace, and in both houses of parliament; and reports were circulated that Mary, hopeless of issue to succeed her, had determined to settle the crown on her husband, after her decease. If we may believe her counsellors, there was no foundation for these rumours; she had never hinted any such design: nor if she had, would she have found a man to second it<sup>51</sup>. But it was for the interest of the French monarch, that the falsehood should be believed; and Noailles made every effort to support its credit. Under the auspices of that intriguing minister, and by the agency of Freitville, a French refugee, a new conspiracy was formed, which had for its object to depose Mary, and to raise Elizabeth to the throne. The conduct of the enterprise was intrusted to sir Henry Dudley, a relation and partisan of the attainted duke of Northumberland, whose services had been purchased by the French king with the grant of a considerable pension. The connexions of Dudley with the chiefs of the gossellers, and of the discontented in the southern counties, furnished well-grounded hopes of success: assurances had been obtained of the willing co-operation of Elizabeth and her friends: and the French cabinet had engaged to convey to England, at the shortest warning, the earl of Devonshire, now on his road from Brussels to Italy. To arrange the minor details, and to procure the necessary supplies, Dudley, in disguise, sailed to the coast of Normandy, and was followed by three more of the conspirators; but they arrived at a most inauspicious moment, just when the king had, in opposition to the remonstrances of his minister Montmorency, concluded a truce for five years with Philip. Henry was embarrassed by their presence. Ashamed to appear as an

Dec. 16.

1556.  
Feb. 3.<sup>51</sup> Noailles, v. 171. 242. 365.

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accomplice in a conspiracy against a prince, with whom he was now on terms of amity, he ordered Dudley and his companions to keep themselves concealed, and advised their associates in England, particularly the lady Elizabeth, to suspend, for some time, the projected insurrection. Events, he observed, would follow, more favourable to the success of the enterprise; at present it was their best policy to remain quiet, and to elude suspicion by assuming the mask of loyalty<sup>52</sup>.

Attempt to rob  
the treasury.

But dilatory counsels accorded not with the desperate circumstances of Kingston, Throckmorton, Udal, Staunton, and the other conspirators; who, rejecting the advice of their French ally, determined to carry into immediate execution the first part of the original plot. To excite or foment the public discontent, they had reported that Philip devoted to Spanish purposes, the revenue of the English crown: though at the same time they knew that, on different occasions, he had brought an immense mass of treasure into the kingdom<sup>53</sup>, of which, one portion had been distributed in presents, another had served to defray the expenses of the marriage, and the remainder, amounting to fifty thousand pounds, was still lodged in the royal exchequer. A plan was devised to surprise the guard, and to obtain possession of this money: but one of the con-

Mar.

<sup>52</sup> Noailles, 232. 234. 254, 255, 256. 262, 263. 303. That the lady Elizabeth was concerned in it, seems placed beyond dispute, by the following passage in the instructions to Noailles, after the conclusion of the truce: *et surtout eviter que madame Elizabeth ne se remue en sorte du monde pour entreprendre ce que m'escrivez: car ce seroit tout gaster, et perdre le fruit qu'ilz peuvent attendre de leurs desseings, qu'il est besoin traicter et mesner à la longue.* Ibid. 299.

<sup>53</sup> On one occasion, twenty-seven chests of bullion, each above a yard long, were con-

veyed to the Tower in twenty carts: on another, ninety-nine horses and two carts were employed for a similar purpose. Stow, 626. Heylin, 209. Persons assures us, that Philip defrayed all the expenses of the combined fleet which escorted him to England, and of the festivities in honour of the marriage. Wardword, 108. And the Venetian ambassador informs the senate, that the report of his spending the money of the nation was false: he had spent immense sums of his own. Barber. MSS. N°. 1208.



spirators proved a traitor; of the others, several, who had been apprehended by his means, paid the forfeit of their lives; and many sought and obtained an asylum in France. The lord Clinton, who had been commissioned to congratulate with Henry on the conclusion of the truce, immediately demanded the fugitives, as "traitors, heretics, and outlaws." Mary had recently gratified the king in a similar request: he could not, in decency, return a refusal, but replied, that he knew nothing of the persons in question: if they had been received in France, it must have been through respect to the queen, whose subjects they had stated themselves to be: all that he could do, was to make inquiry, and to order that the moment they were discovered, they should be delivered to the resident ambassador. With this illusory answer lord Clinton returned<sup>54</sup>.

Among the prisoners apprehended in England were Peckham and Werne, two officers in the household of Elizabeth; from whose confessions much was elicited to implicate the princess herself. She was rescued from danger by the interposition of Philip, who, despairing of issue by his wife, foresaw that, if Elizabeth were removed out of the way, the English crown, at the decease of Mary, would be claimed by the young queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin of France. It was for his interest to prevent a succession, which would add so considerably to the power of his rival, and for that purpose to preserve the life of the only person, who, with any probability of success, could oppose the claim of the Scottish queen. By his orders the inquiry was dropped; and Mary, sending her sister a ring in token of her affection, professed to believe that Elizabeth was

Elizabeth is  
accused.

<sup>54</sup> Stow, 628. Noailles, 313. 327. 347. 353. The object of the French king was d'entretenir Duddelay doucement et secrete- ment, pour s'en servir, s'il en est de besoin, lui donnant moyen d'entretenir aussy par delà les intelligences. Ibid. 310.

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innocent, and that her officers had presumed to make use of her name without her authority. They were executed as traitors; and the princess gladly accepted, in their place, sir Thomas Pope, and Robert Gage, at the recommendation of the council <sup>55</sup>.

Cleobury's  
plot.

Many weeks did not elapse before the exiles in France made a new attempt to excite an insurrection. There was among them a young man, of the name of Cleobury, whose features bore a strong resemblance to those of the earl of Devonshire. Having been instructed in the character, which he had undertaken to act, he was landed on the coast of Sussex, assumed the name of the earl, spoke of the princess as privy to his design, and took the opportunity to proclaim in a church, "the lady Elizabeth queen, and her beloved bed-fellow, lord Edward Courteney, king." There was supposed to exist a kind of magic in the name of Courteney; but the result dissipated the illusion. The people, as soon as they had recovered from their surprise, apprehended Cleobury, who suffered, at Bury, the penalty of his treason. Two months later the real earl of Devonshire died of an ague at Padua.

June.

July.

Elizabeth  
wishes to es-  
cape to  
France.

Aug. 2.

Though Cleobury had employed the name of Elizabeth, we have no reason to charge her with participation in the imposture. The council pretended, at least, to believe her innocent; and she herself, in a letter to Mary, expressed her detestation of all such attempts, wishing, that "there were good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts; then, whatsoever others should subject by malice, the queen would be sure of by knowledge: and the more such misty clouds should offusate the clear light of her truth, the more her tried thoughts would glister to the

<sup>55</sup> MS. Life of the duchess of Feria, 154. edictum, p. 70.  
Strype, 297, 298. Philopater, Resp. ad

“ dimming of their hidden malice<sup>56</sup>.” Agitated, however, by her fears, whether they arose from the consciousness of guilt or from the prospect of future danger, she resolved to seek an asylum in France, of which she had formerly received an offer from Henry, through the hands of Noailles<sup>57</sup>. With the motives of the king we are not acquainted. He may have wished to create additional embarrassment to Mary, perhaps to have in his power the only rival of his daughter-in-law, the queen of Scotland. But Noailles was gone: and his brother and successor, the bishop of Acqs, appears to have received no instructions on the subject. When the countess of Sussex waited on him in disguise, and inquired whether he possessed the means of transporting the princess in safety to France, he expressed the strongest disapprobation of the project, and advised Elizabeth to learn wisdom from the conduct of her sister. Had Mary, after the death of Edward, listened to those who wished her to take refuge with the emperor in Flanders, she would still have remained in exile. If Elizabeth hoped to ascend the throne, she must never leave the shores of England. The countess returned with a similar message, and received again the same advice. A few years later the ambassador boasted, that Elizabeth was indebted to him for her crown<sup>58</sup>.

Had the princess been willing to marry, she might easily have extricated herself from these embarrassments; but from policy or inclination she obstinately rejected every proposal. As presumptive heir to the crown, she was sought by different princes; and, as her sincerity in the profession of the ancient faith was

Had objection  
to marry.

<sup>56</sup> Stow, 628. The letters are in Burnet, la royne. Noailles, 309. 329.

ii. rec. 314. Strype, iii. 335. 338. In the <sup>57</sup> Camden, Appar. 20.

correspondence of Noailles with his sovereign, to encourage these conspirators, is elegantly termed, keeping la puce à l'oreille de <sup>58</sup> See his letter of Dec. 2, 1570, to du Haillant, in Noailles, i. 334.



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generally questioned, men were eager to see her united, the catholics to a catholic, the protestants to a protestant husband. Her suitors professing the reformed doctrines, were the king of Denmark for his son, and the king of Sweden for himself. The envoy of the latter reached her house in disguise ; but he was refused admission, and referred to the queen, whom Elizabeth assured, that she had never heard the name of his master before, and hoped never to hear it again ; adding, that as, in the reign of Edward, she had refused several offers, so she persisted in the same resolution of continuing, with her sister's good pleasure, a single woman. The catholic prince, in whose favour much interest had been made, was Philibert, duke of Savoy, whom Philip sought to indemnify for the loss of his hereditary states by the reversion of the English crown. Mary approved of the match, as the probable means of securing the permanency of the catholic worship after her death ; but she refused to force the inclinations of Elizabeth. To the counsellors and divines, who urged her at Philip's request to employ authority, she answered, that it was essential to marriage that it should be free, and that her conscience forbad her to compel her sister to wed the man of whom she disapproved<sup>59</sup>. From that period till the death of Mary, the princess resided, apparently at liberty, but in reality under the eyes of watchful guardians, in her house at Hatfield, and occasionally at court. Her friends complained, that her allowance did not enable her to keep up the dignity of second person in the realm. But it would have been folly in the queen to have supplied Elizabeth with the means of multiplying her adherents : and she was, at the same time, anxious to reduce the enormous debt of the crown. With this view she had adopted a severe system of retrenchment in her own house-

<sup>59</sup> Camden, 20. Burnet, ii. rec. 325. Strype, iii. 317, 318. rec. 189.

hold : it could not be expected that she should encourage expense in the household of her sister.

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But whatever were the mental sufferings of Elizabeth, they bore no proportion to those of Mary. 1°. The queen was perfectly aware that her popularity, which at first had seated her on the throne, had long been on the decline. She had incurred the hatred of the merchants and country gentlemen by the loans of money, which her poverty had compelled her to require ; her economy, laudable as it was in her circumstances, had earned for her the reproach of parsimony from some, and of ingratitude from others ; the enemies of her marriage continued to predict danger to the liberties of England from the influence of her Spanish husband ; the protestants, irritated by persecution, ardently wished for another sovereign ; the most malicious reports, the most treasonable libels, even hints of assassination, were circulated ; and men were found to misrepresent to the public, all her actions, as proceeding from interested or anti-national motives. 2°. She began to fear for the permanency of that religious worship, which it had been the first wish of her heart to re-establish. She saw, that the fires of Smithfield had not subdued the obstinacy of the dissenters from the established creed ; she knew that in the higher classes, few had any other religion than their own interest or convenience ; and she had reason to suspect, that the presumptive heir to the crown, though she had long professed herself a catholic, still cherished in her breast those principles which she had imbibed in early youth. 3°. On Elizabeth herself she could not look without solicitude. It was natural that the wrongs which Catherine of Arragon had suffered from the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn, should beget a feeling of hostility between their respective daughters. But the participation of Elizabeth in the first insurrection had widened the breach ; and

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Troubles of  
the queen.

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the frequent use made of her name by every subsequent conspirator, served to confirm the suspicions of one sister, and to multiply the apprehensions of the other. In the eye of Mary, Elizabeth was a bastard and a rival; in that of Elizabeth, Mary was a jealous and vindictive sovereign. To free her mind of this burthen, the queen had lately thought of two expedients: either to send Elizabeth to reside in Philip's dominions abroad, or to procure an act of parliament declaring her illegitimate and incapable of the succession; but the king would consent to no measure which might strengthen the claim of the dauphiness to the crown. Mary acquiesced in the will of her husband; and from that time, whenever Elizabeth resided at court, treated her in private with kindness, and in public with distinction. Yet it was thought, that there was in this more of shew than of reality; and that doubt and fear, jealousy and resentment, still lurked within her bosom. Lastly, the absence of her husband was a source of daily disquietude. If she loved him, Philip had deserved it by his kindness and attention. To be deprived of his society was of itself a heavy affliction; but it was most severely felt when she stood in need of advice and support<sup>60</sup>. Gardiner, whose very name had awed the factious, was no more. His place had, indeed, been supplied by Heath, archbishop of York, a learned and upright prelate; but, though he might equal his predecessor in abilities and zeal, he was less known, and therefore less formidable, to the adversaries of the government. It is not surprising, that, in such circumstances, the queen should wish for the presence and protection of her husband. She importuned him by long and repeated letters; she sent the lord

<sup>60</sup> All these particulars respecting Elizabeth, and the troubles of Mary, are taken from the interesting memoir of Michele, the Venetian ambassador. Lansdowne MSS.

840. B. fol. 155. 157. 160. Noailles represents her as afflicted with jealousy; but this writer declares the contrary.



Paget to urge him to return without delay. But Philip, to whom his father had now resigned all his dominions in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, was overwhelmed with business of more importance to him than the tranquillity of his wife, or of her government; and, to pacify her mind, he made her frequent promises, the fulfilment of which it was always in his power to elude. He had lately seen with alarm the elevation to the pontifical dignity of the cardinal Caraffa, by birth a Neapolitan, who had always distinguished himself by his opposition to the Spanish ascendancy in his native country, and on that account had suffered occasional affronts from the resentment of Ferdinand and Charles. The symptoms of dissension soon appeared. Philip suspected a design against his kingdom of Naples; and the new pontiff supported with menaces, what he deemed the rights of the holy see. The negotiations between the two powers, their mutual complaints and recriminations, are subjects foreign from this history; but the result was a strong suspicion in the mind of Paul, that the Spaniards sought to remove him from the pope-dom, and a resolution on his part to place himself under the protection of France. It chanced that about midsummer, in the year 1556, dispatches were intercepted at Terracina, from Garcilasso della Vega, the Spanish agent in Rome, to the duke of Alva, the viceroy of Naples, describing the defenceless state of the papal territory, and the ease with which it might be conquered, before an army could be raised for its defence. The suspicion of the pontiff was now confirmed; he ordered the chiefs of the Spanish faction in Rome to be arrested as traitors; and instructed his officers to proceed against Philip for a breach of the feudal tenure, by which he held the kingdom of Naples. But the viceroy advanced with a powerful army as far as Tivoli: Paul, to save his capital, submitted to solicit an armistice;

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and the war would have been terminated without bloodshed, had not the duke of Guise, at the head of a French army, hastened into Italy. Henry had secretly concluded a league with the pope soon after his accession to the pontificate ; he violated that treaty by consenting to the truce with Philip for five years : and now he broke the truce, in the hope of humbling the pride of the Spanish monarch, by placing a French prince on the throne of Naples, and investing another with the ducal coronet of Milan <sup>61</sup>.

Stafford's plot.

It seems, that in the estimation of this prince, every breach of treaty, every departure from honesty might be justified, on the plea of expediency <sup>62</sup>. He had no real cause of resentment against Mary ; and yet, from the commencement of her reign, he had acted the part of a bitter enemy. His object had been, first to prevent the marriage of the queen with Philip, and then to disable her from lending aid to her husband. With these views he had, under the mask of friendship, fomented the discontent of her subjects, had encouraged them to rise in arms against her, and had offered an asylum, and furnished pensions to her rebels. Having determined to renew the war with Philip, he called on Dudley and his associates to resume their treasonable practices against Mary. In Calais, and the territory belonging to Calais, were certain families of reformers, whose resentment had been kindled by the persecution of their brethren : with these the chiefs of the fugitives opened a clandestine correspondence : and a plan was arranged for the delivery of

<sup>61</sup> See these particulars, drawn from the original documents by Pallavicino, ii. 436---476. The complaints of the duke of Alva, and the recrimination of the college of cardinals, are in the *Lettere de Principi*, i. 190.

<sup>62</sup> It is amusing to observe that, while Noailles perpetually accuses Englishmen of

habits of falsehood, he is continually practising it himself, sometimes of choice, sometimes by order of his sovereign. Thus, with respect to the league with the pope, he was instructed to keep it secret, *couvrant, niant, cachant, et desniant ladicte intelligence avecques sadite saintete*. Noailles, v. 199.

Hammes and Guisnes, two important fortresses, into the hands of the French<sup>63</sup>. But the enterprise, to the mortification of Henry, was defeated by the communications of a spy in the pay of the English government, who wormed himself into the confidence, and betrayed the secrets of the conspirators. Within a few days a different attempt was made by another of the exiles, Thomas Stafford, second son to lord Stafford, and grandson to the last duke of Buckingham. With a small force of Englishmen, Scots and Frenchmen, he sailed from Dieppe, surprised the old castle of Scarborough, and immediately published a proclamation, as protector and governor of the realm. He was come, “not to work to his own advancement, touching the possession of the crown,” but to deliver his countrymen from the tyranny of strangers, and “to defeat the most devilish devices of Mary, “unrightful and unworthy queen,” who had forfeited her claim to the sceptre, by her marriage to a Spaniard, who lavished all the treasures of the realm upon Spaniards, and who had resolved to deliver the twelve strongest fortresses in the kingdom to twelve thousand Spaniards. He had determined to die bravely in the field, rather than see the slavery of his country: and he called on all Englishmen, animated with similar sentiments, to join the standard of independence, and to fight for the preservation of their lives, lands, wives, children and treasures, from the possession of Spaniards. But his hopes were quickly extinguished. Not a man obeyed the proclamation. Wotton, the English ambassador, had apprized the queen of his design; and when, on the fourth day, the earl of Westmoreland arrived with a considerable force, Stafford, unable to defend the ruins of the castle, surrendered at discretion<sup>64</sup>. The failure of these re-

<sup>63</sup> The information, given by the spy, is in Strype, iii. 358.

<sup>64</sup> Stafford's proclamation, and the queen's answer, are in Strype, iii. rec. 259.—262. Got-



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peated attempts ought to have undeceived the French monarch. Noailles and the exiles had persuaded him that discontent pervaded the whole population of the kingdom; that every man longed to free himself from the rule of Mary: and that at the first call, multitudes would unsheath their swords against her. But whenever the trial was made, the result proved the contrary. Men displayed their loyalty, by opposing the traitors: and Henry, by attempting to embarrass the queen, provoked her to lend to her husband that aid, which it was his great object to avert.

Philip returns  
to England.

Hitherto Philip had discovered no inclination for war. Content with the extensive dominions, which had fallen to his lot, he sought rather to enjoy the pleasures becoming his youth and station: and, during his residence in England, had devoted much of his time to the chase, to parties of amusement, and to exercises of arms<sup>65</sup>. The bad faith of Henry awakened his resentment, and compelled him to draw the sword. But though the armistice had been broken in Italy, he was careful to make no demonstration of hostilities in Flanders, hoping by this apparent inactivity to deceive the enemy, till he had collected a numerous force in Spain, and engaged an army of mercenaries in Germany. In March he revisited Mary, not so much in deference to her representations, as to draw England into the war with France. It is no wonder that the queen, after the provocations which she had received, should be willing to gratify her husband: but she left the decision to her council, in which the question was repeatedly debated. At first it was determined in the negative,

Mar. 17.

win, 129. Heylin, 242. The pretence that this plot was got up by Wotton, the English ambassador in France, in order to provoke the queen to war, is improbable in itself, and must appear incredible to those who have

read in the letters of Noailles, his notices of the important, though hazardous enterprises, designed by the exiles. Noail. v. 256. 262.

<sup>65</sup> Noailles, v. 221.

on account of the poverty of the crown, the high price of provisions, the rancour of religious parties, and the condition in the marriage treaty, by which Philip promised not to involve the nation in the existing war against France. When it was replied, that the present was a new war, and that to preserve the dignity of the crown, it was requisite to obtain satisfaction for the injuries offered to the queen by Henry; the majority of the council proposed, that instead of embarking as a principal in the war, she should confine herself to that aid, to which she was bound by ancient treaties, as the ally of the house of Burgundy. At last the enterprise of Stafford effected, what neither the influence of the king, nor the known inclination of the queen, had been able to accomplish. A proclamation was issued, containing charges June 7. against the French monarch, which it was not easy to refute. From the very accession of Mary he had put on the appearance of a friend, and acted as an adversary. He had approved of the rebellion of Northumberland, and supported that of Wyatt: to him, through his ambassador, had been traced the conspiracies of Dudley and Ashton; and from him these traitors had obtained an asylum, and pensions: by his suggestions, attempts had been made to surprise Calais and its dependencies; and with his money Stafford had procured the ships and troops, with which he had obtained possession of the castle of Scarborough. The king and queen owed it to themselves and to the nation, to resent such a succession of injuries: and therefore they warned the English merchants to abstain from all traffic in the dominions of a monarch, against whom it was intended to declare war, and from whom they might expect the confiscation of their property<sup>66</sup>. Norroy, king at arms, was already on his

<sup>66</sup> Godwin, 129.

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Henry's manifesto.

June 12.

Victory of St.  
Quentin.  
July.

road to Paris. According to the ancient custom he defied Henry; who coolly replied that it did not become him to enter into altercation with a woman; that he intrusted his quarrel with confidence to the decision of the Almighty; and that the result would reveal to the world, who had the better cause. But when he heard of the proclamation, he determined to oppose to it a manifesto, in which he complained that Mary had maintained spies in his dominions; had laid new and heavy duties on the importation of French merchandise, and had unnecessarily adopted the personal enmities of her husband. The bishop of Acqs was immediately recalled: at Calais he improved the opportunity to examine the fortifications, and remarked that from the gate of the harbour to the old castle, and from the castle for a considerable distance to the right, the rampart lay in ruins. At his request Senarpont, governor of Boulogne, repaired in disguise to the same place; and both concurred in the opinion, that its boasted strength consisted only in its reputation; and that, in its present state, it offered an easy conquest to a sudden and unexpected assailant. The ambassador, when he reached the court, acquainted his sovereign with the result of these observations; but at the same time laid before him a faithful portrait of the exiles and their adherents. The zeal of his brother had induced him to magnify the importance of these people. Their number was small, their influence inconsiderable, and their fidelity doubtful. Experience had shown him, that they were more desirous to obtain the favour of their sovereign by betraying each other, than by molesting her to fulfil their engagements<sup>67</sup>.

Philip was now returned to Flanders, where the mercenaries from Germany, and the troops from Spain, had already arrived.

<sup>67</sup> Noailles, 33. 35.



The earl of Pembroke followed at the head of seven thousand Englishmen<sup>68</sup>: and the command of the combined army, consisting of 40,000 men, was assumed by Philibert, duke of Savoy. Having threatened Marienberg, Rocroi and Guise, he suddenly invested the town of St. Quintin, and the constable Montmorency was ordered by Henry to relieve the place. On one side of St. Quintin, lay a deep and extensive morass, which had hitherto been deemed impassable, and on that account had been neglected by the besiegers. Over this, however, the French commander undertook to throw succours into the town: but the boats became unmanageable amidst the mud and the reeds; the Spanish artillery approached; and the constable in his retreat was overtaken and defeated by the pursuers. Three thousand men fell in the action: twice as many were made prisoners; and among these were numbered the commander in chief, the marshal St. Andrè, and many of the first nobility of France. While the forces under the earl of Pembroke distinguished themselves in this memorable victory, the English fleet rode triumphant on the ocean, and kept the maritime provinces of France in a state of perpetual alarm. Bourdeaux and Bayonne were alternately menaced: descents were made on several points of the coast: and the plunder of the defenceless inhabitants rewarded the services of the adventurers<sup>69</sup>.

Aug. 10.

When Mary determined to aid her husband against Henry,

Motions of  
the Scots.

<sup>68</sup> "To equip this army, the queen had raised a loan by privy seals, dated July 31, requiring certain gentlemen in different counties to lend her £100 each, to be repaid in the month of November. Strype, iii. 424.

<sup>69</sup> Noailles, i. 17—19. The success of the English at St. Quintin, irritated the venom of Goodman, one of the most celebrated of the exiles at Geneva, who in his treatise entitled, "how to obey or disobey," thus addresses

those among the reformers, who, "to please the wicked Jezabel," had fought on that day: "Is this the love that ye bear to the word of God, O ye Gospellers? Have ye been so taught in the gospel, to be wilful murderers of yourselves and others abroad, rather than lawful defenders of God's people, and your country at home?" Apud Strype, iii. 441.

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she had made up her mind to a war with Scotland. In that kingdom the national animosity against the English, the ancient alliance with France, the marriage of the queen to the dauphin, and the authority of the regent, a French princess, had given the French interest a decided preponderance. From the very commencement of the year, the Scots, for the sole purpose of intimidation, had assumed a menacing attitude: the moment Mary denounced war against Henry, they agreed to assist him by invading the northern counties. The borderers on both sides recommenced their usual inroads, and many captures of small importance were reciprocally made at sea. But to collect a sufficient force for the invasion, required considerable time; before the equinox the weather became stormy; the fords and roads were rendered impassable by the rains; and a contagious disease introduced itself into the Lowlands. It required considerable exertion on the part of the queen regent and of D'Oyseltes, the ambassador, to assemble the army against the beginning of October: they found it a still more difficult task to guide the turbulent and capricious humour of the Scottish nobles. When the auxiliaries from France crossed the Tweed to batter the castle of Wark, the Scots, instead of fighting, assembled in council at Ecford church, where they reminded each other of the fatal field of Flodden, and exaggerated the loss of their ally at the battle of St. Quintin. The earl of Shrewsbury lay before them with the whole power of England: why should the Scots shed their blood for an interest entirely French; why hazard the best hopes of the country without any adequate cause? The earl of Huntley alone ventured to oppose the general sentiment. He was put under a temporary arrest: and in defiance of the threats, the tears, and the entreaties of the regent, the army was disbanded. "Thus," says lord Shrewsbury, "this enterprise, begun with so great bra-

“very, ended in dishonour and shame”<sup>70</sup>. It produced, however, this benefit to France, that it distracted the attention of the English council, and added considerably to the expenses of the war.

At the same time Mary, to her surprise and vexation, found herself involved in a contest with the pontiff. Though Pole, in former times, had suffered much for his attachment to the catholic creed, the cardinal Caraffa had, on one occasion, ventured to express a doubt with respect to his orthodoxy. That this suspicion was unfounded, Caraffa subsequently acknowledged<sup>71</sup>; and after his elevation to the popedom, he had repeatedly pronounced a high eulogium on the English cardinal. Now, however, whether it was owing to the moderation of Pole, which, to the pope’s more ardent zeal, appeared like a dereliction of duty, or to the suggestions of those who sought to widen the breach between Philip and the holy see, Paul reverted to the suspicions which he had before abjured. Though he wished to mask his real intention, he resolved to involve the legate in the same disgrace with his friend cardinal Morone, and to subject the orthodoxy of both to the investigation of the inquisition. It chanced that Philip, in consequence of the war, had made regulations, which seemed to trench on the papal authority: and Paul, to mark his sense of these encroachments, revoked his ministers from all the dominions of that monarch. There was no reason to suppose that Pole was included in this revocation: but the pontiff ordered a letter to be prepared, announcing to him that his legatine authority was at an end, and ordering him to hasten immediately to Rome. Carne, the queen’s agent, informed her by express of the pope’s

Contest between Mary and the pope.

<sup>70</sup> See the long correspondence on the subject of this intended invasion in Lodge, i. 240---293.  
<sup>71</sup> Pol. ep. iv, 91, v. 122.



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II.

May 21.

May 25.

June 14.

July 20.

Sept. 14.

intention, and in the mean time, by his remonstrances, extorted an illusory promise of delay. Philip and Mary expostulated: the English prelates and nobility, in separate letters, complained of the injury which religion would receive from the measure; and Pole himself represented that the control of a legate was necessary, though it mattered little whether that office was exercised by himself or another<sup>72</sup>. This expression suggested a new expedient. Peyto, a Franciscan friar, eighty years of age, was the queen's confessor: him the pope, in a secret consistory, created a cardinal; and immediately transferred to him all the powers which had hitherto been exercised by Pole<sup>73</sup>. In this emergency, Mary's respect for the papal authority did not prevent her from having recourse to the precautions, which had often been employed by her predecessors. Orders were issued, that every messenger from foreign parts should be detained and searched. The bearer of the papal letters was arrested at Calais: his dispatches were clandestinely forwarded to Mary; and the letter of revocation was either secreted, or destroyed. Thus it happened that Peyto never received any official notice of his preferment, nor Pole of his recal. The latter, however, ceased to exercise the legatine authority; and dispatched Ormanetto, his chancellor, to Rome. That messenger arrived at a most favourable moment. The papal army had been defeated at Palliano; the news of the victory at St. Quintin had arrived; and peace was signed

<sup>72</sup> These letters may be seen in Pole's ep. v. 27. Strype, iii. rec. 231. Burnet, ii. 315. In them great complaint is made, that the pope should deprive the cardinal of the authority of legate, which for centuries had been annexed to the office of archbishop of Canterbury. It would appear that this was a mistake. For soon afterwards Pole, though he no longer styled himself legatus a latere, assumed the

title of legatus natus, and kept it till his death. Wilk. iv. 149. 153. 171. Pol. ep. v. 181.

<sup>73</sup> Pol. ep. v. 144, ex actis consistorialibus. Paul says, that he had known Peyto when he was in the family of Pole; that from the first he had determined to make him a cardinal; and that he considered him worthy of the honour, both from his own knowledge and the testimony of others. Ibid.

between Paul and Philip. In these circumstances, the pontiff treated Ormanetto with kindness, and referred the determination of the question to his nephew, the cardinal Caraffa, whom he had appointed legate to the king<sup>74</sup>. When that minister reached Brussels, he demanded that both Pole and Peyto should be suffered to proceed to Rome; Pole, that he might clear himself from the charge of heresy, Peyto, that he might aid the pontiff with his advice. Philip referred him to Mary; and Mary returned a refusal<sup>75</sup>. At Rome proceedings against the English cardinal were already commenced: but Pole, in strong, though respectful language, remonstrated against the injustice which was done to his character<sup>76</sup>: Peyto soon afterwards died; and the question remained in suspense, till it was set at rest in the course of a few months by the deaths of all the parties concerned.

CHAP.  
II.

Sept. 24.

Dec. 13.

1558.  
Mar. 30.

April.

The disgrace which had befallen the French arms at St. Quintin had induced Henry to recal the duke of Guise from Italy, and to consult him on the means by which he might restore his reputation, and take revenge for his loss. The reader has seen that he had formerly attempted, through the agency of the exiles, to debauch the fidelity of some among the inhabitants, or the troops in garrison, at Calais. There is reason to believe that he had at present his secret partisans within the town: but, however that may be, the representations of the bishop of Acqs and of the governor of Boulogne had taught him to form a more correct notion of its imaginary strength; and the duke of Guise adopted a plan originally suggested by the admiral Coligni, to assault the fortress in the middle of winter, when, from the depth of the water in the

Loss of Calais.

<sup>74</sup> Beccatello, 380.

<sup>75</sup> Pallavicino, ii. 500. 502.

<sup>76</sup> Pol. ep. v. 31—36.

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II.

1558.

Jan. 1.

marches, and the severity of the weather, it appeared least exposed to danger. In the month of December twenty-five thousand men, with a numerous train of battering artillery, assembled at Compeigne. Every eye was turned towards St. Quintin. But suddenly the army broke up, took the direction of Calais, and on new year's day was discovered in considerable force on the road from Sandgate to Hammes. The governor, lord Wentworth, had received repeated warnings to provide for the defence of the place: but he persuaded himself that the object of the enemy was not conquest but plunder.

Jan. 2.

The next day the bulwarks of Froyton and Nesle were abandoned by their garrisons; and within twenty-four hours the surrender of Newhaven bridge and of the Risbank, brought the assailants within reach of the town. A battery on St. Peter's

Jan. 3.

heath played on the wall; another opened a wide breach in the

Jan. 4.

castle; and the commander, in expectation of an assault, earnestly solicited reinforcements. Lord Wentworth was admonished that the loss of the town must infallibly follow that of the

Jan. 6.

castle; but he rejected the application, ordered the garrison to be withdrawn, and appointed an engineer to blow up the

Jan. 7.

towers on the approach of the enemy. That same evening, during the ebb-tide, a company of Frenchmen waded across the haven: no explosion took place; and the French standard

Jan. 8.

was unfurled on the walls<sup>77</sup>. The next morning an offer of capitulation was made; and the town, with all the ammunition and merchandise, was surrendered, on condition that the citizens and garrison should have liberty to depart, with the exception of Wentworth himself and of fifty others. Ample supplies of

<sup>77</sup> In excuse of Saul, the engineer, who was charged to blow up the towers, it has been pretended that the water, dropping from

the clothes of the Frenchmen, as they passed over the train, wet the powder, and prevented it from exploding. See Hollinsh. 1135.



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men and stores had been provided by the council: but they were detained at Dover by the tempestuous state of the weather; and no man apprehended that a place of such reputed strength could be lost in the space of a single week. From Calais, the duke led his army to the siege of Guisnes. A breach was made: the assailants were gallantly repulsed: but this success was purchased with the lives of so many men, that lord Grey, the governor, evacuated the town, and two days later surrendered the castle. Thus, in the depth of winter, and within the short lapse of three weeks, was Calais, with all its dependencies, recovered by France, after it had remained in the possession of the English more than two hundred years. On whom the blame should be laid, is uncertain. Some have condemned the ministers, who, under a mistaken notion of economy, had allowed it to be unprovided for a siege: others, and not without apparent cause, have attributed the loss to disaffection and treason<sup>78</sup>. Jan. 20.

To men, who weighed the trivial advantages which had been derived from the possession of the place, against the annual expenses of its garrison and fortifications, the loss appeared in the light of a national benefit: but in the eyes of foreigners it tarnished the reputation of the country, and at home it furnished a subject of reproach to the factious, of regret to the loyal. The queen felt it most poignantly; and we may form a notion of her grief from the declaration which she made on her death-bed, that if her breast were opened, the word "Calais" would be found engraven on her heart<sup>79</sup>. Jan. 22.

Grief of Mary  
and of the na-  
tion.

<sup>78</sup> There is a long account of the siege of Calais in Thuanus, tom. i. part ii. p. 679, and of that of Guisnes, in Hollinshed, 1137—1140: but I have adhered to the official correspondence in the Hardwick papers, i. 103—120. I should add, that lord Went-

worth, and some of his officers, on their return to England, were tried on a charge of high treason. Stow, 634. See also Cabrera, Filipe segundo, 181. 183.

<sup>79</sup> Godwin, 134.

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she met her parliament; and by the mouth of the chancellor solicited a liberal supply. The spirit of the nation had been roused: all men appeared eager to revenge the loss: the clergy granted an aid of eight shillings in the pound, the laity one of four shillings, besides a fifteenth to be raised within four months. Several bills, against the natives of France, but savouring more of resentment than of policy, were thrown out by the moderation of the ministers; and the session closed with two acts for the better defence of the realm, of which one regulated the musters of the militia, the other fixed the proportion of arms, armour, and horses, to be provided by private individuals<sup>80</sup>.

Military operations.

Some weeks before the attempt of the duke of Guise, Philip had warned the council of his design, and had offered, for the defence of Calais, a garrison of Spanish troops. The admonition was received with distrust; and some of the lords hinted a suspicion that, under the colour of preserving the place from the French, he might harbour an intention of keeping it for himself. He now made a second proposal, to join any number of Spaniards to an equal number of English, and to undertake the recovery of the town, before the enemy had repaired the works. Even this offer was declined, on the ground that a sufficient force could not be raised within the appointed time; that the greater part of the ordnance had been lost at Calais and Guisnes; that raw soldiers would not be able to bear the rigours of the season; and that it was necessary to keep up a respectable army at home, to intimidate the factious, and to repress the attempts of the outlaws<sup>81</sup>. For these reasons, the

Feb. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Journals of lords and commons. As the money did not come into the exchequer immediately, the queen borrowed £20,000

of the citizens, at an interest of 12 per cent. Stow, 632.

<sup>81</sup> Their letter is in Strype, iii. 439.

ministers preferred to fortify the coast of Devon, where Dudley menaced a descent, and to prepare an armament, sufficiently powerful to surprise some port on the French coast, as an equivalent for that which had been lost. During the spring seven thousand men were levied, and trained to military evolutions: the lord admiral collected in the harbour of Portsmouth a fleet of one hundred and forty sail; and Philip willingly supplied a strong reinforcement of Flemish troops. In France the capture of Calais had excited an intoxication of joy. The event had been celebrated by the nuptials of the dauphin to the young queen of Scotland; but it was clouded by the calamitous defeat of the marshal de Termes. He was actually engaged with the Spanish force under the count of Egmont, on the banks of the Aa, when the report of the cannon attracted the English admiral Malin, with twelve small vessels, to the mouth of the river. Malin entered with the tide; brought his ships to bear on the enemy's line, and, with the discharge of a few broadsides, threw their right wing into disorder. The victory was completed by the charge of the Spaniards. The French lost five thousand men; and de Termes, Senarpont, governor of Boulogne, and many gallant officers, were made prisoners. To Malin the count proved his gratitude by a present of two hundred captives, that he might receive the profit of their ransom<sup>82</sup>. July 13.

In the action on the banks of the Aa, the greatest part of the garrison of Calais had perished: and there can be little doubt that by an immediate and vigorous attack the town itself might have been recovered. But the grand expedition had previously sailed from Portsmouth, and had already reached the coast of Naval expedition.

<sup>82</sup> Godwin, 132. Stow, 633.



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Bretagne. Its object was to surprise the port of Brest ; and we are ignorant why the lord admiral, instead of proceeding immediately to his destination, amused himself with making a descent in the vicinity of Conquest. He burnt the town, and plundered the adjacent villages : but in the mean time the alarm was given ; troops poured from all quarters into Brest ; and his fears or his prudence induced him to return to England, without having done any thing to raise the reputation of the country, or to repay the expenses of the expedition<sup>83</sup>.

After this failure the last hope of the ministers was placed in the honour and fidelity of Philip. That prince had joined his army of 45,000 men in the vicinity of Dourlens ; and Henry lay with a force scarcely inferior in the neighbourhood of Amiens.

Aug.

Instead, however, of a battle, conferences were opened in the abbey of Cercamp, and both parties professed to be animated with a sincere desire of peace. It was evident that, if the king should yield to the demands of France, Calais was irretrievably lost. But Philip was conscious that he had led the queen into the war, and deemed himself bound in honour to watch no less over her interests than over his own. He resisted the most tempting offers : he declared that the restoration of Calais must be an indispensable condition ; and at last, in despair of subduing the obstinacy of Henry, put an end to the negotiation<sup>84</sup>.

Mary's last  
sickness.

But the reign of Mary was now hastening to its termination. Her health had always been delicate ; from the time of her supposed pregnancy she was afflicted with more frequent and obstinate maladies. Tears no longer afforded her relief from the depression of her spirits ; and the repeated loss of blood by the advice of her physicians, had rendered her pale, languid, and

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> See the official correspondence in Burnet, iii. 258—263.

emaciated<sup>85</sup>. Nor was her mind more at ease than her body. The exiles from Geneva, by the number and virulence of their libels, kept her in a constant state of fear and irritation<sup>86</sup>; and to other causes of anxiety, which have been formerly mentioned, had lately been added the insalubrity of the season<sup>87</sup>, the loss of Calais, and her contest with the pontiff. In August she experienced a slight febrile indisposition at Hampton Court, and immediately removed to St. James's. It was soon ascertained that her disease was the same fever which had proved fatal to thousands of her subjects: and though she languished for three months, with several alternations of improvement and relapse, she never recovered sufficiently to leave her chamber.

During this long confinement, Mary edified all around her by her cheerfulness, her piety, and her resignation to the will of Providence. Her chief solicitude was for the stability of that church which she had restored; and her suspicions of Elizabeth's insincerity prompted her to require from her sister an avowal of her real sentiments. In return Elizabeth complained of Mary's incredulity. She was a true and conscientious believer in the catholic creed; nor could she do more now than she had repeatedly done before, which was to confirm her assertion with her oath. To the duke of Feria, who had come on a visit to the queen from her husband, the princess made the same declaration: and so convinced was that nobleman of her sincerity, that he not only removed the doubts of Mary, but assured Philip that the succession of Elizabeth would cause no alteration in the worship now established by law<sup>88</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Memoir of the Venetian ambassador, fol. 157.

<sup>86</sup> These libels provoked the government to issue, on the 6th of June, a proclamation, stating that books filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, were daily brought from beyond the seas, and some covertly printed within the

realm, and ordering that "whosoever should be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, should be reputed a rebel, and executed according to martial law." Strype, iii. 459.

<sup>87</sup> See note (E).

<sup>88</sup> MS. life of the duchess of Feria, 156.

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II.Meeting of  
parliament.

On the fifth of November, the day fixed at the prorogation, the parliament assembled at Westminster. The ministers in the name of the queen demanded a supply; but little progress was made, under the persuasion that she had but a few days to live. As the danger increased, she ordered Jane Dormer, one of her maids of honour, and afterwards duchess of Feria, to deliver to Elizabeth the jewels in her custody, and to make to the princess three requests: that she would be good to her servants, would repay the sums of money which had been lent on privy seals, and would support the established church. On the morning of her death, mass was celebrated in her chamber. She was perfectly sensible, and expired a few minutes before the conclusion<sup>89</sup>. Her friend and kinsman, cardinal Pole, who had long been confined with a fever, survived her only twenty-two hours. He had reached his fifty-ninth, she her forty-second year<sup>90</sup>.

Death of the  
queen.  
Nov. 17.Her charac-  
ter.

The foulest blot on the character of this queen is her long and cruel persecution of the reformers. The sufferings of the victims naturally beget an antipathy to the woman, by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect what I have already noticed, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party. Mary only practised what *they* taught. It was her misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries.

Her virtues

With this exception, she has been ranked by the more moderate of the reformed writers among the best, though not the greatest, of our princes. They have borne honourable testi-

<sup>89</sup> "She prayed God that the earth might open and swallow her alive, if she were not a true Roman Catholic." Ibid. 129. See also Pat-  
tenson's Image of the two Churches, 435.

<sup>90</sup> MS. life of the duchess of Feria, 128.  
129.

<sup>90</sup> Before his death he sent his chaplain, the dean of Worcester, to the lady Elizabeth. We know not his mes-  
age, but the letter which he took with him may be seen in Hearne's Sylloge, 157.



mony to her virtues: have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion for the poor, and liberality to the distressed: and have recorded her solicitude to restore to opulence the families that had been unjustly deprived of their possessions by her father and brother, and to provide for the wants of the parochial clergy, who had been reduced to penury by the spoliations of the last government<sup>91</sup>. It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproof. It extorted respect from all, even from the most virulent of her enemies. The ladies of her household copied the conduct of their mistress: and the decency of Mary's court was often mentioned with applause by those, who lamented the dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her successor<sup>92</sup>.

The queen was thought by some to have inherited the obstinacy of her father: but there was this difference, that before she formed her decisions, she sought for advice and information, and made it an invariable rule to prefer right to expediency. One of the outlaws, who had obtained his pardon, hoped to ingratiate himself with Mary by devising a plan to render her independent of parliament. He submitted it to the inspection of the Spanish ambassador, by whom it was recommended to her consideration. Sending for Gardiner, she bade him peruse it, and then adjured him, as he should answer at the judgment seat of God, to speak his real sentiments. "Madam," replied the prelate, "it is a pity that so virtuous a lady should be surrounded by such sycophants. The book is naught: it is

<sup>91</sup> *Princeps apud omnes ob mores sanctissimos, pietatem in pauperes, liberalitatem in nobiles atque ecclesiasticos nunquam satis laudata. Camden in apparat. 23. Mulier sane pia, clemens, moribusque castissimis, et usquequaque laudanda, si religionis errorem non spectes. Godwin, 123.*

<sup>92</sup> MS. life of the duchess of Feria, 114. Faunt, Walsingham's secretary, says of Elizabeth's court, that it was a place "where all enormities were practised: where sin reigned in the highest degree." Aug. 6, 1583. Birch, i. 39.

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“filled with things too horrible to be thought of.” She thanked him, and threw the paper into the fire <sup>93</sup>.

Her abilities.

Her natural abilities had been improved by education. She understood the Italian, she spoke the French and Spanish languages: and the ease and correctness with which she replied to the foreigners, who addressed her in Latin, excited their admiration <sup>94</sup>. Her speeches in public and from the throne, were delivered with grace and fluency: and her conferences with Noailles, as related in his dispatches, shew her to have possessed an acute and vigorous mind, and to have been on most subjects a match for that subtle and intriguing negociator.

Her progresses.  
see

It had been the custom of her predecessors to devote the summer months to “progresses” through different counties. But these journeys produced considerable injury and inconvenience to the farmers, who were not only compelled to furnish provisions to the purveyors at inadequate prices, but were withdrawn from the labours of the harvest to aid with their horses and waggon in the frequent removals of the court, and of the multitude which accompanied it. Mary, through consideration for the interests and comforts of the husbandmen, denied herself this pleasure; and generally confined her excursions to Croydon, a manor belonging to the church of Canterbury. There it formed her chief amusement to walk out in the company of her maids, without any distinction of dress, and in this disguise to visit the

<sup>93</sup> This anecdote is told by Persons in one of his tracts, but I have unfortunately mislaid the reference. It bears some resemblance to what I have already related of Gardiner in the reign of Henry (Hist. iv. 291, note 108). There is an allusion to it in the continuation of Henry's history by Andrews, i. 339, note.

<sup>94</sup> Nella latina faria stupir ognuno con ris-

poste che da. Venetian ambassador to the senate, MSS. Barber. 1208. He adds, that she was fond of music and excelled on the monochord and the lute, two fashionable instruments at that time. English writers also praise her proficiency in the Latin language. She had translated for publication the paraphrase of Erasmus on the gospel of St. John. Warton's Sir Thomas Pope, 57.

houses of the neighbouring poor. She inquired into their circumstances, relieved their wants, spoke in their favour to her officers, and often, where the family was numerous, apprenticed, at her own expense, such of the children, as appeared of promising dispositions<sup>95</sup>.

During her reign, short as it was, and disturbed by repeated insurrections, much attention was paid to the interests of the two universities, not only by the queen herself, who restored to them that portion of their revenues, which had devolved on the crown, but also by individuals, who devoted their private fortunes to the advancement of learning. At a time when the rage for polemic disputation had almost expelled the study of classic literature from the schools, sir Thomas Pope founded Trinity college, in Oxford, and made it a particular regulation, that its inmates should acquire “a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin tongue.” About three years later, sir Thomas White established St. John’s, on the site of Bernard’s college, the foundation of archbishop Chichely; and at the same time, the celebrated Dr. Caius, at Cambridge, made so considerable an addition to Gonvil hall, and endowed it with so many advowsons, manors, and demesnes, that it now bears his name, in conjunction with that of the original founder.

Foundation of colleges.

Though her parliaments were convoked for temporary purposes, they made several salutary enactments, respecting the offence of treason, the office of sheriff, the powers of magistrates, the relief of the poor, and the practice of the courts of law. The merit of these may probably be due to her council: but of her own solicitude for the equal administration of justice, we have a convincing proof. It had long been complained that in suits,

Laws.

<sup>95</sup> MS. life of the duchess of Feria, p. 120.



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to which the crown was a party, the subject, whatever were his right, had no probability of a favourable decision, on account of the superior advantages claimed and enjoyed by the counsel for the sovereign. When Mary appointed Morgan chief justice of the court of common pleas, she took the opportunity to express her disapprobation of this grievance. "I charge you, sir," said she, "to minister the law and justice indifferently, without respect of person; and, notwithstanding the old error among you, which will not admit any witness to speak, or other matter to be heard in favour of the adversary, the crown being a party, it is my pleasure, that whatever can be brought in favour of the subject, may be admitted and heard. You are to sit there, not as advocates for me, but as indifferent judges between me and my people"<sup>96</sup>.

Commercial  
treaty with  
Russia.

1555.  
Feb. 6.  
Apr. 1.

1556.  
July 20.

Nov. 10.

Neither were the interests of trade neglected during her government. She had the honour of concluding the first commercial treaty with Russia. On the return of Chancellor from his northern expedition, she incorporated by charter, the company of merchant adventurers trading to Muscovy, and sent back the same navigator with a letter to the czar, John Basilovitch. Chancellor proceeded up the Dwina, traversed the country to Moscow, obtained from the czar the most flattering promises, and returned with Osep Napea Gregorivitch, as ambassador to Mary. They reached the bay of Pettisligo in the north of Scotland: but during the night the ship was driven from her anchors upon the rocks: Chancellor perished; the ambassador saved his life: but his property, and the presents for the queen, were carried off by the natives, who plundered the wreck. Mary sent two messengers to Edin-

<sup>96</sup> State Trials, i. 72.

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burgh to supply his wants, and to complain of the detention of his effects<sup>97</sup>. No redress could be obtained; but she made every effort to console him for his loss. On the borders of each county the sheriffs received him in state: he was met in the neighbourhood of London by lord Montague with three hundred horse; and during his stay in the capital the king and queen, the lord mayor, and the company, treated him with extraordinary distinction. He appeared, however, to mistrust these demonstrations of kindness; and it was not without difficulty that he was brought to accede to many of the demands of the merchants. At length a treaty was concluded by the address of the bishop of Ely and sir William Petre; and Napea was sent back to his own country, loaded with presents for himself, and still more valuable gifts for his sovereign. The trade fully compensated the queen and the nation for these efforts and expenses; and the woollen cloths and coarse linens of England were exchanged at an immense profit for the valuable skins and furs of the northern regions<sup>98</sup>.

1557.  
Mar. 1.

May 1.

Mary may also claim the merit of having supported the commercial interests of the country against the pretensions of a company of foreign merchants, which had existed for centuries in London, under the different denominations of Easterlings, merchants of the Hanse towns, and merchants of the Steelyard.

Dissolution of  
the company  
of the steel-  
yard.

<sup>97</sup> Lord Wharton, in a letter from Berwick of Feb. 28th, says, "a great number in that realme ar sorye that they suffered the imbassador of Russea to departe owte of the same: he may thanke God that he escaped from their crewell covetouse with his lief." Lodge, i. 224.

<sup>98</sup> *Legatorum nemo unquam quisquam (sicut autumo) magnificentius apud nostros acceptus est.* (Godwin, 129.) The presents which he received for himself and his sovereign, from the king and queen, are enumerated by Stow, 630. Among them are a lion and

lioness. All his expenses, from his arrival in Scotland to the day on which he left England, were defrayed by the merchants. I may here observe, that at this time, according to the report of the Venetian ambassador, there were many merchants in London worth fifty or sixty thousand pounds each, that the inhabitants amounted to 180,000, and that it was not surpassed in wealth by any city in Europe. *Si puo dire per vero que puo quella città senza dubio star a paragone delle piu ricche d'Europa.* MSS. Barber. 1208, p. 137.

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By their readiness to advance loans of money on sudden emergencies, they had purchased the most valuable privileges from several of our monarchs. They formed a corporation, governed by its own laws : whatever duties were exacted from others, they paid no more than one per cent. on their merchandise : they were at the same time buyers and sellers, brokers and carriers : they imported jewels and bullion, cloth of gold and of silver, tapestry and wrought silk, arms, naval stores, and household furniture : and exported wool and woollen cloths, skins, lead and tin, cheese and beer, and Mediterranean wines. Their privileges and wealth, gave them a superiority over all other merchants, which excluded competition, and enabled them to raise or depress the prices almost at pleasure. In the last reign the public feeling against them had been manifested by frequent acts of violence, and several petitions had been presented to the council, complaining of the injuries suffered by the English merchants. After a long investigation it was declared, that the company had violated, and consequently had forfeited its charter : but by dint of remonstrances, of presents, and of foreign intercession, it obtained, in the course of a few weeks, a royal licence to resume the traffic under the former regulations<sup>99</sup>. In Mary's first parliament, a new blow was aimed at its privileges : and it was enacted in the bill of tonnage and poundage, that the Easterlings should pay the same duties as other foreign merchants. The queen, indeed, was induced to suspend, for a while, the operation of the statute<sup>100</sup>; but she soon discerned the true interest of her subjects, revoked the privileges of the company, and refused to listen to the arguments adduced, or the intercession made in its favour<sup>101</sup>. Elizabeth followed the policy of her

<sup>99</sup> Strype, ii. 295, 296.

<sup>100</sup> Rym. xv. 364, 365.

<sup>101</sup> Noailles, iv. 137.



predecessor: the steelyard was at length shut up; and the Hanse towns, after a long and expensive suit, yielded to necessity, and abandoned the contest.

Ireland, during this reign, offers but few subjects to attract the notice of the reader. The officers of government were careful to copy the proceedings in England. They first proclaimed the lady Jane, and then the lady Mary. They suffered the new service to fall into desuetude: Dowdall resumed the archbishopric of Armagh; the married prelates and clergy lost their benefices; and Bale, the celebrated bishop of Ossory, who had often endangered his life by his violence and fanaticism, had the prudence to withdraw to the continent. When the Irish parliament met, it selected most of its enactments from the English statute book. The legitimacy and right of the queen were affirmed: the ancient service was restored, and the papal authority acknowledged<sup>102</sup>. But, though the laws against heresy were revived, they were not carried into execution. The number of the reformers proved too small to excite apprehension: and their zeal too cautious to offer provocation.

The lord deputy, the earl of Sussex, distinguished himself by the vigour of his government. He recovered from the native Irish the two districts of Ofally and Leix, which he moulded into counties, and named King's county and Queen's county, in honour of Philip and Mary. He was also careful to define, by a new statute, the meaning of Poyning's act<sup>103</sup>. It provided that no parliament should be summoned, till the reasons why it should be held, and the bills which it was intended to pass, had been submitted to the consideration, and had received the consent, of

<sup>102</sup> Irish St. 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, 1,  
2, 3, 4.

<sup>103</sup> See Hist. iii. 642.

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the sovereign : and that, if any thing occurred during the session to make additional enactments necessary, these should in the same manner be certified to the king, and be approved by him, before they were laid before the two houses. By this act the usage was determined of holding parliaments in Ireland <sup>104</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> It has lately been suggested to me, that the word "gospellers," which I have frequently employed in these pages, has been used as a term of reproach. I certainly am not aware of it; but can safely affirm, that

originally it was a favourite appellation, that by which the more ancient of the reformed writers were accustomed to designate themselves and their disciples.

## CHAP. III.

## ELIZABETH.

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 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

EMPERORS.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	POPES.
FERDINAND .. 1564.	MARY..... 1587.	HENRY II. .. 1559.	PHILIP II. .. 1598.	PAUL IV. .... 1559.
MAXIMILIAN.. 1576.	JAMES VI.	FRANCIS II. . 1560.	PHILIP III.	PIUS IV. .... 1565.
RODOLPH.		CHARLES IX. 1574.		PIUS V..... 1572.
		HENRY III.. 1589.		GREGORY XIII. 1585.
		HENRY IV.		SIXTUS V..... 1590.
				URBAN VII... 1590.
				GREGORY XIV. 1591.
				INNOCENT IX. 1591.
				CLEMENT VIII.

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ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH—ABOLITION OF THE CATHOLIC WORSHIP—PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND—WAR OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION—INTRIGUES OF CECIL WITH THE REFORMERS—SIEGE OF LEITH—TREATIES OF PEACE—RETURN OF MARY STUART TO SCOTLAND—SUITORS OF ELIZABETH.

WHATEVER opinion men might entertain of the legitimacy of Elizabeth, she ascended the throne without opposition. Mary had expired about noon: and in a short time the commons received a message to attend at the bar of the house of lords. On their arrival the important event was announced by archbishop

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Accession of  
Elizabeth.  
1558.  
Nov. 17.



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Heath, the lord chancellor. God, he said, had taken to his mercy their late sovereign the lady Mary, and had given them another in the person of her royal sister the lady Elizabeth. Of the right of Elizabeth there could be no doubt. It had been decided by the statute of the thirty-first of Henry VIII.: and nothing remained for the two houses but to discharge their duty, by recognising the accession of the new sovereign. Her title was immediately proclaimed, first in Westminster Hall, and again at Temple Bar, in presence of the lord mayor, the aldermen, and the companies of the city<sup>1</sup>.

Her answer  
to the coun-  
cil.

From the palace a deputation of the council repaired to Hatfield, the residence of the new queen. She received them courteously, and to their congratulations replied in a formal and studied discourse. She was struck with amazement, when she considered herself and the dignity to which she had been called. Her shoulders were too weak to support the burthen: but it was her duty to submit to the will of God, and to seek the aid of wise and faithful advisers. For this purpose she would in a few days appoint a new council. It was her intention to retain several of those who had been inured to business under her father, brother, and sister: and, if the others were not employed, she would have them to believe, that it was not through distrust of their ability or will to serve her, but through a wish to avoid that indecision and delay, which so often arose from the jarring opinions of a multitude of advisers<sup>2</sup>.

Her chief ad-  
visers.

This answer had been suggested by the man to whom she had already given her confidence, sir William Cecil, formerly secretary to Edward VI. Having obtained a pardon in the last reign, for his share in the treason of Northumberland, he had

<sup>1</sup> Journals of Commons, 53. Camden, i. 2. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 66.

sought, by feigning an attachment to the catholic faith, to worm himself into the good graces of Mary. But that queen, though cardinal Pole professed to be his friend, always doubted his sincerity: her reserve, joined to her increasing infirmities, taught him to divert his devotion from “the setting to the rising sun:” and Elizabeth accepted with joy and gratitude the services of so able and experienced a statesman<sup>3</sup>.

Cecil was appointed secretary: and the queen with his aid named the members of her council. Of the advisers of Mary she retained those, who were distinguished for their capacity, or formidable by their influence: and to these she added eight others, who had deserved that honour by their former attachment to her in her troubles, or owed it to their connexion with the secretary by consanguinity or friendship. It was remarked, that all the old counsellors professed themselves catholics, all the new protestants: that the former comprised several, who, in the last reign, had proved most active champions of the ancient faith; the latter some, who had suffered imprisonment or exile for their adherence to the reformed doctrines<sup>4</sup>. In a body composed of such discordant elements, much harmony could not be expected: but this council was rather for show than real use: there was another and secret cabinet, consisting of Cecil and his particular friends, who possessed the ear of the queen, and controuled through her every department in the state.

<sup>3</sup> Philopater, 24—26.

<sup>4</sup> Camden, i. 26, 27. The old counsellors were archbishop Heath, the marquess of Winchester, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke, the lords Clinton and Howard of Effingham, the knights Cheney, Petre, Mason, and Sackville, and the civilian Dr. Boxall: the new, the earl of Bedford, William Parr, formerly marquess of Northampton, sir William Cecil, Ambrose

Cave, Francis Knollis, Thomas Parry, Edward Rogers, and Nicholas Bacon. Knollis and Rogers had gone into exile in the last reign; Cave had always been a zealous partisan of Elizabeth; Parry, who was distantly related to Cecil, held an office in her household; and Bacon, who had risen to eminence in the profession of the law, had married the sister of lady Cecil.

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Her accession notified to foreign courts.

One of the first cares of the new government was to notify to foreign courts the death of Mary, and the succession of Elizabeth “by hereditary right, and the consent of the nation.” The instructions sent to the ambassadors varied according to the presumed disposition of the courts at which they resided. The emperor Ferdinand and Philip of Spain were assured of the intention of the queen, to maintain and strengthen the existing alliance between the house of Austria and the English crown: to the king of Denmark, the duke of Holstein, and the Lutheran princes of Germany, a confidential communication was made of her attachment to the reformed faith, and of her wish to cement an union among all its professors<sup>5</sup>: and Carne, the resident at Rome, was ordered to acquaint the pontiff, that she had succeeded to her sister, and had determined to offer no violence to the consciences of her subjects, whatever might be their religious creed. It was the misfortune of Paul, who had passed his eightieth year, that he adopted opinions with the credulity, and maintained them with the pertinacity, of old age. His ear had been preoccupied by the diligence of the French ambassador, who suggested that to admit the succession of Elizabeth, would be to approve the pretended marriage of her parents, Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn; to annul the decisions of Clement VII. and Paul III.; to prejudge the claim of the true and legitimate heir, Mary, queen of Scots; and to offend the king of France, who had determined to support the right of his daughter-in-law with all the power of his realm. When Carne performed his commission, Paul replied, that he was unable to comprehend the hereditary right of one who was not born in lawful wedlock: that the queen of Scots claimed the crown as the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry VII.: but that, if Elizabeth were

<sup>5</sup> Camden, i. 28.



willing to submit the controversy to his arbitration, she should receive from him every indulgence which justice could allow<sup>6</sup>.

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Deliberation  
respecting  
religion.

The reader will recollect that, during the reign of her sister, Elizabeth had professed herself a convert to the ancient faith. The catholics were willing to believe that her conformity arose from conviction: the protestants, while they lamented her apostacy, persuaded themselves that she feigned sentiments which she did not feel. It is probable that in her own mind she was indifferent to either form of worship: but the moment she ascended the throne, a catholic competitor appeared: Mary Stuart, at the command of her father-in-law, assumed the title of queen of England, and quartered the English arms with those of Scotland and France: and the answer of the pontiff proved, what was already known, that, on catholic principles, Elizabeth had no "hereditary right to the crown." The new ministers, whose prospects depended on the change, urged their mistress to put down a religion which proclaimed her a bastard, and to support the reformed doctrines, which alone could give stability to her throne. After some hesitation Elizabeth complied: but the caution of Cecil checked the precipitancy of the zealots, who condemned every delay as an additional offence of God: and a resolution was adopted to suppress all knowledge of the intended measure, till every precaution had been taken to ensure its success<sup>7</sup>.

With this view the following plan was submitted to the approbation of the queen: 1<sup>o</sup>. to forbid all manner of sermons, that the preachers might not excite their hearers to resistance: 2<sup>o</sup>. to intimidate the clergy by prosecutions under the statutes of præmu-

The plan proposed.

<sup>6</sup> Pallavicino, ii. 521.

<sup>7</sup> Nonnulli ex intimis consiliariis in aures assidue insusurrarunt, dum timerent ne animus

in dubio facillime impelleretur, actum de ipsa et amicis esse, si pontificiam auctoritatem, &c. Camden, 30.

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nire and other penal laws: 3<sup>o</sup>. to debase in the eyes of the people all who had been in authority under the late queen, by rigorous inquiries into their conduct, and by bringing them, whenever it were possible, under the lash of the law: 4<sup>o</sup>. to remove the present magistrates, and to appoint others, "meaner in substance and younger in years," but better affected to the reformed doctrines: 5<sup>o</sup>. to name a secret committee of divines, who should revise and correct the liturgy published by Edward VI.: and lastly, to communicate the plan to no other persons than Parr, the late marquess of Northampton, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and the lord John Grey, till the time should arrive, when it must be laid before the whole council<sup>8</sup>.

Hitherto Elizabeth, by the ambiguity of her conduct, had contrived to balance the hopes and fears of the two parties. She continued to assist, and occasionally to communicate, at mass: Dec. 14. she buried her sister with all the solemnities of the catholic ritual; and she ordered a solemn dirge, and a mass of requiem Dec. 23. for the soul of the emperor Charles V. But if these things served to lessen the apprehensions of the catholics, there was also much to flatter the expectations of the gospellers. The prisoners for religion were discharged on their own recognisances to appear whenever they should be called: the reformed divines returned from exile, and appeared openly at court: and Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, preparing to say mass in the royal chapel, received an order, which he refused to obey, not to elevate the host in the royal presence<sup>9</sup>.

Resistance of  
the catholic  
prelates.

By degrees the secret was suffered to transpire. The bishops saw with surprise that White, of Winchester, had been im-

<sup>8</sup> See a paper published by Burnet, ii. 327: and more accurately by Strype, Annals, i. rec. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Camden, 32, 33. Allen, Answer to English justice, 51.

prisoned for his sermon at the funeral of queen Mary<sup>10</sup>, and that Bonner, of London, was called upon to account for the different fines which had been levied in his courts during the last reign. Archbishop Heath either received a hint, or deemed it prudent, to resign the seals, which, with the title of lord keeper, were transferred to sir Nicholas Bacon. But that which cleared away every doubt, was a proclamation, forbidding the clergy to preach, and ordering the established worship to be observed "until consultation might be had in parliament by "the queen and the three estates"<sup>11</sup>. Alarmed by this clause, the bishops assembled in London, and consulted whether they could in conscience officiate at the coronation of a princess, who, it was probable, would object to some part of the service, as ungodly and superstitious, and who, if she did not refuse to take, certainly meant to violate, that part of the oath, which bound the sovereign to maintain the liberties of the established church. The question was put, and was unanimously resolved in the negative.

This unexpected determination of the prelates created considerable embarrassment. Much importance was still attached to the rite of coronation. It was thought necessary that the ceremony should be performed before the queen met her parliament; and it was feared that the people would not consider it valid, unless it were performed by a prelate of the establishment. Many expedients were devised to remove or surmount the difficulty: and at last the bishop of Carlisle separated himself from his colleagues. But if he was prevailed upon to crown

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Jac. 3.

Dec. 22.

Dec. 27.

Queen is  
crowned.1559.  
Jan. 2.

<sup>10</sup> This sermon may be seen in Strype's Memorials, iii. rec. 278—288.

<sup>11</sup> Wilk. Con. iv. 180. It allowed no other alteration in the service than the recital

in English of the Lord's prayer, the creed, the litany, the commandments, and the epistle and gospel of the day, as was practised in the queen's chapel. Ibid.



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III.

Jan. 15.

the queen, she on her part was compelled to take the accustomed oath, and to conform to all the rites of the catholic pontifical. No expense was spared by the court or by the citizens: but the absence of the prelates threw an unusual gloom over the ceremony. Their example was imitated by the duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, who was invited but refused to attend<sup>12</sup>.

Opening of  
parliament.

Jan. 25.

Cecil had now completed every arrangement preparatory to the meeting of parliament. Five new peers, of protestant principles, had been added to the upper house<sup>13</sup>: in the lower, a majority had been secured by the expedient of sending to the sheriff's a list of court candidates, out of whom the members were to be chosen<sup>14</sup>: and the committee of reformed divines, who had secretly assembled in the house of sir Thomas Smith, had moulded the book of common prayer into a less objectionable form. On the twenty-fifth of January the queen assisted in state at a solemn high mass, which was followed by a sermon from Dr. Cox, a reformed preacher. The lord keeper then opened the parliament in her presence. He first drew a melancholy picture of the state of the realm under queen Mary, and next exhibited the cheering prospect of the blessings which awaited it under the new sovereign. She had called the two houses together, that they might consult respecting an uniform order of religion; might remove abuses and enormities; and might provide for the safety of the state against its foreign and domestic enemies. They were not, however, to suppose that their concurrence was necessary for these purposes—the queen

<sup>12</sup> Camden, 33.<sup>13</sup> They were William Parr, restored to his title of marquess of Northampton; Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford; Thomas, second son of the late duke of Norfolk, viscount Howard of Bindon; sir Oliver St. John, lord

Bletso; and sir Henry Carey, son of Mary Boleyn, lord Hunsdon.

<sup>14</sup> Strype, i. 32. The court named five candidates for the shires, three for the boroughs. Clarendon Papers, 92.

could have effected them, if she had so pleased, of her own authority—but “she rather sought contentation by assent, and “surety by advice; and was willing to require of her loving “subjects nothing which they were not contented freely and “frankly to offer”<sup>15</sup>.

Address of  
the commons.  
Feb. 4.

Before the commons proceeded to any business of importance, they voted “an humble but earnest address to the queen, that “she would vouchsafe to accept some match capable of supplying “heirs to her majesty’s royal virtues and dominions.” It was presented by the speaker, attended by thirty members. There was, perhaps, no subject on which Elizabeth could less brook the officious interference of others; but on this occasion policy taught her to bridle her resentment; and she replied, that, though during the last reign she had many powerful inducements to marry, she had, nevertheless, preferred, and still continued to prefer, a single life. What might hereafter happen, she could not foresee: if she took a husband, her object would be the welfare of her people; if she did not, God would provide a successor. For herself, she should be content to have it inscribed on her tomb, that she had reigned and died a maiden queen. But whatever she thought of the matter, she was pleased with the manner of their address; because it did not, as it ought not, presume to point out either the person, or the place. It was not for them “to draw her love to their liking, or to frame her will by their “fantasy. Theirs it was to beg, not to prescribe; to obey, not “to bind.” She would, therefore, take their coming in good part, and dismiss them with her thanks, not for their petition, but for their intention<sup>16</sup>.

Feb. 10.

For reasons, which are not obvious, the ministers had determined to avoid all discussion respecting the legitimacy of the

Act in fa-  
vour of the  
queen.

<sup>15</sup> D'Ewes, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 46. and Journals of Commons, 54.

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queen, or the attainder of her mother. Both the act declaring the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn to have been void from the beginning, and that convicting the latter of incest, adultery, and treason, were allowed to remain uncontradicted in the statute book. But in favour of the queen it was enacted, that she was heir in blood to her mother : that she was rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended of the blood royal of the realm : that to her, and to the heirs of her body “lawfully to be begotten,” the crown, with its appurtenances, belonged as rightfully as it ever did to her father, brother, and sister : that the act of the 35th of Henry VIII. limiting the succession, still remained in force : and that to dispute the queen’s title, or to imagine her death or deposition, or that of the heirs of her body, should be punishable, if the offence was committed in words, with forfeiture of goods and chattels, and lands, for life ; if by writing, printing, or any overt acts, with the penalties of high treason<sup>17</sup>.

Ecclesiastical  
enactments.

But the subject which principally occupied the attention of parliament was the alteration of religion. With this view, the statutes passed in the late reign for the support of the ancient faith were repealed, and the acts of Henry VIII. in derogation of the papal authority, and of Edward VI. in favour of the reformed service, were in a great measure revived. It was enacted that the book of common prayer, with certain additions and emendations, should alone be used by the ministers in all churches, under the penalties of forfeiture, deprivation, and death : that the spiritual authority of every foreign prelate within the realm should be utterly abolished : that the jurisdiction necessary for the correction of errors, heresies, schisms, and abuses, should be annexed to the crown ; with the power of delegating such jurisdiction to any person or persons whatsoever,



at the pleasure of the sovereign<sup>18</sup>: that the penalty of asserting the papal authority should ascend, on the repetition of the offence, from the forfeiture of real and personal property, to perpetual imprisonment; and from perpetual imprisonment to death, as it was inflicted in cases of high treason: and that all clergymen taking orders, or in possession of livings; all magistrates and inferior officers having fees or wages from the crown; all laymen suing out the livery of their lands, or about to do homage to the queen, should under pain of deprivation and incapacity take an oath, declaring her to be supreme governor in all ecclesiastical and spiritual things or causes as well as temporal, and renouncing all foreign ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction or authority whatsoever within the realm<sup>19</sup>.

On the part of the clergy, these bills experienced a most vigorous but fruitless opposition. The convocation presented to the house of lords, a declaration of its belief in the real presence, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and the supremacy of the pope; with a protestation, that to decide on doctrine, sacraments, and discipline, belonged, not to any lay assembly, but to the lawful pastors of the church<sup>20</sup>. Both universities subscribed the confession of the convocation: and the bishops unanimously seized every opportunity to speak, and to vote against the measure<sup>21</sup>. To dissolve or neutralize this opposi-

Opposition of  
the clergy.

Feb. 29

March 10.

<sup>18</sup> It was, however, provided that these delegates should not have the power to adjudge any matter to be heresy, which had not been so adjudged by some general council, or the express words of scripture, or should afterwards be adjudged to be so by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation. St. 1 Eliz. c. 1.

<sup>19</sup> See note (F). Many other bills for a further reformation were introduced and abandoned. Particularly the queen would not agree to the revival of the act of Edward VI. legalizing the

marriages of the clergy. They should be content, she said, if she connived at them: for she would never sanction them. "This," exclaims Sands, in a letter to Parker, "is nothing else than to bastard our children." Burnet, ii. rec. 332.

<sup>20</sup> Wilk. Con. iv. 179.

<sup>21</sup> The speeches of the archbishop of York, of the bishop of Chester, and of Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, may be seen in Strype, i. rec. 7. et seq.

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III.

Ap. 3.

Ap. 4.

tion, an ingenious expedient was devised. Five bishops and three doctors on the one side, and eight reformed divines on the other, received the royal command, to dispute in public on certain controverted points. Bacon, the lord keeper, was commissioned to act as moderator; and the debates of the two houses were suspended, that the members might have leisure to attend to the controversy. It had been ordered that on each day the catholics should begin, and the reformers should answer: but on the second morning the prelates objected to an arrangement, which gave so palpable an advantage to their adversaries: and, when Bacon refused to listen to their remonstrances, declared that the conference was at an end. The council immediately committed the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln to the Tower, and bound the other six disputants in their own recognisances to make their appearance daily, till judgment should be pronounced<sup>22</sup>. It was pretended that they had deserved this severity by their disobedience: but the real object was, by the imprisonment of the two prelates, and the fear of the punishment which threatened the others, to silence the opposition in the house of lords. The bill in favour of the new book of common prayer was now read a last time, and was carried by a majority of three. Nine spiritual and nine temporal peers voted against it<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> They attended daily from the 5th of April, till after the dissolution of the parliament, and on the 10th of May were fined, the bishop of Lichfield in 500 marks, of Carlisle 250 pounds, of Chester 200 marks, Dr. Cole 500 marks, Dr. Harpsfield 40 pounds, and Dr. Chedsey, 40 marks. Strype, i. 87. rec. 41. Fox, iii. 822. Burnet, ii. 390. rec. 339.

<sup>23</sup> It is extraordinary, that in the journals of the lords, no trace remains of the proceedings during the week, in which this bill was

read three times and passed, that is, from April 22, to May 1. Yet it appears, from the references in D'Ewes, p. 28, that the proceedings were regularly entered. Two bishops were prevented from voting by their detention in the Tower: and Feckenham was also absent. The temporal peers were the marquess of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montague, the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North. D'Ewes, *ibid*.

Soon after the dissolution, Elizabeth sent for the bishops, required them to conform to the new statutes; and, on their refusal, drove them from her presence with expressions of contempt and resentment. It was still hoped that their obstinacy would yield to the rigour of the law. The oath of supremacy was tendered to each in succession; but all, with the exception of Kitchin of Landaff, sacrificed their situations and their liberty to the dictates of their conscience. The example was copied by the majority of the dignified clergy<sup>24</sup>, and the chief members of the universities: but among the lower order of churchmen, there were many who took the oath, some through partiality for the reformed doctrines, some through the dread of poverty, and others with the hope of seeing in a short time another religious revolution. With the aid of commissions, injunctions, and visitations, the church was gradually purged of the nonjuring clergy; but their absence was inadequately supplied by the jurors and the reformed preachers; and a new order of ministers was established, consisting of mechanics, who obtained a licence to read the service in the church, but were forbidden to administer the sacrament. At the head of the reformed hierarchy was placed Dr. Matthew Parker, formerly chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and dean of Lincoln in the reign of Edward VI. But several months elapsed before either the archbishop or his colleagues could enter on the exercise of their functions: several others before they could obtain the possession of their temporalities. The first impediment arose from the refusal of the catholic prelates to consecrate the new metropolitan, who was obliged to receive

<sup>24</sup> According to Camden, the number deprived for refusing the oath amounted to 14 bishops, 6 abbots and abbesses, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors. Camden, 47. But as he is mistaken in the bishops, who were

15 instead of 14 (though one of those whom he mentions was dead); so I conceive he was mistaken in the rest. The catholic writers make the number much greater. See note (G) at the end.



CHAP.

Dec. 17.

that rite from Barlow and Scory, two bishops who had conformed under Edward VI.<sup>25</sup>: the second, from the rapacity of the ministers, who employed the interval to enrich themselves and their dependents. It might perhaps have been thought that the church could afford but a scanty gleanings after the spoliations of former reigns: but an act had been passed in the late parliament, annexing to the crown the first fruits, tenths, and rectories, which had been resigned by Mary, and authorizing the queen, during the vacancies of the different sees, to exchange them for an equivalent in episcopal lands. Had such exchanges been fairly made, there would have been less reason to complain: but the quantum of compensation depended on the equity or avarice of men, who were interested to give a nominal but fallacious equivalent; and the bishops elect, aware of the probable result, offered, in lieu of all exchange, a yearly present of one thousand pounds. But the offer was refused: and when the new incumbents entered on their respective bishoprics, they found that the best portion of the landed property had been torn away, to reward the real or pretended services of the courtiers and their dependents<sup>26</sup>.

Peace with  
France.

While the ministry were thus employed in the alteration of religion at home, their attention was also directed to an important negotiation abroad. During the last summer the three belligerent powers, England, France, and Spain, alike exhausted by the war, had sent their respective commissioners to the abbey of Cercamps: but the conferences were interrupted by the obstinacy of Philip, who refused to accede to any terms that did not secure to the queen of England the restoration of Calais, and to Philibert of Savoy, that of his

<sup>25</sup> See note (H) at the end. Strype, i. 97.

<sup>26</sup> This offer of the bishops may be seen in

hereditary dominions. On the death of Mary, the earl of Arundel, leaving his colleagues, the bishop of Ely and Dr. Wotton, at the court of Brussels, returned to England: and the French king seized the opportunity to open a clandestine correspondence with Elizabeth, through the agency of the lord Grey, a prisoner of war, and of Guido Cavalcanti, a gentleman of Florence. His object was to detach the queen from her confederacy with Philip: but the English ministers, aware that to separate from Spain, would be to throw their mistress on the mercy of France, ordered the lord Howard of Effingham to join the resident ambassadors, and to attend, in conjunction with the Spanish envoys, the new conferences at Cateau Cambresis. The disputes between Spain and France were speedily arranged: and to cement the friendship between the two crowns, it was stipulated that Philip should marry the daughter, Philibert the sister of Henry. Faithful, however, to his engagements, the Spanish monarch refused to sign the treaty, till the English cabinet should be satisfied: and he even offered to continue the war for six years, provided Elizabeth would bind herself not to conclude a separate peace during that period. Cecil and his colleagues found themselves in a most perplexing dilemma. On the one hand, to surrender the claim to Calais would expose them to the hatred of the nation: on the other, the poverty of the exchequer, the want of disciplined troops, and above all, the unsettled state of religion, forbade them to protract the war. The ambassadors were finally instructed to obtain the best terms in their power; but to conclude a peace, whatever sacrifices it might cost. With the aid of the Spanish negotiators, they debated every point, gradually receded from one demand to another; and ultimately subscribed to the conditions dictated by their adversaries. The restoration of Calais formed the

Dec. 30.

1559.  
Feb. 7.

Feb. 19.

April 2.

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III.

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prominent article in the treaty. It was agreed that the most christian king should retain possession during the next eight years; that at the expiration of the term he should restore the town with its dependencies to Elizabeth, under the penalty of 500,000 crowns; and that he should deliver, as security for that sum, the persons of four French noblemen, and the bonds of eight foreign merchants. This article was meant to cover the honour of the queen, and to amuse the expectations of the people: whatever expectation it might excite, was extinguished by the following provision, that if Henry, or the king and queen of Scotland, should make any attempt by arms directly or indirectly against the territories or subjects of Elizabeth; or Elizabeth against the territories or subjects of the other contracting parties, the former should from that moment forfeit all right to the retention, the latter, her claim to the restoration of the town<sup>27</sup>. It was evident that at the expiration of eight years, French ingenuity would easily discover some real or pretended infraction of the treaty, on which the king might ground his refusal to restore the place. This consequence was foreseen by the public: the terms were condemned as prejudicial and disgraceful: and the ministers, to divert the indignation of the people, ordered the lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, and Chamberlayne and Hurlestone, captains of the castle and the Risbank, to be brought to trial on charges of cowardice and treason. The former was acquitted by his peers: the latter were found guilty and condemned. But the trials had served the purpose of the court: and the sentence was never carried into execution.

April 22.

Dec. 20.

Peace with  
Scotland.

During the negotiation no mention was made of one cause

<sup>27</sup> See the whole of the proceedings in Forbes, State Papers, i. 1--81.



of offence, which had sunk deeply into the breast of Elizabeth. Ever since her accession she had, as heiress to the rights of her predecessors, styled herself queen of France. The title was ridiculous, in as much as by the fundamental laws of that kingdom no female could inherit the crown: but it had previously been adopted by Mary, and was considered the best expedient by which the queen could transmit this ancient but useless bauble to her successors. Henry of France did not complain: but to retaliate, as he pretended, though there can be no doubt that he acted seriously<sup>28</sup>, he caused his daughter-in-law to adopt occasionally the style of queen of England and Ireland. This assumption not only wounded the pride, it alarmed the jealousy of Elizabeth: it proved to her, that in the estimation of Henry she was a bastard: and it taught her to apprehend that, on some future occasion, Mary Stuart might dispute with her the right to the English crown. She had, however, the prudence to suppress her feelings. She concluded a treaty of peace with Mary at Cateau Cambresis; engaged to afford no aid nor asylum to the Scottish rebels; and swore on the gospels faithfully to observe these conditions. But Cecil had at the same time a very different object in contemplation. He knew that the Scottish reformers had taken up arms in opposition to the queen regent, and he resolved to foment their discontent, and to support their rebellion. By enabling them to triumph over the authority of their sovereign, Elizabeth might wrest from the Scottish queen a renunciation of her claim: the French influence in Scotland would be annihilated: the new worship would be

<sup>28</sup>See Noailles, ii. 250. "You knowe," said the cardinal of Lorraine, "at that time we were at warre with youe: by meanes whereof we spared not to do any thing that might toche youe in honour or otherwise."

Forbes, i. 340. In the peace which took place was an article saving to all parties their former pretensions; whence it was inferred, that Mary was justified in using the same style afterwards. Ibid. 339.

## CHAP.

## III.

established: and the Scottish crown might probably be transferred from the head of Mary to that of a protestant branch of the house of Stuart. In private he carried his views even farther; and revealed to his confidential friends his hope that by the marriage of the new sovereign with the English queen, the two realms might be incorporated into one powerful and protestant kingdom<sup>29</sup>. In the pursuit of such magnificent objects, it would indeed be necessary to violate the peace which had been so lately ratified, and to aid rebellious subjects against the legitimate authority of their sovereign: but in the political creed of the secretary, the end was held to sanctify the means; and his conduct during the war of the reformation in Scotland will develop those maxims of state, which during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign prevailed in the English council. Previously, however, it will be necessary to lay before the reader the origin of the contest between the Scottish lords and their sovereign.

Scottish re-  
formation.

Of all the European churches there was perhaps not one better prepared to receive the seed of the new gospel than that of Scotland. During a long course of years the highest dignities had, with few exceptions, been possessed by the illegitimate<sup>30</sup> or younger sons of the most powerful families, men who, without

<sup>29</sup> That Cecil actually contemplated such events as the result of his policy, and that the Scottish reformers had the same objects in view, is evident from numerous passages in their private correspondence, some of which will be found in the following pages. See Sadler's State Papers, i. 377. 573. 681. Forbes, 147. 435, 436. Elizabeth asserts, in her instructions to lord Shrewsbury, that there had been an intent to deprive Mary of her crown, but that she prevented it. Cotton MSS. Cal. c. ix. 50.

<sup>30</sup> James V. had provided for his illegiti-

mate children by making them abbots and priors of Holyrood House, Kelso, Melross, Coldingham, and St. Andrew's. It may be proper to observe, that these commendatory abbots and priors received the income, but interfered not with the domestic economy of the monastery. Though they seldom took orders, they ranked as clergymen, and by their vices contributed to throw an odium on the profession. They became, however, converts to the new doctrines; and thus contrived to secure the lands of their benefices, or an equivalent, to themselves and their posterity.

learning or morality themselves, paid little attention to the learning or morality of their inferiors. The pride of the clergy, their negligence in the discharge of their functions, and the rigour with which they exacted their dues, had become favourite subjects of popular censure: and when the new preachers appeared, they dexterously availed themselves of the humour of the time, and seasoned their discourses against the doctrines, with invectives against the vices, of the churchmen. Both the prelates, and the earl of Arran, the governor of the kingdom, were alarmed. The former assembled in convocation, and enacted several canons, which had for their object to regulate the morals of the clergy, to enforce the duty of public instruction, and to repress abuses in the collection of the clerical dues<sup>31</sup>. Arran, in two successive parliaments, revived the old statutes against the teachers of heretical doctrines; and strengthened them with the addition of new penalties<sup>32</sup>. But the transfer of the regency from Arran to the queen mother allowed the reformers time to breathe. During the struggle the lords, by whom they were favoured, had attached themselves to her interests; and they now expected forbearance, if not protection, from her gratitude. The number of the missionaries was increased by the arrival of several preachers, who fled from the persecution in England: and the return of John Knox from Geneva gave a new impulse to their zeal. The enthusiasm of this apostle, the severity of his manner, his rude but commanding eloquence, soon raised him to a high pre-eminence above his fellows. At his suggestion, the chief of the converts assembled in Mearns, and subscribed a covenant, by which they bound themselves to renounce for ever the communion of the esta-

1554.  
Ap. 12.

1555.

<sup>31</sup> Wilkins, Con. iv. 46, 47. 69. 72. 78.<sup>32</sup> Black Acts, 147. 151, 152. 154.



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III.

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blished church, and to maintain what they held to be the true doctrine of the gospel. But his boldness was met with threats of vengeance: and preferring the duty of watching over the infant church to the glory of martyrdom, he hastened back to Geneva, whence by letters he supplied the neophytes with ghostly counsel, resolving their doubts, chastising their timidity, and inflaming their zeal. One thing he most earnestly inculcated, the distinction between civil and religious obedience. The former was due in civil matters to the civil magistrate: the latter to God alone: whence he drew this important inference, that, in defiance of the legislature and the sovereign, it was their duty to extirpate idolatry wherever they found it, to establish the gospel, and in defence of their proceedings to oppose force to force<sup>33</sup>. This doctrine, the parent of sedition and civil war, was gratefully received, and practically adopted. The proselytes, inflamed by the lessons of their teacher, and the scriptural denunciations against idolatry, abolished, wherever they had power, the worship established by, law expelled the clergy, dissolved the monasteries, and gave the ornaments of the churches, often the churches themselves, to the flames<sup>34</sup>.

Marriage of  
Mary Stuart.

It was with pain that the queen regent viewed these illegal proceedings. But she dared not oppose or punish at a time, when the approaching marriage of her daughter to the dauphin

<sup>33</sup> Strype, 119. "Whilk thing, efter all  
" humill request, yf ye can not atteane, then  
" with oppin and solemp protestation of your  
" obedience to be given to the autority in all  
" thingis not planelie repugnyng to God, ye  
" lawfullie may attemp the extreamitie, whilk  
" is to provyd (whidder the autoritie will  
" consent or no,) that Chrystis evangell may  
" be trewlie preachit, and his holie sacra-  
" mentis rychtly ministerit unto you, and to  
" your brethren the subjectis of that realme.  
" And farder ye lawfullie may, ye, and

" thairto is bound, to defend your brethren  
" from persecutioun and tiranny, be it aganis  
" princes or emprioris to the uttermost of  
" your power." Letter of Knox apud  
M'Crie, notes, p. 461.

<sup>34</sup> It is not true, that the burning of churches,  
&c. was begun by Knox at Perth. These  
excesses are mentioned thrice in the proceed-  
ings of the council held in Edinburgh, which  
was dissolved before the arrival of Knox in  
Scotland. Wilk. Con. iv. 208, 209. 211.

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Dec. 14.1558.  
April 24.1557.  
Dec. 3.Contest of re-  
formers with  
the regent.

of France admonished her to win by condescension, rather than alienate by severity. Her efforts were successful: both parties joined in gratifying her wishes: and the estates not only consented to the marriage, but named a deputation to assist at the ceremony. Mary Stuart had just completed her fifteenth year. She was married to Francis, a prince of nearly the same age, in the cathedral of Paris: he was immediately saluted by his consort, with the title of king-dauphin: and to cement the union of the two nations, the natives of each were by legislative acts naturalized in the other<sup>35</sup>.

The reformers had been fully aware, that by consenting to the union of their young sovereign with the heir-apparent of the French monarchy, they should yield a considerable advantage to the catholics: and therefore, to compound the matter with their consciences, they had, previously to the opening of the parliament, entered into a new religious covenant. The subscribers, with the earls of Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn at their head, assuming the title of "the congregation of the Lord," bound themselves to strive to the death in the cause of their master, to procure and maintain faithful ministers of the gospel, to defend them, the whole congregation, and every member thereof, to the whole of their power, and at the hazard of their lives: to forsake the congregation of Satan (the established church), and to declare themselves manifest enemies to it, to its abominations, and its idolatry<sup>36</sup>.

When the purport of this covenant became known, it was considered by the opposite party as a declaration of war. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, as if he sought to probe the sincerity of the subscribers, urged the execution of the laws made or

<sup>35</sup> Keith, 74, 75.<sup>36</sup> Keith, 66.

CHAP.

III.

1559.

April.

revived under the administration of his brother, the late governor: and Walter Milne, originally a friar, but for many years a preacher of the new doctrines, suffered at the stake. His fate, instead of intimidating, aroused the zeal of the reformers. They rose in their demands: their opponents were equally importunate; and all the efforts of the regent to pacify and conciliate the two parties, proved ineffectual. At her request the archbishop convened a national council, by which the canons lately made were confirmed, and an abstract of doctrine was published in explanation of the tenets misrepresented by the missionaries<sup>37</sup>. But the lords of the congregation did not wait for the result of the council. They established the new service in Perth<sup>38</sup>: and the queen immediately summoned three of the preachers to answer at Stirling, for this new violation of the law. They refused to appear; and on the appointed day were, according to the forms of the Scottish judicature, condemned as outlaws, with a notification that all who might hereafter aid or protect them, should be treated as rebels.

1559.

April 22.

Knox had long ago left Geneva: but had been detained six weeks at Dieppe, by a fruitless attempt to procure from Elizabeth a licence to travel through her dominions. He, however, reached

<sup>37</sup> It teaches, that it is lawful to beg of the saints their prayers in favour of sinners, and to keep the images of Christ and his saints as representations of them, and inducements to the imitation of their virtues: that there is a purgatory after the present life in which is suffered the punishment yet due to sin: that in the eucharist is the true body and blood of Christ: that communion under both kinds is unnecessary: and that the sacrifice of the mass, established in remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, availeth, through the merit of those sufferings, both the living and

the dead. Wilk. Con. iv. 213.

<sup>38</sup> That the Scottish reformers used a written form of worship at first, is certain. (Knox, Hist. 101.) The only dispute is, whether it were the form used by the exiles at Geneva, or the liturgy of Edward VI. If the former, as is often maintained, they must have occasionally exchanged it for the latter, probably to please Elizabeth: for Cecil writes, July 9, 1559, "they have received the service of the church of England, according to king Edward's booke." Forbes, i. 155.



Perth a few days before judgment was pronounced against the preachers. When the intelligence arrived, he hastened to the pulpit: the indignation which glowed in his breast, was soon communicated to his hearers: and the crowd, maddened by his invectives, defaced the ornaments of the church, demolished the magnificent fabric of the charter house, with several other convents, and threw into the flames, whatever had been contaminated in their eyes, by its use in the established worship<sup>39</sup>. In the language of the saints, Perth was said to be "reformed."

CHAP.  
III.

May 11.

The regent, accompanied by the earl of Arran, who had assumed the French title of duke of Chastelherault, and the earl of Huntley, advanced towards Perth: and the congregationists assembled in force to oppose her progress. No blood was shed. As often as the armies met in the field, they were separated by a temporary suspension of hostilities. Projects of pacification were repeatedly proposed, adopted, broken and renewed. But on every occasion the advantage was on the part of the congregationists. Their zeal refused to be bound by any compact, which might interfere with their consciences: wherever they came, they resumed their missionary labours, with the gospel in one hand, and the firebrand in the other<sup>40</sup>: and Crail, Anstruther, Scone, Stirling, Cambuskenneth, and Linlithgow, were purged from the pollutions of popery. As they advanced, the capital opened its gates; the regent sought an asylum in the castle of Dunbar: and the cause of the royalists

June 29.

<sup>39</sup> This was not the first tumult excited by Knox. Cecil says he had already done the same at Dumfries. Forbes, 131.

<sup>40</sup> "At length," says Knox in a letter to Mrs. Anne Locke, "they were content to take assurance for eight days, permitting unto us freedom of religion in the mean time. In the while the abbay of Lindores, a place

"of black monkes, distant from St. Andrewis "twelve miles, we reformed; their altars "overthrew we, their idols, vestments of "idolatrie and mass books we burnt in their "presence, and commanded them to cast "away their monkish habits." June 23, 1559. Apud M'Crie, 545. This was what he interpreted to be freedom of religion!

CHAP.  
III.

July 24.

Elizabeth  
supports the  
congregation.

appeared desperate. But Scottish warfare was always marked with sudden alternations of misfortune and success. The adherents of the opposite parties generally acted independently of their chiefs: they joined or abandoned the army at their pleasure; and, it often happened that those who to-day could boast of a decided superiority, were compelled on the morrow to flee with diminished forces before a more powerful adversary. So it was on the present occasion. For some days the war was carried on by adverse proclamations: in the mean time the force of the insurgents dwindled away, that of the regent increased: she hastily marched towards Edinburgh: "the "saints" trembled before the congregation of Satan: a capitulation was signed: and Edinburgh was again occupied by the royalists<sup>41</sup>.

There was in these proceedings of the Scots, as much perhaps of worldly policy as of religious fanaticism. While Knox animated the zealots with promises of supernatural aid, Cecil had kept alive the hopes of the more cautious with the prospect of support from the English queen. Their first proceedings had answered his expectations: but their subsequent retreat from the capital, and the military preparations on the coast of France, convinced him, that they must make their peace with Mary, unless they were powerfully supported by Elizabeth. He applied to her in their favour: to his surprise and distress he

<sup>41</sup> About this time, July 10, died Henry, king of France: the reader may peruse in Robertson's History of Scotland an elaborate statement of the conciliatory measures which he ascribes to that monarch, but which, he pretends, were exchanged after his death for others of a more hostile description by the ambition of the princes of Lorraine, such as the expedition under Elbœuf, and the attempted arrest of the earl of Arran, that by sending so illustrious a victim to the stake

they might strike terror into the minds of the reformers. Unfortunately the whole system is overturned by the dispatches of Throckmorton; from which we learn that the expedition was prepared, and the arrest attempted, by the orders of Henry himself, at the very time when Robertson represents the influence of the house of Guise as reduced to the lowest ebb. Forbes, 97. 101. 118. 144. 148, 149.

found her irresolute. The queen hated the principles of Knox, and the fanaticism of his disciples<sup>42</sup>: she deemed it unworthy of a crowned head to foment rebellion among the subjects of a neighbouring and friendly sovereign: and she respected the oaths which she had so recently taken, to preserve the peace with the queen of Scots, and to refuse an asylum to all Scottish rebels and traitors. But the sophistry of Cecil had prepared answers to every objection. The queen of England had, he maintained, a better right to the superiority over Scotland, than Mary had to the possession of the Scottish crown: it was not a question between subjects and their natural prince, in which a foreign power had no right to interfere; but between vassals and the mesne lord, in which the superior was bound in honour and conscience to defend the liberties of the former against the tyranny of the latter. In the present case, however, self-preservation, a principle paramount to every other motive, concurred with the duty of Elizabeth. The French king looked on the queen as illegitimate, and esteemed his own wife the rightful heir to the English crown. Were he permitted to retain a footing in Scotland, Elizabeth could never enjoy security. Were he expelled by her aid, she would attach the Scots to her interests, and might despise the efforts of her enemies<sup>43</sup>. This appeal to her apprehensions and jealousy, extorted from the queen a reluctant and qualified assent. To deceive the public, the earl of Northumberland, sir James Sadler, and sir James Croft, were appointed to reform the disorders in the Scottish marches. But the religion of Northumberland, who was a catholic, rendered

August 5.

<sup>42</sup> See note (I) at the end.

<sup>43</sup> Though this may have been the first time that Elizabeth was urged to support the Scots, the connexion between her ministers and the insurgents was so well known, that even in

May and June we find Throckmorton mentioning "the queen's service in Scotland," and recommending persons, "as fit to serve the queen's turn in Scotland." Forbes, 101. 119. 147, 148.



CHAP.  
III.

August 8.

him unfit to be intrusted with the real object of the commission. His colleagues alone were admitted into the secret. They received instructions to urge the Scots to the resumption of hostilities; to supply them with money; to promise them every kind of aid, which could be furnished without a manifest breach of the peace between the two queens; and to induce them, if it were possible, to depose Mary, and transfer the crown to the house of Hamilton<sup>44</sup>. The duke of Chastellherault, indeed, the head of that house, had hitherto been faithful to the cause of his sovereign: but his weakness, inconstancy, and ambition were well known: there could be no doubt that his allegiance would yield to the temptation of a crown for his descendants; and with that view it was resolved to hasten the return to Scotland of his eldest son, now called the earl of Arran.

Arran escapes  
from France.

May 30.

Arran, who had lately imbibed the new doctrines, served in the French army as colonel of the Scottish guards, and, in that capacity was considered an honourable hostage for the loyalty of his father. Henry II. had summoned him to attend his duty at the intended marriages of the French princesses to the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy: but Arran, having sent an

"Sadler, i. 387—411. The most singular of these documents is one written by Cecil, as a "memorial of certain points meet for the "restoring of the realm of Scotland to the "ancient weale." If Mary refuses certain demands which he specifies, the lords ought to commit the government to the next heir: and if she objects to that, "as it is likely she "will, then it is apparent that almighty God "is pleased to transfer from her the rule of "the kingdom for the weale of it." He next observes "that, when Scotland is once made "free, means may be devised through God's "goodness to accord the two realms to endure for time to come." Sadler, i. 375—377. From this paper, dated August 5, it appears that he preferred the Hamiltons to

the lord James. The same is more evident from the instructions given to Sadler. "You "shall do well to explore the very truth, "whether the lord James do mean any enterprise towards the crown of Scotland: and if "he do, and the duke be found very cold in "his own cause, it shall not be amiss to let "the lord James follow his own desire therein, without dissuading or persuading him "any therein." Apud Chalmers, ii. 410. Throckmorton had written to Cecil on the 27th of July, "that there was a party in Scotland for the placing of that nobleman in the "state of Scotland, and that he himself did, "by all the secret means he could, aspire "thereunto." Forbes, i. 180.

apology for his absence, suddenly disappeared, at the suggestion, it was believed, and with the aid of Throckmorton, the English ambassador<sup>45</sup>. It was in vain that the police endeavoured to trace the footsteps of the fugitive: Throckmorton's agents accompanied or followed him to Geneva, whence he wrote a letter expressive of his gratitude to the queen of England<sup>46</sup>. From Geneva he came in great privacy to London; was admitted to a secret interview with Elizabeth, and to several conferences with Cecil; and then continued his journey in disguise, under the assumed name of Beaufort, till, with the assistance of Sadler and Croft, he reached his father's castle of Hamilton.

July 6.

August 31.

Sep. 10.

Previously to his arrival, the English commissioners had successfully laboured to rekindle the flames of civil war. They had represented to the lords of the congregation the justice of their cause, which had for its object, "to extirpe idolatrie, and delyuer their country from foreign gouernment:" the advantage they might derive from the willingness of the queen of England to afford them assistance; and the folly of postponing the attempt, till the regent should have acquired a decided superiority by the aid of her brothers of the house of Guise. At the same time the report, that it was intended to annex Scotland as a province to France, made a deep impression on the public mind: a promise of neutrality was obtained from the duke of Chastelherault:

The congregation in possession of Edinburgh.

Sep. 8.

<sup>45</sup> This suspicion seems to have been well founded. Throckmorton repeatedly mentions it, but never so much as hints that it is false. Forbes, i. 136. 164. Robertson, from De Thou, says it was intended to charge Arran with heresy: but the ambassador, though he speaks of the flight and pursuit of the earl on twelve different occasions, never once alludes to any such intention.

<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth was highly displeased. "It seemeth," she says, "very strange that the earl of Arran maketh mention in his letters, that he hath cause to thank us for the offers

"made to hym by us. We be in doubt what to thynk: and do much mislyke that any such occasion should be gyven by any manner of message done to hym." Forbes, i. 167. The indiscreet gratitude of the earl had nearly revealed to the queen, the secret and unauthorized practices of her secretary. But what were these offers? If we may believe Persons, (and the queen's words seem to support his assertion) that in the event of success in the war against the queen regent, Elizabeth would marry Arran. Philopater, p. 90.

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III.

and several catholic lords engaged to draw their swords in defence of the liberties of their country. A resolution was now taken to rise in arms, and to justify the measure by charging the regent with two breaches of the capitulation of Edinburgh: 1<sup>o</sup>. by having ordered mass to be celebrated in Holyrood House; and 2<sup>o</sup>. by having received reinforcements from France. At this moment Arran, whose arrival had been hitherto concealed, made himself known. He was received with honours not due to a subject. His unexpected appearance, the report that he was the destined husband of the queen of England, and the seasonable distribution of two thousand pounds, advanced by Sadler, elevated the hopes of the associated lords. On the other hand, the queen regent assumed a tone of confidence and superiority. She offered peace, on the basis of real liberty of conscience; and summoned her opponents to meet La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens, who had been furnished with full powers for that purpose<sup>47</sup>. But at the same time she informed them of her resolution and ability to maintain the rights of her daughter; ordered the town and harbour of Leith to be fortified; and boasted of the veterans who had lately arrived under Octaviano, a Milanese adventurer, and of the still more numerous force which she expected under her brother, the marquess D'Elbœuf. Her offer was, however, rejected: the duke openly joined the congregation; and the abbeys of Paislow, Kilwinning, and Dunfermlin, were dissolved. But the impatience of Sadler and Croft wished for open hostilities. They complained of the

"Writers seem at a loss to understand the mission of La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens. It is thus explained by the cardinal of Lorraine. "They went about of their own authority to alter religion. Which being advertised by the queen regent, commissions were sent to have the matter comme

"to debating and deciding: because we were desirous to stay the matter without rigueur. "But they not only neglected to come to reason, but refused to intend to the commission." Forbes, i. 336. The offers of the queen, and the refusal of the lords are mentioned in Sadler, i. 501, 502.



sluggishness of the confederates: and Knox, to aid their efforts, forged a letter from France to the lord James, prior of St. Andrews, painting in the most vivid colours the danger of further procrastination<sup>48</sup>. At length the insurgents moved in considerable force towards Edinburgh, while the royalists retired within their intrenchments at Leith. In the capital two councils were formed, the one under the presidency of Chastelherault, for the dispatch of political business, the other under that of Knox, for the regulation of spiritual concerns. The first pronounced it expedient, the second lawful, to take from the regent the exercise of her authority: her deprivation was proclaimed by sound of trumpet: and she herself, as well as her aiders and abettors, were declared enemies to the country. This was the first step towards the accomplishment of the plan devised by Cecil: the second, if no reverse had followed, would have been to disown the authority of the sovereign<sup>49</sup>. Oct. 18.

The queen regent was still supported by the earl of Huntley, lord chancellor, by the earls Marischal and Bothwell, and by most of the bishops. Her force amounted to between two and three thousand veterans, Scots and Frenchmen, whose superior discipline and experience rendered them more than a match for the bravery and enthusiasm of the ten thousand men, led by the chiefs of the congregation, the duke, the lord James, and the Elizabeth sends them money.

<sup>48</sup> At least Randall, the English agent in Scotland, believed it a forgery, "which I gesse to savor to muche of Knox stile to come from Fraunce, though it will serve to good purpose." Sadler, i. 499. The prior of St. Andrew's was James Stewart, a bastard son of James V., by Margaret Erskine. He became an early proselyte to the reformed doctrines, and was created earl of Murray in 1562.

<sup>49</sup> If the reader turn back to note 44, he will see how exactly the insurgents had fol-

lowed the directions of the English secretary. It appears from Knox, that they intended to follow them to the end. He thus writes to Raiton, one of the agents of the secretary: "She is deprived of all authoritie and regiment among us.—The authoritie of the French king and queene is yet receaved, and wilbe in wourde, till thee deny our most just requeastes, which ye shall, God willing, schortlie hereafter onderstand." Oct. 30. Sadler, i. 680.

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earls of Arran, Glencairn, Cassilis, Monteith, and Eglinton. In an attack on the intrenchments at Leith, the latter were repulsed with some loss. Instead of condoling, Sadler and Croft rejoiced at their misfortune. "The affray," they exclaimed, "is begun: blood has at last flowed, and it will be long before it can be staunched<sup>50</sup>." But in Knox and Cecil it created a well-founded doubt of the ultimate result. Knox, in the most urgent terms, demanded the aid of two thousand English troops: and, anticipating the objection which might be drawn from the existence of peace between the two crowns, suggested that they should serve as volunteers, in apparent opposition to the will of their sovereign, and under a sentence of outlawry and treason<sup>51</sup>. But Cecil, though he knew that "the Scots could clyme no walls<sup>52</sup>," dared not recommend so hypocritical a measure. He served a mistress, who, to use his own expression, "if to-day she was more than man, would to-morrow be less than woman." Elizabeth was imperious, but inconstant; jealous of her own safety, but also jealous of her reputation: willing to injure, by every means in her power, a rival queen, but unwilling to be considered by the world as the abettor of insurrection and treason. Hitherto she had been induced to approve of his connexion with the Scots: but it had required all the arts of the minister, all the intrigues of his confidential friends, to keep her steady to his purpose. Among these friends, the most useful was Throckmorton, the ambassador in France, who by transmitting reports often apocryphal, almost always exaggerated, and by suggesting as from himself to Cecil that advice, which Cecil

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 514.<sup>51</sup> Keith, App. 40. Cecil observes, with respect to this or some similar demand of Knox: "surelie I lyke not Knoxees audacitie, " which also was well tamed in your answer.

"His writings doo no good here: and therefore I doo rather suppress them: and yet I mean not but that ye shuld contynue in sendyng them." Sadler, i. 535.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 514.

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dared not openly tender to the queen, had succeeded in confirming her jealousy, and keeping alive her apprehensions. Now he solicited and obtained the permission to return home, ostensibly to visit his wife, who lay dangerously ill, in reality to communicate to his sovereign secrets, which he dared not commit to paper. What these secrets were, we shall afterwards learn. The result of his representations was, that the queen, on the ground "that it was true, that whensoever the French "should make an end with Scotland, they would begin with "England," authorized Cecil to aid the lords of the congregation with advice and money. For his greater security she signed the warrant: and the few counsellors, who were in the secret, witnessed her signature<sup>53</sup>.

Sep. 24.

Oct. 11.

Nov. 12.

The next post, however, brought the most perplexing intelligence. The Scots had attacked the enemy near Restalrig. They were received with equal courage and superior skill; and after a sharp skirmish, had fled into the city. Though their loss did not exceed a hundred men; though Knox had summoned them to the church, to hear the "promises of God;" though the royalists had returned to their intrenchments at Leith; yet a sudden panic diffused itself through the capital: the pulpit of the apostle was deserted; the leaders shared in the consternation with their followers; and before midnight the road to Linlithgow was covered with fugitives of every description. The darkness added to their terrors: they persuaded themselves that the French gens d'armes were pursuing at their heels; nor did they

They are  
driven from  
the capital.

Nov. 6.

<sup>53</sup> The witnesses were the earl of Pembroke, lord Clynton, lord Howard of Effingham, Parry, Cecil, Petre. Sadler, i. 566—573. and Wotton, *ibid.* note. Sadler had informed Cecil that the earl of Bothwell, the sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, had seized and carried off 1000*l.* which he had sent to the lords of the congregation. The secretary, aware of the parsimony of the queen, was careful to conceal the fact from her till she had signed the warrant. "Nevertheless," he adds, "hyr majestie shall knowe of the loss to-morrow, though it will be to sone." *Ibid.*



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Nov. 7.

slacken their speed till they had reached Stirling, a distance of thirty miles. Both saints and warriors were overwhelmed with shame and despondency: but Knox displayed his wonted confidence, and resumed the sermon which had been interrupted by their flight from Edinburgh. Why, he asked, had the army of God quailed before the uncircumcised Philistines? It was on account of their sins; of the ambition of this chieftain; of the avarice of another; of the lewdness of a third, and of the presumption and pusillanimity of all. But let them only turn to the Lord; let them acknowledge their sinfulness and insufficiency; and the tribes of Israel would again prevail over the recreant Benjamites; the eternal truth of the eternal God would triumph over the efforts of idolatry and superstition. His eloquence rekindled the fanaticism and the hopes of his hearers: and the lords, though from the highest to the lowest they had individually smarted under the lash of his invective, tolerated the boldness of the apostle for the benefit of that influence which he exercised over their followers<sup>54</sup>.

Aid of a fleet  
and army.

Nov. 14.

This intelligence, though it checked the exultation, invigorated the efforts, of Cecil. After a struggle of two days his influence in the English cabinet prevailed. The Scots were urged to proceed with their enterprise: they received promises of money to pay, and of officers to discipline, their forces: and were assured that a fleet should be equipped to intercept all communication between Leith and France; and that an army should be stationed on the borders, to avail itself of the first favourable opportunity to espouse their cause. In return it was required that they should send to London an accredited agent

<sup>54</sup> Knox, *Historie*, 194—197. Sadler, i. 554. 563. Randall complains greatly of the lords: "Syns the taking of the money, and the commyng of the Frenchmen to the gates of Edinburgh, I have found the most parte of our nobles and others such, as I knowe not whome woorthilie to commend." Ibid.

with a petition for support, that the queen might afterwards have some instrument to produce in justification of her conduct<sup>55</sup>. The person chosen for this office was the younger Maitland, of Lethington, a statesman of great abilities, who had been secretary to the queen regent, but lately deserting to the congregationists, had betrayed to them the secrets of his mistress. Maitland came clandestinely to London; presented to Elizabeth a petition, which had been previously composed by Cecil and approved by herself<sup>56</sup>; and, when she asked him for a pledge of the fidelity of his employers, offered her the selection of six out of twelve hostages, the children of the first families in Scotland.

It chanced that one morning, at an early hour, Maitland was seen to enter the lodgings of Throckmorton. The circumstance awakened the suspicion of Gilles de Noailles, the French ambassador, who immediately demanded, both from the queen and from the council, an explanation of the warlike preparations in

<sup>55</sup> Sadler, i. 574—578. 581. 602.

<sup>56</sup> Sadler, i. 569. 603. Several writers have given Maitland credit for the ability displayed in this paper. They little knew that it was in reality the composition of Cecil. This minister having communicated it to the queen, sent it to Sadler, with instructions to conceal the real author, and to induce the Scots, "by practice," to adopt it for their own. Aware, however, that Sadler might find it difficult to reconcile those passages which contained protestations of allegiance to Mary, with the known intention of the parties to deprive her of the crown, he observes, "The allowance of ther duties to the quene is here thought necessary both for contentation of the world, and for the honour of the quene's majesty; and therefore, whatsoever the Scots may be compelled to do hereafter in that behalf, this

"seemeth very probable for the present." Ibid. 573. Sadler now began "to practice." He wrote a copy, and shewed it to Maitland as his own composition, when that envoy passed through Berwick on his way to London. He was induced to write it, he said, by his desire to aid the lords: and as he was well acquainted with the disposition of Elizabeth, he had hastily thrown together such arguments as he knew would make impression on her mind. Maitland, whether he suspected the artifice or not, admired the new petition, acknowledged that it was preferable to that which he had brought with him, sent it to the lords for signature, and afterwards presented it to the queen. Ibid. 603. Of this paper she afterwards made great use in her correspondence with the king of Spain, and probably with other powers.

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III.

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the river, and in the northern counties. Elizabeth assured him of her determination to maintain the peace of Cateau : and as a proof of her sincerity, wished that the curse of heaven might light on the head of that prince, who should be the first to violate it. The council replied, that Francis and Mary, by assuming the style and arms of England, had furnished ample ground for apprehension : and that while the French monarch continued to recruit his forces, both at home and in Scotland, they should be wanting in their duty, if they did not advise the queen to prepare for the defence of her own dominions. Noailles, however, was not deceived. He denounced the hostile intention of the English cabinet to his sovereign, and to the queen regent of Scotland<sup>57</sup>.

The English  
fleet in the  
Frith.

Dec. 27.

1560.  
Jan. 8.

Jan. 23.

The associated lords, encouraged by the sermons of Knox, and the assurances of Cecil, had called a general meeting at Stirling. But Stirling was suddenly taken by a detachment from the garrison of Leith. Thence the royalists penetrated into Fifeshire, burning the houses, and ravaging the lands of their adversaries. The flames spread to Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and Dysart. Arran and the lord James were compelled to shrink from the approach of a superior enemy ; and the repeated promises of succour from England, by daily adding to their disappointment, added to their distress. At length the royalists, followed at a distance by Arran, directed their march to St. Andrew's ; and were winding round the promontory of Kingcraig, when a fleet in the offing was descried advancing with crowded sails towards the shore. The two armies immediately halted : every eye was fixed on the sight : the Scots

<sup>57</sup> Forbes, 284. Haynes, i. 213.



hailed the promised succours from England: their adversaries flattered themselves with the long expected arrival of D'Elbœuf from France. In a short time the nearest ships displayed the English colours: three small vessels belonging to the regent were captured; and the guns of the fleet were pointed against the royalists. The latter immediately began to retrace their steps: and it is a proof of their superior discipline that, during a retreat of six days through a hostile country, they suffered but inconsiderable loss<sup>58</sup>.

Notwithstanding this act of hostility, Elizabeth affected great anxiety for the preservation of peace: and the task of vindicating the conduct of Winter, the English admiral, devolved on the duke of Norfolk, who now resided on the borders with the title of the queen's lieutenant in the north. Though Winter had sailed from the river for the express purpose of aiding the Scots<sup>59</sup>, and had taken on board six hundred arquebusiers to be opposed to the regular troops of the royalists; yet it was pretended that he had no other object than to convoy a fleet of victuallers to Berwick; that the violence of the weather had driven him into the Frith; and that the jealousy or the mistake of the French commanders who fired on him from the batteries at Leith, Bruntisland, and Inchkeith, had compelled him to make reprisals in his own defence. This specious, but unfounded tale, was even embodied into an official dispatch, and authenticated by the signatures of the duke and his council<sup>60</sup>. But Noailles was too well informed of the real fact; he exclaimed against so impudent a falsehood; and extorted from

False account  
of its object

Jan. 26

<sup>58</sup> Sadler, i. 665—671. 674—679. 682—685. 690—703.

<sup>59</sup> For Winter's instructions, see Keith, 116, and Chalmers, 28.

<sup>60</sup> The signatures are of Tho. Norfolk, H. Westmorland, W. Dacre, T. Wharton,

Raff. Sadleyr, F. Lecke. Haynes, i. 231. In a private letter the duke acknowledges that the earl of Westmoreland, and the lords Wharton and Dacre, were not in the secret, but supposed the account to be true. Ibid. 233.

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Cecil, after many delays and evasions, a commission to inquire into the conduct of Winter<sup>61</sup>. The French court, however, thought it more dignified to be content with this appearance of justice, than to demand, without being able to enforce, satisfaction: the inquiry was dropped: and the English fleet continued to ride triumphant in the Frith.

Attempt to  
excite a civil  
war in France.

The queen had been drawn into the contest step by step against her own judgment and inclination. At first she consented only to furnish money: then her fleet was sent into the Frith, but ostensibly for a legitimate purpose: next we shall see her condescending to that, from which her pride had hitherto recoiled, and concluding a formal treaty with the subjects of another sovereign. The principal inducement was her knowledge of the projects cherished by the factious in France. Scarcely was the corpse of Henry II. laid in the grave, when Cecil undertook to excite in that country dissensions similar to those, which he had fomented in Scotland, by arming the princes of the blood, and the reformers, against their new monarch, Francis II. By his instructions Throckmorton solicited a private interview with Antoine de Bourbon, the titular king of Navarre, who was known to favour the reformed doctrines. They met in the town of St. Denis at the hour of midnight. The ambassador, in general terms, stated to the king

1559.  
Aug. 22.

<sup>61</sup> This commission is directed to the duke of Norfolk, and expresses the queen's persuasion that Winter "wold not committ any thing that shuld be any breach of the peace." Ibid. 258. Throckmorton, on his return to France, acted with equal deceit. When the cardinal of Lorrain complained of Winter's conduct, "I pretended ignorance, and said that if Mr. Winter did contrary to th' amitye, he might be assured, it was without your majestie's commandement." Forbes, i. 335. Cecil, in a memorial to the

king of Spain, has recourse to a different falsehood. He thus accounts for the expedition under Winter, and the army formed under the duke of Norfolk: "Ut verum fateamur (omnesque qui hic sunt norunt esse verissimum) nos diu dubitatione aliqua esse occupatos, an hæc discordia in Scotia inter Gallos et Scotos esset ficta, ut sub eo colore haberent in armis justum exercitum, et junctis utrinque copiis irrumperent subito in hoc regnum, et præcipue caperent Berwicum." Forbes, i. 405.

“ the esteem of the queen for his virtues, her wish to form an alliance with him for the honour of God and the advancement of true religion, and her hope that, by mutually assisting each other, they might prevent their enemies from taking any advantage against God, or his cause, or either of themselves as his ministers.” Though Antoine understood the object of this hypocritical cant, he answered with caution ; that he should be happy to have so illustrious an ally in so sacred a cause : but that for greater security he would correspond directly with the queen herself<sup>62</sup>. In a few days the young king intrusted to the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, the uncles of his queen, the chief offices in the government. The ambition of the princes of the blood was disappointed : the king of Navarre, his brother the prince of Condé, and the admiral Coligni, Dandelot, and the cardinal of Chastillon, the three nephews of the constable Montmorenci, formed an association ; and the reformers throughout France were secretly solicited to arm in their support. It was to inform the queen of their views and resources, that Throckmorton had come to England : and he was followed by La Renaudie, who had accepted the dangerous post of appearing at first as the leader of the insurgents. That adventurer soon returned, the bearer from Elizabeth of wishes for their success, and promises of support : men were secretly levied among the professors of the new doctrines in every province of France ; and a day was appointed when they should rendezvous in the vicinity of the court, surprise the king and the queen, murder the cardinal and the duke of Guise, and place the government in the hands of the princes of the blood. It was at this moment that the duke of Norfolk received orders

<sup>62</sup> Forbes, i. 174. 212.



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III.Treaty with  
the Scots.

Feb. 27.

Declaration  
against the  
house of  
Guise.

Mar. 15.

Mar. 23.

Mar. 24.

to conclude a treaty with the Scottish lords at Berwick. Though the French ambassadors offered to withdraw their forces from Scotland with the exception of a few companies, and to refer the matters in dispute between the insurgents and their sovereign to the arbitration of Elizabeth herself, the duke was ordered to proceed: and it was stipulated that the queen should maintain an English army in Scotland till the French were expelled from that kingdom, and that the Scots should never consent to the union of their crown with that of France, should aid Elizabeth with four thousand men in the case of invasion, and should give her hostages for their fidelity to these engagements<sup>63</sup>.

In a few days the conspiracy in France burst forth, but was defeated by the vigour of the duke of Guise. La Renaudie perished in the conflict: and most of the other leaders were taken and executed. At this intelligence Elizabeth began to waver: but she was assured that a civil war would inevitably follow. Throckmorton urged her not to forfeit the golden opportunity; and the lords of the council solicited permission to commence hostilities on the following grounds; because it was just to repel danger; honourable to relieve the oppressed; necessary to prevent the union of Scotland with France, and profitable to risk a small sum for the attainment of that, which afterwards must cost a greater price<sup>64</sup>. The day after the presentation of this memorial appeared a most extraordinary state paper, entitled a declaration of peace, but intended as a justification of war. It made a distinction between the French king and queen, and their ministers. The former were the friends of Elizabeth, who strictly forbade any injury to be

<sup>63</sup> Haynes, 253.<sup>64</sup> Forbes, i. 390—396.

offered to their subjects : the latter were her enemies, and to defeat their ambitious views she had taken up arms, and would not lay them down, till she had expelled every French soldier from the realm of Scotland<sup>65</sup>. The duke of Norfolk, who had collected an army on the borders, committed it to the care of lord Grey ; the Scots and English joined : and the combined forces sat down before the intrenchments of Leith. But the operations of the siege were paralyzed by the irresolute and contradictory humours of the queen. She wrote to the generals to prefer negotiation to arms ; rejected a new project of accommodation ; permitted the French envoy to treat with the Scottish lords ; ordered the siege to be pushed with vigour ; and then reproached her ministers with having extorted her consent to that, which she foresaw must end in failure and disgrace. Her predictions were verified. The besiegers made their approaches without judgment ; their batteries were ill-served, and ill-directed : and when the assault was made, one of the storming parties lost its way, the other found the scaling ladders too short. More than a thousand men perished in the advance and the retreat<sup>66</sup>.

This check put an end to the war. The queen applauded her own foresight : and, though after a stormy debate with the secretary she consented to reinforce the army, she still insisted that he should proceed to Scotland, and extinguish by negotiation the flame which he had kindled. He submitted with an evil grace ; and, having instructed his friends to watch the intrigues of his political adversaries during his absence, set out

CHAP.  
III.

March 28.

April 6

Failure of the  
siege of Leith

May 6.

Negotiation

<sup>65</sup> Haynes, i. 268. "It is a poor revenge," said the cardinal of Lorraine to Throckmorton, "that hath been used of late by your proclamation in England against my brother and me ; but we take it that it is not the queene's doing, but the perswasion of thre or foure about her : and, as I trust to see shortly that

"she will be better advised, so we hope that ere it be long, she will put her hand to punysh them for gyving her such advice." Forbes, i. 423. The original of the proclamation is in Cecil's handwriting.

<sup>66</sup> See the official letters in Haynes, 283—388.

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III.

May 30.

June 14.

June 10.

June 11.

Treaty be-  
tween Mary  
and the Scots.

on his unwelcome mission with Wotton for his colleague<sup>67</sup>. At Newcastle they joined the French envoys, Randan and Montluc; and at Berwick signed a preliminary treaty. But by this time the royalists had suffered a severe loss in the death of the queen regent, a princess of distinguished talents and moderation, who had sacrificed the health of her body and the peace of her mind in support of the interests of her daughter. During her indisposition she was received within the castle of Edinburgh by the humanity of the lord Erskine, who held that fortress by a commission from the three estates, and professed to observe the most scrupulous neutrality during the contest. From her death-bed Mary sent for the chiefs of the two opposite parties, recommended to their care the weal of the kingdom, and the rights of the sovereign, and saluting each of the lords, and giving her hand to the commoners, she publicly forgave every injury which she had received, and asked forgiveness of those whom she had offended. The next day she expired, regretted by the catholics and the royalists, and esteemed by her very opponents. Knox alone was found to pour the venom of his slander over her grave<sup>68</sup>.

The French commissioners had been empowered to grant an

<sup>67</sup> See Cecil's letters in Forbes. "The queen's majestie reneweth the opinion of Cassandra—God trieth us with many diffculties. The queen's majestie never liketh this matter of Scotland: you know what hangeth thereuppon. Weak hearted men, and flatterers will follow that way—I have had such a torment herein with the queen's majestie as an ague hath not in five fits so much abated—What will follow of my going I know not: but I fear the success, quia the queen's majestie is so evil disposed to the matter." Forbes, i. 454, 455, 456, 460, 500. The lord John Grey fears the influence of the Philippians during

the absence of Cecil. By Philippians he means Arundel, Parry, Petre and Mason; Haynes, 251: but Killygrew pronounces them all honest men, with the exception of Mason. Pembroke and Clinton support Cecil. Forbes, i. 501. They were called Philippians, because Philip had remonstrated with Elizabeth on her disgraceful conduct, in aiding the rebels of another prince. Forbes, i. 402. Haynes, 281.

<sup>68</sup> It is not easy to explain how Robertson (i. 139. edit. 1791) could misinterpret, as he has done, the expressions of Lesley in describing the death of the queen. Lesley, Hist. 525.



amnesty to the insurgents, provided they would return to their duty. The offer was accepted : but at the same time demands were made, which, while they left a nominal superiority to Francis and Mary, tended to transfer the exercise of the royal authority to the lords of the congregation. At first, Montluc and Randan defended with spirit the rights of the crown : but necessity compelled them to submit to more than their powers would justify : and it was ultimately agreed, that after the removal of the French troops, with the exception of a small garrison in Dunbar, and another in Inchkeith, a convention of the three estates should be held ; that out of twenty-four persons named by the convention, the queen should select seven, the estates five, to be intrusted with the government of the realm ; that none but natives should hold the great offices of the crown ; and that the king and queen should neither declare war nor conclude peace without the consent of the estates. To these conditions, humbling as they were, was appended a demand that the new worship should be established. But on this point the commissioners refused to yield : Cecil himself condemned the fanaticism of the zealots ; and it was reserved for Maitland to pacify them with a promise, that a deputation, named by the convention, should lay this request before Francis and Mary <sup>69</sup>.

At the same time another treaty was in progress between the French and English commissioners. The evacuation of Leith, and the removal of the foreign troops offered no difficulty : but Cecil demanded the restoration of Calais as an indemnity for the injury offered to Elizabeth by the assumption of her title ; and

Between  
Mary and  
Elizabeth.

<sup>69</sup> “ Our travail is more with the lords of Scotland than with the French. I find some so depely perswaded in the matter of religion, as nothing can perswade them that may appear to hynder it. My lord of Lidyngton (Maitland,) helpeth much in this, or els surely I see folly would hazard the whole.” Haynes, i. 333. See note (H).

CHAP.  
III.

July 6.

moreover an express ratification of the treaty lately concluded at Berwick between the duke of Norfolk and the Scottish insurgents. On these questions much diplomatic finesse was displayed : and the conferences were repeatedly interrupted and resumed, till at length by mutual concession a treaty was concluded. Francis and Mary were made to promise that, as the English and Irish crowns belonged of right to Elizabeth, they would cease to bear the arms, or use the style of England and Ireland ; the question of compensation was referred to the equitable decision of the king of Spain ; and it was stipulated that, as the French king and queen had made several concessions to their Scottish subjects, at the petition of the English queen, so they should ratify those concessions, whenever the Scots themselves had fulfilled the conditions on which they had been granted<sup>70</sup>.

Consul to ratify it

Sept. 2.

Such was the termination of the Scottish war, which disgraced the English ministry in the estimation of foreign courts, and realized only a few of the magnificent promises made by Cecil and his associates. Elizabeth, however, was taught to set a high value on the sixth article of the peace, by which her right to the English crown was recognised, and the Scottish queen was debarred from using the title, or bearing the arms, of England and Ireland. She hastened to ratify the treaty herself ; but her eagerness was met with equal reluctance on the part of Francis and Mary, who grounded their refusal on the want of authority in their commissioners, and the subsequent misconduct of their Scottish subjects. The lords of the congregation had called a convention of the estates without the royal commission ; had abolished throughout the realm the worship hitherto established by law ; and had refused compensation to the churchmen, who

<sup>70</sup> Rym. xv. 593. Haynes, i. 354.

had suffered losses during the late insurrection ; three points in direct contradiction to the accord of Edinburgh<sup>71</sup>. They had even sent an embassy to Elizabeth, as if they possessed the sovereign authority : and, what perhaps proved more offensive to the pride of the French cabinet, that embassy consisted of peers, while no more than a single knight, sir John Sandilands, had been deputed to their own sovereign. When Throckmorton required that Francis and Mary should ratify the treaty, they replied, that the Scots had fulfilled no one of the conditions of the accord ; that they had acted as if they formed a republic independent of the sovereign ; that Elizabeth continued to support them in their disobedience ; and that she had already broken the ancient treaty, by admitting into her kingdom, and into her presence, the deputies of the congregation, without the previous consent of their sovereign<sup>72</sup>.

In less than a month, Francis, a weak and sickly prince, died of an imposthume in the ear. By this event the near connexion between France and Scotland was dissolved : and, as the dangers conjured up by the jealousy of Cecil, had now vanished, Mary persuaded herself that she might assume without molestation the government of her native kingdom. Such, however, was not the design of the English ministry. They observed that she might marry a second time, and that with a new husband her former pretensions might revive, a contingency against which it was their duty to provide. With this view a resolution was taken to prevent, or at least to retard, the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland. Winter continued to cruise in the Firth : and Randolph, the English agent, received instructions to remind the lords of the congregation of their obligations to Elizabeth ; to

Death of  
Francis II.  
Dec. 5.

1561.  
Mar. 17.

<sup>71</sup> See note (I).

<sup>72</sup> Hardwick papers, i. 126. 129



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Apr. 4.

May 4.

Mary refuses  
to ratify the  
treaty.

Jan. 5.

Feb. 19.

Ap. 13.

June 23.

advise the conclusion of a perpetual league with England during the absence of the queen; and to suggest a form of association, which should have for its chief object to compel her to marry one of her own subjects<sup>73</sup>. Elizabeth had no reason to complain of the backwardness of the Scots: Chastelherault, Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn, made her the tender of their services; Maitland promised to betray to Cecil the plans and motions of Mary and her friends; and the lord James, having proceeded to France to assure his sister of his attachment and obedience, on his return through England advised Elizabeth to intercept her on the sea and to make her a prisoner<sup>74</sup>. With these noblemen loyalty and morality appear to have been empty names. Personal interest was their sole object, and in pursuit of this they cared little whether they served their sovereign or her adversary.

Mary had been left a widow at the age of eighteen. She spent the winter among her maternal relatives in Lorrain, and consoled her grief by writing elegies on her departed husband. But the English envoys, the earl of Bedford, Mewtas, and Throckmorton, allowed her little respite with their repeated demands of the ratification of the treaty. To all she made the same reply: that, since the death of Francis, her uncles had refused to give her advice, that they might not be said to interfere in the concerns of Scotland: that on a subject, which so deeply affected the rights of her crown and her people, she could not be expected to answer without the aid of official advisers: but that, on her return to her dominions, she would consult the estates, and do whatever they should judge reasonable. These refusals irritated Elizabeth: they confirmed the suspicions, which had been previously suggested by her counsellors; and

<sup>73</sup> Haynes, 366. Keith, 156. App. 94. Chalmers, from letters in the paper office, ii.

<sup>74</sup> Camden, i. 82. Keith, 163. App. 91. 288.

when D'Oyselles requested permission for Mary to pass through England to Scotland, she refused in a tone of vehemence, and with expressions of reproach, which betrayed the exacerbation of her mind<sup>75</sup>. Throckmorton soon afterwards waited on the Scottish queen to justify the conduct of his sovereign. When Mary saw him, she ordered her attendants to retire: "that," said she, "if like the queen of England I cannot command my temper, I may at least have fewer spectators of my weakness." To his reasons she replied: "your mistress reproaches me with my youth—it is a defect which will soon be cured—but she might reproach me with my folly, if, young as I am, without husband or council, I should take on myself to ratify the treaty. When I have consulted the estates of my realm, I will return a reasonable answer. I only repent that I had the weakness to ask of your sovereign a favour which I did not want. I came here in defiance of Edward VI.: I will return to Scotland in defiance of his sister. I want nothing of her but her friendship: if she choose, she may have me a loving kinswoman, and a useful neighbour: for it is not my intention to intrigue with the discontented in her kingdom, as she intrigues with the discontented in mine<sup>76</sup>."

The English queen was not unmindful of the advice suggested by the lord James, which was again inculcated, not only by him, but also by Morton and Maitland<sup>77</sup>, and a fleet was collected in

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III.

June.

July 20.

She returns  
to Scotland.

<sup>75</sup> "So many reasons," says Cecil, "have induced us to deny the request, that I think it shall be of the wise allowed, and of our friends in Scotland most welcome." These reasons were, that "the very expectation of the queen's coming had erected up Huntley, Bothwell, Hume, and her other friends, and that the longer her affairs should hang in uncertainty, the longer it would be ere she should have such a match in marriage as

"might offend the English court." July 14, 1561. Hardwick papers, i. 172, 173.

<sup>76</sup> Cabala (edit. 1663) p. 374—379.

<sup>77</sup> Camden, 82. "I have shown," says Randolph, "your honour's letters unto the lord James, lord Morton, lord Lidington. They wish, as your honour doth, that she might be stayed yet for a space: and, if it were not for their obedience sake, some of them care not though they never saw her face."

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III.

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Aug. 15.

the Downs, for the purpose, as was pretended, of cruising against pirates in the narrow seas. Though Mary suspected that it had a different object, she did not allow herself to be diverted from her intended voyage. Accompanied by three of her uncles, and several French and Scottish noblemen, she sailed from Calais, with two galleys and four transports. As long as the coast remained in view, she fixed her eyes on the land, in which she had lived from her childhood, and had reigned as queen: then stretching out her arms, exclaimed, "Farewel, beloved France, "farewel." The next day a thick fog arose: a propitious circumstance; for, though the English admiral fell in with the squadron, though he captured one of the transports carrying the earl of Eglinton, and two others laden with the queen's mules, he did not discover, or could not overtake, the galleys.

Aug. 19.

On the fourth day Mary approached the land of her fathers with mingled emotions of hope and apprehension. To disappoint the machinations of her enemies, she had arrived a fortnight before the appointed time. No preparations were made for her reception: but the whole population, nobles, clergy, and people, poured to Leith to testify their allegiance to their young and beautiful sovereign. Her fears were dispelled: with a glad and lightsome heart she mounted her palfrey; and entered the capital amidst the shouts and congratulations of her subjects. It was to her a day of joy and happiness; perhaps the only one that she was destined to experience in Scotland<sup>78</sup>.

"Lidington findeth it ever best that she come  
"not: but if she do come, to let her know at  
"the first what she shall find, which is due  
"obedience and willing service, if she embrace  
"Christ, and desire to live in peace with her  
"neighbours." Robertson, App. Vol. i.  
No. v.

<sup>78</sup> Camden, i. 82. Lesley, 535. Good-

all, i. 176. Combining the hostile behaviour of the English fleet with the advice so frequently given to Elizabeth to stay the coming of Mary to Scotland, we can hardly doubt, any more than her contemporaries did, that the real object was to conduct the Scottish queen to England. Probably the instructions given to the admiral were like those formerly



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Before I conclude this chapter, I may call the attention of the reader to the private history of Elizabeth in the commencement of her reign. Her repeated asseverations that she preferred the state of celibacy to that of marriage, obtained but little credit. Under her sister such language might be dictated by policy : at present it might serve to free her from the addresses of those whom she disliked. But no man would believe that she spoke her real sentiments : and there were many, both among foreign princes and native subjects, whose vanity or ambition aspired to the honour of marrying the queen of England.

Elizabeth's  
suitors.

1<sup>o</sup>. Of foreign princes the first was Philip of Spain. His ambassador, the duke of Feria, made the proposal when he congratulated her on her accession. Elizabeth was surprised and perplexed. She remembered, with thankfulness, her former obligations to Philip : and was aware, that with him for her husband, she had no reason to fear the exertions of France in favour of Mary Stuart. But, on the other hand, she had always disapproved of his marriage with Mary ; she intended to abolish the religion which he supported ; and, as he was related in the same degree of affinity to her, as Henry VIII. had been to Catharine, she could not marry him without acknowledging that her mother had been the mistress, not the wife, of her father. She returned a civil but evasive answer. Her confidants, however, were not without solicitude. She often spoke of Philip in terms of esteem, praised his person and his talents, and ordered his picture to be placed in her bed-chamber. But the king was

Philip.

given to Winter, to seek and invent pretexts for hostilities. As the attempt did not succeed, it was necessary to deny it. Elizabeth wrote to Mary, that she had sent a few barks to sea, to cruise after certain Scottish pirates, at the request of the king of Spain, (Keith, 181, 182. Robertson, App. vii.), and Cecil wrote

to Throckmorton, " that the queen's majesty's " ships that were on the seas, to cleanse them " from pirates, saw her and saluted her galleys : and staying her ships, examined them " gently. One they detained as vehemently " suspected of piracy." Hardwick papers, i. 176.

CHAP.  
III.Charles of  
Austria.

a lover from policy more than affection: and in a few weeks he contracted a marriage with a daughter of France<sup>79</sup>.

2°. The place of Philip was supplied by his cousin Charles of Austria, son to the emperor Ferdinand. The family connexions of the prince promised equal support against the rivalry of Francis and Mary: to his person, talents, and acquirements, no objection could be adduced: but his religion opposed, if not in the opinion of the queen, at least in that of her counsellors, an insuperable obstacle to his suit. Elizabeth's vanity was indeed flattered, and she intimated a wish to see the archduke in England. It was generally understood, that he had resolved to visit his intended bride under an assumed character: and, in foreign courts, an idea prevailed, that the marriage was actually concluded: but the emperor conceived it beneath his dignity to proceed with so much precipitancy, and opened a negociation, which defeated his own purpose. Though he was induced to withdraw his first demand of a church for the celebration of the catholic service in London; though he consented that Charles should, on occasions of ceremony, attend the queen to the protestant worship; still he insisted that his son should possess a private chapel for his own use, and that of his catholic family. To this it was replied, that the laws of the realm allowed of no other than the established liturgy: and that the conscience of the queen forbade her to connive at the celebration of an idolatrous worship. So uncourteous an answer cooled the ardour of the young prince, and offended the father: at the death of Francis, Charles turned his attention towards the widow queen of Scotland: and the

1559.  
Nov.

<sup>79</sup> Camden, i. 28. 30. He resigned to Elizabeth all his right to the valuable jewels, which he had presented to his late wife, (Philipater, 72,) and she, to the day of her death, kept his picture by the side of her bed. Ballard's Ladies, p. 217.

subject was dropped without any expression of dissatisfaction by either party<sup>80</sup>.

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III.

Eric of Swe-  
den.  
1559.  
Sept. 27.

Oct. 5.

1561.  
Oct. 3.

Adolphus of  
Holstein.

3°. While the Austrian was thus preferring his suit, arrived in England, John, duke of Finland, to solicit the hand of the queen for his brother Eric, king of Sweden. He was received with royal honours, and flattered with delusive hopes. To the queen he paid incessant attention: sought to win the good will of her favourites by his affability and presents: and as he went to court, usually threw money among the populace, saying, that he gave them silver, but the king would give them gold. To Eric, a protestant, no objection could be made on the ground of religion; finding, however, that his suit made little progress, he grew jealous of his ther, and recalling him, confided his interests to the care of an ambassador. At the same time he sent to Elizabeth eighteen piebald horses, and several chests of bullion, with an intimation, that he would quickly follow in person to lay his heart at her feet. The queen had no objection to the present: but to relieve herself from the expense and embarrassment of a visit, she requested him, for his own sake, to postpone his journey, till the time when she could make up her mind to enter into matrimony. That time never came: his patience was exhausted: and he consoled himself for his disappointment by marrying a lady who, though unequal in rank to Elizabeth, could boast of superior beauty, and repaid his choice by the sincerity of her attachment<sup>81</sup>.

4°. Jealousy of the power of Eric, induced the king of Denmark to set up a rival suitor in the person of Adolphus duke

<sup>80</sup> Camden, 53. Strype, i. 150. Haynes, 216.

<sup>81</sup> Sadler, i. 507. Hardwick papers, i. 173, 174. Camd. i. 67. Strype, i. 192—194. 234. 236. The whole court was thrown

into confusion in September, 1561, by the intelligence that he was actually on his voyage. The instructions issued in consequence are amusing. See them in Haynes, i. 370.



CHAP.  
III.1560.  
Mar. 20.

of Holstein. The prince was young, handsome, and (which exalted him still more in the eyes of Elizabeth) a soldier and a conqueror<sup>82</sup>. On his arrival he was received with honour, and treated with peculiar kindness. He loved and was beloved<sup>83</sup>. The queen made him knight of the garter: she granted him a pension for life: still she could not be induced to take him for her husband.

The earl of  
Arran.

5<sup>o</sup>. While Charles, and Eric, and Adolphus, thus openly contended for the hand, or rather the crown, of Elizabeth, they were secretly opposed by a rival, whose pretensions were the more formidable, as they received the united support of the secretary and of the secretary's wife<sup>84</sup>. This rival was the earl of Arran, whose zeal for the glory of God had been stimulated with the hope of an earthly reward in the marriage of the queen. During the war of the reformation he had displayed a courage and constancy, which left all his associates, with the exception perhaps of the lord James, far behind him: and, as soon as the peace was concluded, he presumed to apply for the expected recompence of his services. The earls of Morton and Glencairn, and Maitland, as the deputies of the Scottish parliament, solicited Elizabeth to marry the earl of Arran, whose father was presumptive heir to the Scottish crown. With her usual affectation she replied: that she was content with her maiden state, and that God had given her no inclination for marriage. Yet the sudden departure of the ambassadors deeply offended her pride. She complained, that while kings and princes persevered for

1560.  
Oct.

<sup>82</sup> Dithmarsis nuper debellatis. Camd. i. 69.

<sup>83</sup> So I conclude from Peyto's letter to Throckmorton. "There goeth a whispering that he is a sueter, and, as the Italian saeth, 'molto amartellato. If the fyrst be avowable, 'I dought not of the last: for it is a conse-

"quent of force respectyng the parties: as 'youe, I dare say, will agree therein with 'me." Forbes, i. 443. May 9, 1560.

<sup>84</sup> See the letters to her from Maitland, Melville, and Arran, in Haynes, 359. 362, 363.

months and years in their suit, the Scots did not deign to urge their requests a second time<sup>85</sup>. As for Arran, whether it were owing to his disappointment or to some other cause, he fell into a deep melancholy, which ended in the loss of his reason.

From foreign princes we may turn to those among the queen's subjects, who, prompted by their hopes, or seduced by her smiles, flattered themselves with expectation of winning her consent. The first of these was sir William Pickering. He could not boast of noble blood: nor had he exercised any higher charge than that of a mission to some of the petty princes of Germany. But the beauty of his person, his address, and his taste in the polite arts, attracted the notice of the young queen; and so lavish was she of her attention to this unexpected favourite, that for some weeks he was considered by the courtiers as her future consort. But Pickering was soon forgotten: and if disparity of age could have been compensated by political experience and nobility of descent, the earl of Arundel had a better title to the royal preference. For some years that nobleman persevered in his suit, to the disquietude of his conscience, and the disparagement of his fortune. He was by persuasion a catholic, but, to please the queen, voted in favour of the reformation: he possessed considerable estates, but involved himself in debt by expensive presents, and by entertainments given to his sovereign and her court. When at length he could no longer serve her politics, or minister to her amusements, she cast him off, and treated him not only with coldness, but occasionally with severity<sup>86</sup>.

Her own subjects.

<sup>85</sup> Keith, 156. Haynes, 364.

<sup>86</sup> He was 47 years old at the queen's accession. From papers in Haynes, (364, 365,) it appears, that he was the great rival of Dudley. In 1565, he travelled to the baths at Padua, for relief from the gout. On his return he went to court in the first coach,

and presented to the queen the first pair of silk stockings that had been seen in England. Afterwards he fell into disgrace for his participation in the design of marrying the duke of Norfolk to the queen of Scots; and from that time till his death, (Feb. 28, 1580,) was almost always confined by order of the coun-

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III.Robert Dud-  
ley.1559.  
Dec.

The man who made the deepest and most lasting impression on her heart, was the lord Robert Dudley, who had been attainted with his father the duke of Northumberland for the attempt to remove Elizabeth as well as Mary from the succession. He had, however, been restored in blood, and frequently employed by the late queen : under the present he met with rapid preferment, was appointed master of the horse, and soon afterwards, to the surprise of the public, installed knight of the garter. The queen and Dudley became inseparable companions. Scandalous reports were whispered, and believed at home : in foreign courts it was openly said, that they lived together in adulterous intercourse<sup>87</sup>. Dudley had married the daughter and heiress of sir John Robesart ; but that lady was not permitted to appear at court : her lord allotted for her residence a lonely mansion called Camnor, in Berkshire, where she suddenly died by an accidental fall, if we credit Foster, the tenant of the house ; but under such suspicious circumstances, as convinced the public that she had been murdered. The fate of this unfortunate woman was generally considered as a preparatory step to a marriage between the queen and her favourite<sup>88</sup>. To silence such reports, some judicial investigation, probably a coroner's inquest, was ordered ; and the result was a declaration that the death of

cil to his house ; not, as far as appears, for any real offence, but as a dangerous person, on account of his opposition to the designs of the ministers.

<sup>87</sup> " I assure you, sir, thies folks are brode mowthed, where I speke of oon to much in " favour as they esteene.... To tell you what " I conceyve ; as I count the slawnder most " false, so a young princess canne not be to " ware." Chaloner to Cecil, Dec. 6, 1559. Haynes, 212.

<sup>88</sup> Lever, one of the preachers, wrote to

Knollys and Cecil to make inquiry into the matter, because, " here in these partes seem- " eth unto me to be a grevous and dangerous " suspition and muttering of the death of her " that was the wife of my lord Robert Dud- " lie." Haynes, 362. Throckmorton also wrote to Cecil, " The bruits be so brim, " and so maliciously reported here, touching " the marriage of the lord Robert, and the " death of his wife, that I know not where to " turn me, nor what countenance to bear." Hardwick papers, i. 121.



lady Dudley had been the effect of accident. Immediately the report of the marriage revived: it was believed that the queen had solemnly pledged her word to Dudley; and even a lady of the bed-chamber was named as witness to the contract<sup>89</sup>. Parry, the treasurer of the household, declared in its favour: and Cecil and his friends, though they condemned the measure, had not the courage to express their disapprobation. As a last resource, they trusted to the ingenuity of Throckmorton, who undertook the delicate and hazardous office. He did not, indeed, open his mind to his sovereign as he had done to Cecil; but he adopted the safer expedient of attributing his own sentiments to others, and then communicated them to Elizabeth, as a painful duty imposed on him by the charge which he held. With this view his secretary Jones came to England, and obtained permission to detail to the queen in private, the real or pretended remarks of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors respecting her projected union with Dudley, and the infamous character of that nobleman. She listened to the messenger with patience, sometimes bursting into a laugh, sometimes covering her face with her hands. In conclusion, she told him that he had come on an unnecessary errand: that she was already acquainted with every thing that he had said; and that she had convincing proof of the innocence of her favourite, in regard to the reported murder of his wife<sup>90</sup>. What impression this conference may have made

<sup>89</sup> Mary Stuart, detailing the report of lady Shrewsbury, writes to Elizabeth: *qu'un, auquel elle disoit que vous aviez fait promesse de mariage devant une dame de vostre chambre, avoit couché infinies foyz avecques vous avec toute la licence et privauté, qui se peut user entre mari et femme.* Murdin, 558.

<sup>90</sup> See the letters of Jones in the Hardwick papers. As to the death of lady Dudley, she said, "that he was then in the court, and "none of his at the attempt at his wife's "house; and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour." Ibid. 165.

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on her mind, is unknown: the marriage was postponed; but several years elapsed before the design was entirely abandoned <sup>91</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Six months after this conversation Cecil ordered Throckmorton to send over a French goldsmith with aigrettes, chains, bracelets, &c. to be bought by the queen and her ladies: on which he observes: "what is meant in it, I know not: whether for that *which many look for*, or the coming in of the Swede: but, as "for me, I can see no certain disposition in her "majesty for any marriage; and any other "likelihood doth not the *principal* here find,

"which causeth him to be perplexed." Hard. papers, i. 172. As late as April, 1566, Cecil wrote these reasons against the marriage with Dudley. 1. That the kingdom would gain nothing by it. 2. That the slanders respecting them will be thought true. 3. That he would seek to promote his friends. 4. That he is suspected of the death of his wife. 5. That he is in debt. 6. That he would prove unkind and jealous. Haynes, 444.

## CHAP. IV.

## ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH AIDS THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS—PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT—PENAL STATUTES AGAINST CATHOLICS—THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES—PACIFICATION IN FRANCE—RETREAT OF THE ENGLISH—ELIZABETH PROPOSES TO MARY STUART TO MARRY DUDLEY—SHE MARRIES DARNLEY—ELIZABETH FIXES ON THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES FOR HER HUSBAND—REJECTS HIM—ASSASSINATION OF RICCIO—BIRTH OF JAMES—PETITION TO ELIZABETH TO MARRY—HER UNINTELLIGIBLE ANSWER—ASSASSINATION OF DARNLEY—TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF BOTHWELL—MARRIAGE OF MARY WITH BOTHWELL.

IN the preceding chapter I have noticed the commencement of that connexion, which, after the death of Henry II., subsisted between the English government and the Huguenots of France. The failure of the attempt to surprise the court at Amboise, had broken their projects: and the origin of the conspiracy was clearly traced to the king of Navarre and his brother the prince of Condé. These princes, by the unexpected death of Francis

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Civil and religious war in France.



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II., were saved from the punishment which probably awaited them: the queen mother obtained the regency; and the king of Navarre was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, during the minority of Charles IX. The two religious parties that divided the nation, now ranged themselves under their respective chiefs: the catholics under the constable Montmorenci, the duke of Guise, and the marshal St. André; the Calvinists under the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni and Dandelot, both nephews of the constable. The former, after the conferences at Poissy, were joined by the king of Navarre, and the queen regent, with her son: the latter were urged to draw the sword against their opponents, by the English ambassador Throckmorton, to whose insidious counsels and promises of support, the duke of Guise attributed all the calamities which followed<sup>1</sup>. In the beginning of March, the flames of war burst out in almost every province of France. The lieutenant-general secured Paris for the king: the prince of Condé fortified Orleans for the insurgents. Each party displayed that ferocious spirit, that thirst for vengeance, which distinguishes civil and religious warfare: one deed of unjustifiable severity was requited by another; and the most inhuman atrocities were daily perpetrated by men, who professed to serve under the banners of religion, and for the honour of the Almighty<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton informs us, in one of his letters, that the duke charged him to his face with being "the author of all the troubles;" and therefore required him "to help to bring them out of trouble, as he had helped to bring them into it." In his answer the ambassador did not venture to deny the charge. Forbes, ii. 255. 257.

<sup>2</sup> The French reformed writers generally ascribe the war to an affray, commonly called by them the massacre of Vassy, in which about sixty men were slain by the followers of the

duke of Guise. But, 1<sup>o</sup>. there is every reason to believe that this affray was accidental, and provoked by the religionists themselves. See La Popelin, l. vii. 283. and the declaration of the duke on his death-bed, preserved by Brantome, who was present both at Vassy and at his death. 2<sup>o</sup>. The affray happened on March 1, yet the Calvinists at Nismes began to arm on the 19th Feb. at the sound of the drum. They were in the field and defeated De Flaccans on March 6th. See Menard, *histoire de Nismes*, iv. preuves, 6.

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Elizabeth and  
the insur-  
gents.  
1562.

Though the Calvinists were formidable by their union and enthusiasm, they did not form more than one hundredth part of the population of France<sup>3</sup>. Still the prince cherished strong hopes of success. He relied on the resources of his own courage, on the aid of the German protestants, and on the promises of Throckmorton. His envoys, the Vidame of Chartres, and de la Haye, stole over to England, visited Cecil in the darkness of the night, and solicited from the queen a reinforcement of ten thousand men, with a loan of three hundred thousand crowns<sup>4</sup>. When the parsimony of Elizabeth shrunk from such unexpected demands, Throckmorton was employed to stimulate the royal mind, with letters of the most alarming tendency; Cecil maintained to her that the ruin of Condé would infallibly be followed by her own deposition: and, what probably weighed more with the queen than the alarm of the ambassador, or the predictions of the secretary, her favourite Dudley aided their efforts by his prayers and advice<sup>5</sup>. A treaty was formally concluded between the queen of England, the ally of Charles, and the prince of Condé, a subject in arms against that sovereign. But if she engaged to advance the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, and to land an army of six thousand men on the coast of Normandy, she was, at the same time, careful to require from him the surrender into her hands of the town of Havre de Grace, to

July 1.

Sept. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Castelnau, iv. c. 2.

<sup>4</sup> There is in Forbes an enigmatical letter to the prince, in which, to disguise the real subject, he is designated as the nephew, the queen as the aunt, the war is an action at law, a body of one thousand men, a document to be exhibited in court, &c. Forbes, ii. 35.

<sup>5</sup> The secretary attempted to prove his assertion in the following manner. If Condé was subdued, the duke of Guise would make an alliance with the king of Spain: the son

of the latter would then marry the queen of Scots; the next step would be to proclaim Mary Stuart queen of England, with an understanding, that Philip should have Ireland as an indemnity for the expense of sending an army to enforce her right. Lastly, the council of Trent would excommunicate all heretics, and give away their dominions; and of course the English catholics would join the invading army. Such were the visionary evils, with which he sought to alarm the mind of his sovereign. See Forbes, ii. 5.

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be detained by her as a security, not only for the repayment of the money, but also for the restoration of Calais<sup>6</sup>.

The conferences between Cecil and the Vidame did not escape the notice of the French ambassador. With the treaty of Cateau in his hand, he demanded, in conformity with the thirteenth article, that the agents of the prince should be delivered up as traitors to their sovereign; and warned the queen that, according to the tenth article, she would forfeit, by the first act of hostility, all claim to the recovery of Calais at the expiration of the appointed term. But his remonstrances were disregarded. A fleet sailed to cruise off the coast of Normandy: successive flotillas carried six thousand men to the ports of Havre and Dieppe, which had been delivered to the queen; and the new earl of Warwick, the brother of the lord Robert Dudley, was appointed commander in chief of the English army in France<sup>7</sup>.

Her declara-  
tion

Notwithstanding this hostile interference, Elizabeth affected to maintain the peace between the two crowns, and to feel a sincere affection for her good brother, the young king of France. To the natives of Normandy she declared by proclamation, that her only object was to preserve them, as she had lately preserved the people of Scotland, from the tyranny of the house of Guise<sup>8</sup>: and, when the French ambassador, in the name of his

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 58—80. Strype, i. 328.

<sup>8</sup> Forbes, ii. 79. To this and similar invectives against the house of Guise, the duke contented himself with the following reply—  
“Monsieur l'ambassadeur, it seemethe the  
“queene your mistres, by the publication  
“of suche thinges as she doeth sette furthe in  
“printe, dothe bestowe her whole displeasure  
“and indignation uppon me and my house.  
“I will alledge at thys tyme nothing for our  
“defence: but desyre you to saye that, be-  
“sydes it is an unusual manner for princes

“thus to treate persons of qualitie and re-  
“spect, by diffamatorie libelles and writings,  
“we have had the honour, by marriage, to  
“make alliance with the house of England,  
“whereof she is descended: so as she can-  
“not dishonour nor discredit us, but it must  
“touche herselfe, consyding we are descend-  
“ed out of her house, and she from ours: by  
“the tyme, peradventure, she shall have pass-  
“ed more years in the worlde, she will more  
“respect them that have the honour to be al-  
“lyed to her, than she doethe nowe.” Forbes,  
ii. 258.



sovereign, required her to withdraw the army, she refused to believe that the requisition came from Charles himself: because it was, she said, the duty of a king to protect his subjects from oppression, and to accept with gratitude the aid, which might be offered him for that purpose.

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IV.

Oct. 25.

Such miserable and flimsy sophisms could not cover the real object of the English cabinet; and the prince began to be considered, even by his own followers, as a traitor to his country. The duke of Guise had expelled the English from the last strong hold which they possessed in France; his opponent had recalled them into the realm, and given them two sea-ports in place of the one which they had lost. Fired with resentment, the nobility hastened to the royal army from every province of France; and to animate their exertions, Charles, the queen regent, and the king of Navarre, repaired to the camp before Rouen. Though the latter was mortally wounded in the trenches, the siege was still urged with vigour: the obstinacy of the governor refused every offer of capitulation: two hundred Englishmen, who had been sent to his support, perished in the breach; and the city was taken by assault, and abandoned, during eight days, to the fury of a victorious soldiery.

Loss of  
Rouen.

Oct. 26.

The English ministers now began to fear the resentment of their own sovereign, and committed to her favourite Dudley, the unwelcome task of acquainting her with this loss. For a while he suppressed the intelligence, and prepared her mind, by hinting at unfavourable rumours in the city, and representing the fall of Rouen as a probable consequence of her procrastination and parsimony. The queen did not suspect the artifice. When the truth was disclosed to her, she took all the blame upon herself; and in the fervour of her repentance, dispatched reinforcements to the earl of Warwick, commissioned count Oldenburgh to levy twelve thousand men in Germany, and ordered public prayers

Nov. 3.

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IV.Battle of  
Dreux.

Dec. 19.

1563.

Jan. 5.  
Jan. 29.Proceedings  
of parliament.

during three days, to implore the blessing of heaven upon her cause, and that of the gospel<sup>9</sup>.

The superior force of the royalists had compelled Condé to remain an unwilling spectator of the siege of Rouen: the arrival of six thousand mercenaries, raised in the protestant states of Germany by the joint efforts of Dandelot and Wroth, the English commissioner, enabled him to move from Orleans, and to menace Paris. The hopes of the English queen revived; though the promptitude with which he listened to the overtures of the French cabinet, might have taught her to question his fidelity. This negotiation was however interrupted by the more intractable spirit of Coligni: and at Dreux, on the banks of the Dure, was fought a battle, more memorable for the fate of the adverse generals, than for the number of the slain. The constable, who commanded the royalists, and Condé, who commanded the insurgents, were reciprocally made prisoners. The duke of Guise served as a private gentleman; but he assumed the command, and by his skill and intrepidity, won the victory. The admiral retired, with his followers, to the intrenchments at Orleans; and by letters and messengers, conjured the queen of England to send him the supplies, to which he was entitled by treaty<sup>10</sup>.

There was never, perhaps, a sovereign more reluctant to part with money than Elizabeth. Notwithstanding her engagements to the prince, her remorse for past delay, her resolutions of

<sup>9</sup> Forbes, ii. 133. 165. 169—183. "I have somewhat prepared the way with her," says Dudley in a letter to Cecil (Oct. 30,) "touching this great loss at Roan, in this sort: saing, ther was a bruyt com, that ther was lately a tyrrible assault geven to yt, in such sort as yt was greatly dowed the loss thereof. I pityed withall, yf yt shuld be so, the scant credytt and lyttle regard was had

"at the begining, whan yt might hav safely bin defended. I perceave by her mervelous remorse, that she had not dealt more frankly for yt—repentyng the want of ayde very much, and wold neds now send forthwith to help them; for as yet she knoweth not the loss of yt." Forbes, ii. 155.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 195—203. 209. 217. 226. 251.

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IV.

Feb. 15.

Feb. 19.

Conspiracy of  
the Poles.

amendment, not a single crown had yet been advanced : at last the mutinous clamour of the German auxiliaries, the prayers of the admiral, and the representations of her advisers, wrung from her an order for payment<sup>11</sup> ; but not till she had obtained from her parliament a grant of a subsidy upon land, and of two tenths and fifteenths on moveables. The argument on which this demand was founded, was the old tale of the inveterate enmity of the house of Guise. They had originally sought, it was said, to deprive the queen of her crown by annexing Scotland to France : they now proposed to effect the same object by annihilating the reformers abroad, and employing conspirators in England. Their first plan the queen had defeated at her own expense : the second she trusted to defeat, if her faithful subjects would supply her with the means. The vote appears to have passed both houses without opposition<sup>12</sup>.

The conspiracy, to which allusion has been made, was a wild and visionary scheme, devised by two brothers, the nephews of the late cardinal Pole. Considering themselves as lineal descendants of the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV., they aspired to that rank in the state, to which they conceived themselves entitled by birth. For several weeks during the last autumn, Elizabeth had been confined to her chamber by the small-pox : many unfounded reports were circulated, and among the rest, a pretended prophecy, that she would not outlive the month of March. The Poles determined to quit the realm, with the intention, in the event of the queen's death, of landing a body of men in Wales, and proclaiming Mary Stuart her successor. They had formed a notion, that their promptitude, if it proved successful, might obtain from the gratitude of that prin-

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 247. 264. 272. 274. 297. 301. 322. 334.      <sup>12</sup> D'Ewes, 60. 84.



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IV.1562.  
Oct.

cess, her hand for the one, and the title of Clarence for the other. Having communicated their plan to the French and Spanish ambassadors, they prepared for their departure ; but their secret had been betrayed, and both were apprehended. For some months a veil of mystery was drawn over their project ; and the people were alarmed with the report of a conspiracy against the life of the queen and the reformed worship. As soon as the commons had voted the requisite supply, the two brothers were arraigned, and condemned on their own confession. If there was any thing illegal, there was nothing formidable in their design : and the queen, after a short delay, granted them a pardon<sup>12</sup>.

1563.  
Feb. 26.Penal statute  
against the  
catholics.

But this session of parliament, the second in Elizabeth's reign, is chiefly distinguished by an act highly penal against the professors of the ancient faith. By the law, as it already stood, no heir holding of the crown, could sue out the livery of his lands, no individual could obtain preferment in the church, or accept office under the crown, or become member of either university, unless he had previously taken the oath of supremacy, which was deemed equivalent to a renunciation of the catholic faith. It was now proposed to extend to others the obligation of taking the oath, and to make the first refusal an offence punishable by præmunire, the second by death, as in cases of treason. The cause assigned for this additional severity, was the necessity of "restraining and correcting the marvellous outrage and licentious boldness of the fautors of the bishop of Rome." But it met with considerable opposition from many protestants, who questioned both its justice and its policy : its justice, because the offence was sufficiently punished by privation of office and property ; and its policy, because where the number of non-con-

<sup>12</sup> Strype, i. 327. 333.

formists is great, extremity of punishment is more likely to provoke rebellion than to secure obedience. In the house of lords it was combated in a forcible and eloquent speech by the viscount Montague. Where, he asked, was the necessity for such a law? "It was known to all men, that the catholics had created no disturbance in the realm. They disputed not: they preached not: they disobeyed not the queen: they brought in no novelties in doctrine or religion." Then, could there be conceived a greater tyranny, than to compel a man, under the penalty of death, to swear to that as true, which in his conscience he believes to be doubtful; and that the right of the queen to ecclesiastical supremacy, must appear to many men doubtful, was evident from this, that though enforced by law in England, it was contradicted by the practice and opinion of every other nation, whether reformed or unreformed, in christendom. Let then their lordships beware how they placed men under the necessity of forswearing themselves, or of suffering death, lest, instead of submitting, they should arm in their own defence; and let not the house, in making laws, permit itself to be led by the passions and rapacity of those "who looked to wax mighty and of power by the confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men"<sup>14</sup>.

After a long struggle, the bill was carried by the efforts of the ministers, but with several provisions, exempting the temporal peers from its operation, and protecting from forfeiture the heirs of the attainted. Still it extended the obligation of taking the oath to two classes of men not contemplated in the original act: 1<sup>o</sup>. to the members of the house of commons, to schoolmasters, private tutors, and attorneys; and 2<sup>o</sup>. to all persons who had ever held office in the church, or in any ecclesiastical court, during

March 3.

<sup>14</sup> Strype, i, 259—273.

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the present, or the three last reigns; or who should openly disapprove of the established worship, or should celebrate, or hear others celebrate, any private mass; that is, in one word, to the whole catholic population of the realm. As to the first class, it was enacted in their favour, that the oath could be tendered to them but once; and of course they were liable only to the lesser penalty of forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment: but to those of the second class, it was to be tendered twice; and for the second refusal the offender was subjected to the punishment of death, as in cases of high treason<sup>15</sup>. It is manifest, that if this barbarous statute had been strictly carried into execution, the scaffolds in every part of the kingdom would have been drenched with the blood of the sufferers: but the queen was appalled at the prospect before her; she communicated her sentiments to the metropolitan; and that prelate, by a circular, but secret letter, admonished the bishops, who had been appointed to administer the oath, to proceed with lenity and caution; and never to make a second tender, till they had acquainted him with the circumstances of the case, and had received his answer. Thus, by the humanity or policy of Elizabeth, were the catholics allowed to breathe from their terrors: but the sword was still suspended over their heads by a single hair, which she could break at her pleasure, whenever she might be instigated by the suggestions of their enemies, or provoked by the real or imputed misconduct of individuals of their communion<sup>16</sup>.

Proceedings  
of convoca-  
tion.  
Jan. 12.

According to ancient custom the convocation had assembled at the same time with the parliament. The matters submitted to its deliberations were of the highest importance to the newly established church; an adequate provision for the lower order of the clergy,

<sup>15</sup> St. 5 Eliz. c. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Strype's Parker, 125, 126.



a new code of ecclesiastical discipline, and the promulgation of a national creed, the future standard of English orthodoxy. The two first were opposed and prevented by the avarice and prejudices of the courtiers, who sought rather to lessen than to increase the wealth and authority of the churchmen; to the third, as it interfered neither with their interests nor their pleasures, no objection was offered. The doctrines formerly published by the authority of Edward VI. furnished the groundwork of the new creed: several omissions and amendments were made: and the thirty-nine articles, as they now exist, received the subscriptions of the two houses of convocation<sup>17</sup>. This important work was accomplished in a few days, and, as far as appears, without any considerable debate; but the subsequent proceedings supply a memorable instance of the inconsistency, into which men are frequently betrayed by change of situation. None of the members could have forgotten the persecution of the last reign: many had then suffered imprisonment or exile for their dissent from the established church. Yet now, as if they had succeeded to the infallibility which they condemned, they refused to others that liberty of religious choice which they had arrogated to themselves. Instead of considering the thirty-nine articles as merely the distinguishing doctrines of the church recently established by law, they laboured to force them upon the consciences of others. To question their truth was deemed a crime: and had their efforts proved successful, every dissenter from the new creed would have been subject to the penalties of heresy<sup>18</sup>.

1562.  
Jan. 22.

Jan. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Wilkins, Con. iv. 232. Strype, i. 280. 290. See note (M).

<sup>18</sup> It was proposed, that "whosoever should preach, declare, write or speak any thing in derogation, depraving, or despising the said book (containing the articles) or any doctrine therein contained, and be thereof

"lawfully convicted before any ordinary, he should be ordered as in case of heresy, or else should forfeit 100 marks for the first offence, 400 for the second, and all his goods and chattels, with perpetual imprisonment, for the third." Strype, 282. This was adopted by the lower house, and transmitted

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Pacification  
of parties in  
France.

Feb. 18.

Mar. 6.

But the design was opposed and defeated by the council. Such a law was thought unnecessary, as far as regarded the catholics, since they could at any moment be brought to the scaffold, under the act of supremacy; and it was inexpedient with respect to the disciples of the Genevan divines, whom the queen sought to allure by indulgence, rather than to exasperate by severity.

The hope of recovering Calais was one of the chief baits, by which the queen had been drawn into the war between the French huguenots and their sovereign. Her ministers had predicted the restoration of that important place: the prince of Condé had promised to support her demand with his whole power; and the admiral, when he received the subsidy, confirmed the engagement made by the prince<sup>19</sup>. Within a few weeks it was seen how little reliance could be placed upon men, who fought only for their own emolument. While the admiral gave the plunder of Normandy to his German auxiliaries, the royalists formed the siege of Orleans, the great bulwark of their opponents. Its fall was confidently anticipated, when Poltrot, a deserter from the huguenot army, and in the pay of the admiral, assassinated the duke of Guise. The death of that nobleman was followed by a sudden and unexpected revolution. Condé aspired to the high station in the government, to which he was entitled as first prince of the blood: and the catholics feared that the English, with the aid of Coligni, might make important conquests in Normandy. The leaders on both sides, anxious for an accommodation, met, were reconciled, and subscribed a

to the higher, but with a blank for the punishment to be afterwards filled up. Another clause was subsequently suggested, that "if any person whatsoever should deny directly or indirectly, publicly or privately, by writing or speaking, any article of doctrine

"contained in the book, and be thereof lawfully convicted before the ordinary, and obstinately stand in the same, he should be—." Wilkins, iv. 241. Strype, 302.

<sup>19</sup> Forbes, ii. 394. Castelnau, 250.

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treaty of peace, by which the French religionists promised their services to the king, as true and loyal subjects, and obtained in return an amnesty for the past, and the public exercise of their religion for the future, in one town of every bailiwick in the kingdom <sup>20</sup>.

Elizabeth received the intelligence of this pacification with surprise and anger. In her public declarations, she had hitherto professed to hold the town of Havre in trust for the king of France: but now, when he required her to withdraw her forces, she replied that she would continue to hold it, as a security for the restoration of Calais <sup>21</sup>. The French government assured her of their intention to surrender the place at the expiration of the appointed term, and of their willingness to ratify a second time the treaty of Cateau; they would even give her additional hostages, and place in her hands the bonds of the French king, and of the princes of the blood <sup>22</sup>. But the queen continued inexorable, till she saw that both parties, the huguenots as well as the catholics, had determined to unite and expel the English troops from the soil of France. She then receded from her former pretensions, and commissioned her ambassadors to present a new project on her part. But it was too late. The siege of Havre had been formed: the ambassadors could obtain no audience; and the ministers refused to receive their proposals. In a few days two breaches were made in the walls: the garrison, reduced by the ravages of a most virulent disease, was unable to support an assault; and the earl of Warwick surrendered Havre to its rightful sovereign, on condition that he might return with his forces to England <sup>23</sup>.

Surrender of  
Havre.

Apr. 31.

May 7.

June 26.

July 18.

July 25.

July 28.

<sup>20</sup> Forbes, 339. 350—359. Castelnau, 233.  
240—245.

<sup>21</sup> Forbes, 405. 409.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 411. 435. 442.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 466—474. 490. 496. Castelnau,  
255. Strype, i. 329.



CHAP.  
IV.Disgraceful  
peace.

Oct. 26.

1564.  
Apr. 1.

The queen was now doomed to pay the penalty of her bad faith. Throckmorton and Smith proceeded towards the French court to solicit peace. Smith, the new ambassador, was arrested and conveyed to the castle of Melun, as a security for De Foix, the French envoy, who had been placed under restraint in England: Throckmorton, who, though particularly obnoxious to the French court, as the instigator of the late civil war, had ventured to come without a passport, was confined a close prisoner in the castle of St. Germain. Elizabeth suppressed her resentment, and renewed the powers of her agents. But the French ministers, with contemptuous indifference, allowed five months to elapse, before they would open a negociation. With respect to Calais both parties were silent. It was plain from the treaty of Cateau that Elizabeth had forfeited her claim to the recovery of the place, by landing a hostile army in France<sup>24</sup>. But she still had in her power the French hostages, and their bonds for the sum of 500,000 crowns. After a long discussion it was agreed that the hostages should be exchanged for Throckmorton (Smith was already liberated); and that the queen should be content to receive payment of one-fourth of her original demand.

It was with pain that the haughty mind of Elizabeth submitted to conditions so humiliating, and so contrary to her previous expectations. In her interview with Castelnau she had the weakness to betray her feelings, to the amusement of that ambassador and of his court. She declared, at first, that she would never accept of such a peace, but rather perpetuate the war: then she would make her commissioners pay with their heads for their presumption in exceeding their powers: afterwards she

<sup>24</sup> Rymer, xv, 509.

would approve the treaty; but through no other motive than respect and attachment to her dear brother and sister, the king of France, and the queen mother. In conclusion, she gave her ratification and her oath: Charles received from her the order of the garter; and in return, that of St. Michael was conferred by him on the duke of Norfolk, and on Dudley, the royal favourite<sup>25</sup>.

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Here we may return to the transactions between the English and Scottish queens. When Mary took possession of her paternal throne, she was aware that from France, distracted as it was by civil and religious dissension, she could derive no support: and therefore had determined, with the advice of her uncles, to subdue by conciliation, if it were possible, the hostility of her former opponents. The lord James, her bastard brother, and Maitland, the apostate secretary, both high in the confidence of the congregationists, were appointed her principal ministers<sup>26</sup>; the friendship of Elizabeth was sought by compliments, and professions of attachment; and an epistolary correspondence was established between the two queens; between their respective minions, as they were called, the lord Robert Dudley, and the lord James Stuart; and between the English and Scottish secretaries, Cecil and Maitland. It was a distinguishing trait in the character of Mary, that she speedily forgot every injury. If we believe those, who were not likely to be deceived, her friendship for Elizabeth, was, or soon became sincere<sup>27</sup>; while

Subjects of  
dissension be-  
tween Eliza-  
beth and  
Mary.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 640—648. Castelnau, 262. 272. 276.

<sup>26</sup> It has been said that the lord James was always ready to betray the secrets of his sister to Elizabeth: and there is too much reason to believe the charge, from many passages in the letters of Randolph, particularly in that of the 19th of June, 1563. Keith, 241.

The same has also been objected against Maitland. I observe that in his correspondence with Cecil, he appears anxious to obtain the favour of the English queen, but he also advocates the cause of his sovereign with the earnestness and ability of a faithful servant.

<sup>27</sup> Randolph feared, that "Mary would never come to God, unless the queen's ma-

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1561.  
Oct. 1.

the English queen found it a difficult task to divest herself of her jealousies and prejudices against one, whom she still regarded as a competitor for her crown. On this account she continued to insist that Mary should ratify the treaty of Leith, particularly that article which not only recognised the right of Elizabeth, but also precluded the Scottish queen from assuming the arms or title of England. To the first of these points, Mary offered no objection: but she contended, that to assent to the second would be a virtual renunciation of her birthright, and an allowance of the claim made to the succession by the house of Suffolk<sup>28</sup>. Cecil, to compromise the difference, had suggested, that Mary on her part should acknowledge the right to the English crown to be vested in Elizabeth and the lawful heirs of her body; and, that Elizabeth should declare on the other, that failing her own issue, the succession belonged of right to the queen of Scots<sup>29</sup>. With this arrangement the lat-

1562.  
Jan. 5.

Aug.

"jestie should draw her." (Keith, 207.) Yet he repeatedly asserts, that he himself, the lord James, and Maitland, believed in the sincerity of her professions of friendship for Elizabeth. Keith, 195, 196. 203. 206. 209.

"How prejudicial that treaty is to such title and interest as by birth and natural descent of your own lineage may fall to us, by the very inspection of the treaty itself you may easily perceive, and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapped up in obscure terms. We know how near we are descended of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us as it were a stranger from it. We trust, being so near your cousin, you would be loth we should receive so manifest an injury, as utterly to be debarred from that title, which in possibility may fall to us. We will deal frankly with you, and wish you to deal friendly with us. We will have, at this present, no judge of the equity of our demand but yourself." Haynes, 377. Keith, 213.

"It has been said, that this proposal originated in a traitorous conspiracy between Ce-

cil and Maitland, for the purpose of interrupting the incipient friendship between the two queens. (Compare Keith, 186, with Mr. Chalmers, i. 51.) The fact is, the project had been suggested to Elizabeth before Mary's return from France. On the 14th of July, Cecil wrote to Throckmorton: "there hath been a matter secretly thought of, which I dare communicate to you, although I mean never to be an author thereof." He then mentions it, and adds, "the queen's majesty knoweth of it, and so I will end." Hardwick papers, i. 174. When Maitland came to England, Cecil communicated it to him, by whom it was approved. Haynes, 379. Maitland then proposed it to Elizabeth, who answered, "that the like was never demanded of any prince, to be declared his heir apparent in his own time." He replied, "that the objection would appear reasonable, if the succession had remained untouched according to law; but, whereas, by a limitation, men had gone about to prevent the providence of God, and shift one into the place due to another, then could the party



ter was satisfied, but the consent of Elizabeth could not be obtained ; and a new expedient was devised, a personal conference between the two queens in some of the northern counties. Mary adopted it with pleasure: the time and place were determined, and a passport was signed for the queen of Scots and her retinue, amounting to one thousand horse. But when the English queen considered the youth, the beauty, the accomplishments of her Scottish sister, she declined the interview ; perhaps through jealousy of her superior charms, perhaps through apprehension of the influence, which her presence might have on her partisans in England<sup>30</sup>.

In the winter, Maitland, the secretary, waited on Elizabeth, ostensibly to recommend a peace between her and Charles IX., in reality to watch the proceedings of the English parliament. In the commons an address had been voted, requesting the queen to marry, that she might have issue to inherit the crown ; and to limit the succession, that the next heir might be known, if she were to die without children to survive her. At the same time she was reminded of the attempts of foreign powers to set up a competitor against herself, and of the danger to the reformed faith, if a catholic should succeed. These remarks were evidently pointed against Mary Stuart: but the interests of that princess were protected, if not by the justice, at least by the caprice of Elizabeth, who resented the interference of the commons in a concern which she deemed exclusively her own. It was with reluctance that she consented to receive the petition ;

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July 8.

July 15.

Proceedings  
of the English  
parliament.

1563.  
Jan. 26.

"offended seek no less than the reformation thereof." Ibid. 373. Hence I see no ground for the charge of conspiracy.

<sup>30</sup> Haynes, 386. 388—393. Keith, 217—221. Cecil urged, among other objections against the interview, the following, which will surprise the reader: that the rains had

made the roads impassable: that the queen's houses on the way from London to York were out of repair: and, that provision of wine, fowl, and poultry, could not be made in so short a space as from the 20th of June to the end of August. Keith, App. 158.

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IV.

Apr. 10.

when they reminded her of an answer, she reprimanded them for their impatience ; and at the close of the session she replied, in quaint and unsatisfactory language : “ because I will discharge some restless heads, in whose brains the nedeless ham-mers beat with vain judgment, that I should dislike this their petition ; I say, that of the matter some thereof I like and allow very well : as to the circumstances, if any be, I mean upon further advice, further to answer”<sup>31</sup>.

Attempt to  
prevent the  
marriage of  
Mary.

Aug. 25.

Oct. 13.

Oct. 17.

Dec.

In a few months the jealousy of Elizabeth was called into action by a communication from Mary, stating that she had received a proposal of marriage from the archduke Charles. To prevent this match, the ingenuity of Cecil devised two plans, which were instantly carried into effect. By the first, Elizabeth was brought forward as a rival to Mary : nor did her vanity entertain a doubt that the archduke would prefer her charms and her crown to those of her Scottish sister. But from whom was the proposal to originate ? It did not seem consistent with female delicacy that the queen should be the first to woo : and it could not be expected that Charles, who had already been rejected, should expose himself to a second refusal. Cecil wrote to Mundt, one of his pensionaries in Germany : Mundt applied to the duke of Wirtemberg : and that prince, as of himself, solicited the emperor to renew the treaty between his son and the English queen. But Ferdinand replied, that he had once been duped by the selfish and insincere policy of Elizabeth ; and that he would not expose himself to similar treatment a second time<sup>32</sup>.

The other plan was to induce Mary, by threats and promises, to refuse the archduke. For this purpose Randolph returned to

<sup>31</sup> *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 83. D'Ewes, 81.

<sup>32</sup> Haynes, 405. 407, 408.

Scotland, with instructions to read to her a long lecture on the choice of a husband. Elizabeth, he told her, preferred a single life; but was not displeased that her younger sister should entertain thoughts of marriage. But she should bear in mind, that her destined husband ought to have three recommendations; he should be one whom she could love; one whom her subjects could approve; and one who was likely to preserve and augment the friendship existing between the two crowns. But was Charles of Austria such a person? The very fact, that he had been proposed by the cardinal of Lorrain, shewed that he was thought the enemy of England. Let Mary recollect that the success of her claim to the succession depended on the choice of her husband. If she forfeited it, she must blame only herself<sup>33</sup>.

The ambiguity of this discourse induced the Scottish queen to ask, whom her sister would recommend, and how she would favour her claim. It was replied, that she ought to marry a British nobleman, and then her claim should receive every support which justice might allow. But who was this nobleman? The important secret was first revealed to the lord James, lately created earl of Murray, and to Maitland, who learned with surprise that the husband, destined for their sovereign, was the lord Robert Dudley, the minion of Elizabeth. By degrees, it became public; and at last was officially communicated to Mary. She replied that it was beneath her dignity to marry a mere subject; and hinted a suspicion that Elizabeth could never bear a separation from her favourite<sup>34</sup>.

This offer soon became the subject of public conversation. By Dudley himself it was attributed to the policy of Cecil, who,

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IV.

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1563.  
Aug. 20.

Elizabeth offers her Dudley.

Nov. 17.

1564.  
Feb. 29

Mar. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Keith, 242.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 245—252.



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jealous of his superior influence, wished to remove him from the English court. But the general impression was, that Elizabeth looked for a refusal. He was too necessary for her comfort or her pleasures, to allow her to resign him to another woman<sup>35</sup>. It was even suspected that she intended to marry him herself. If he were judged fit to be the husband of one queen, he was equally fit to be the husband of the other<sup>36</sup>.

She prefers  
Darnley.

Mary, by the advice of her council, had condescended in part to the pleasure of her English sister. She had refused every foreign suitor, the infant of Spain, the archduke of Austria, the prince of Condé, and the dukes of Ferrara, Anjou, Orleans, and Nemours. But was she then to marry the lord Dudley? To him she felt the strongest repugnance: and was strengthened in her aversion by the suggestions of Murray, who is represented as aspiring to the succession himself, and therefore interested in keeping his sister unmarried<sup>37</sup>. In a short time the lord Darnley was set up as a rival to Dudley. During the debate on the succession in the English parliament, all parties had agreed, that the next heir was to be sought among the descendants either of Margaret the elder, or of Mary the younger, sister of Henry VIII. The Scottish queen was undoubtedly the rightful representative of Margaret; but there were some who contended for her exclusion in favour of the countess of Lennox, the daughter of that princess by her second husband, the earl of Angus. Darnley was the eldest son of the countess: and it was represented to Mary that

<sup>35</sup> Melville, 51. "Mary asked me, whether  
" I thought that the queen meant truly towards  
" her, inwardly in her heart as she appeared  
" to do outwardly in her speech. I answered  
" freely, that in my judgment, there was nei-  
" ther plain dealing nor upright meaning.  
" This appeared to me, by her offering unto  
" her, with great appearing earnestness, my

" lord of Leicester, whom I knew, at that  
" time, *she could not want*." Ibid. 53.

<sup>36</sup> Randolph's letter in Keith, 260.

<sup>37</sup> Murray had attempted to obtain an en-  
tail of the crown on himself and others of the  
name of Stuart. Goodall, i. 199. ii. 358.  
Chalmers, ii. 435. Camden, i. 132.

a marriage with him could not be degrading, since he was sprung by the father from the kings of Scotland, by the mother from those of England : that it would satisfy the demands of Elizabeth, since he had been born in her dominions, and was heir to the lands which his father held of the English crown : and that it would strengthen her claim to the succession, since all the rights of the descendants of Margaret, in both lines, would centre in her and her husband<sup>38</sup>. The idea had been first suggested by the countess of Lennox. Mary appeared to listen to it with a willing ear ; and the intelligence was immediately conveyed to Elizabeth<sup>39</sup>.

Apr. 14.

If the conduct of the English queen had been enigmatical before, it became from this period still more inexplicable. She wrote to Mary not to admit the earl of Lennox into her dominions, then gave him both a licence to proceed to Scotland, and a letter of recommendation to the queen ; and afterwards complained of the gracious reception which he had experienced in consequence of her own request. In like manner, she urged again the projected marriage with Dudley, and created him earl of Leicester, that he might appear more worthy of a royal consort ; but then she opposed a new obstacle to his success, by allowing Darnley, who was considered as his rival, to proceed to the Scottish court, on a pretended visit to his father. Mary received her cousin with kindness, commended the elegance of his person, and assigned him a residence in the palace<sup>40</sup>.

July 5.

Sept. 1.

Oct. 20.

Sept. 29.

1565.  
Feb. 3.

The charms of Mary were sufficient, without the attractions

<sup>38</sup> See note (N).

<sup>39</sup> " I understand she will cast anchor between Dover and Barwick, though not perchance in that parte we wish for." Randolph apud Keith, 252.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 253. 255. 259. Melville (p. 47) thus describes the creation of the earl of Leicester. " This was done at Westminster

" with great solemnity, the queen herself  
" helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting  
" on his knees before her with a great gravity.  
" But she could not refrain from putting her  
" hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him,  
" the French ambassador and I standing  
" by."

CHAP.  
IV.

Acquaints Elizabeth with her intention.

Mar. 5.

of royalty, to captivate the young Darnley : but he had come prepared to woo, and after a decent interval, made to the queen a proposal of marriage. She checked his presumption, and refused the ring which he offered<sup>41</sup> : but his pretensions were aided by the intemperance of Elizabeth, who informed her Scottish sister, that if she expected to have any inquiry made into her claim to the succession, she must, without delay, accept of the earl of Leicester, or solemnly engage to remain a widow<sup>42</sup>. Mary burst into tears : the real object, she said, of so much mystery and so many artifices was at length divulged : it had been determined that she should neither succeed to the English crown herself, nor have issue to perpetuate her right. She had, however, too much spirit to submit to the dictates of Elizabeth. From that moment she beheld the young Darnley with a more favourable eye : the advice of her best friends concurred with her inclinations : and the approbation of the king and queen regent of France, encouraged her to inform Elizabeth that she had resolved to make Darnley the partner of her bed, and of her throne<sup>43</sup>.

Apr. 18.

Who urges the Scots to oppose the match.

May 1.

On the receipt of this intelligence, council after council was held at the English court. The marriage was declared to threaten the most serious danger to the queen and the nation ; the countess of Lennox was ordered to confine herself to her chamber ; her husband and son were recalled to England under the penalty of forfeiture : and, to depress the hopes of the catholics, it was resolved to treat them with additional severity, and to throw a still greater share of power into the hands of the protestants. A new envoy, the wily and unprincipled Throckmorton, hastened to the Scottish court, where he argued, pro-

May 15.

May 27.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 56.

<sup>42</sup> Keith, 270. App. 158.

<sup>43</sup> Melville, 56. Castelnau brought the approbation of the king and queen of France.

Il ne faut pas demander, says he, si j'e fus bien receu de ces deux amans, puis que j'avois de quoi contenter leurs affections. Castelnau, 295.



mised, and threatened, till, in despair of subduing the resolution of Mary, he directed his remonstrances to the disaffected lords, and stimulated them to rebellion with the hope of assistance from England<sup>44</sup>.

At the head of these was the earl of Murray, who had long governed the realm under his sister, and whose loyalty she had begun to suspect. His associates were the duke of Chastelherault, who feared that the marriage of the queen with Darnley would give the ascendancy to the rival house of Lennox; the earl of Argyle, who had been compelled to restore to the father of Darnley the forfeited property of the family; and many of the lords who had fought under the same standard during the war of the reformation<sup>45</sup>. To allure the zealots to the party, Murray declared that "the profession of the evangel" was in danger, and retired from the court under pretence that his conscience would not suffer him to witness the idolatrous worship in the royal chapel. A plan was formed to surprise Mary, Lennox, and Darnley, to confine the queen in Lochlevin, to murder the father and son, or deliver them prisoners to the governor of Berwick, and to place the earl of Murray at the head of the new government. The duke lay at Kinneil, Murray at Lochlevin, Argyle at Castle Campbell, and the lord Rothes at the Parret-wall, with an understanding that all should meet at noon at the kirk of Beith, to intercept the queen on the road from Perth to Callendar. But Mary received a hint of the conspiracy, and setting out at an early hour reached Callendar by ten in the

The raid of  
Beith.

July 3.

<sup>44</sup> Keith, 274. App. 159, 160. Cecil has told us what the dangers were. He says, that all the kindred of Mary and Darnley, and all the catholics, thought Mary's right better than that of Elizabeth: and that the marriage would induce them to raise rebellion in the kingdom in favour of it. Ibid. 97. Robertson, i. App. x. It is, however, difficult to see how this could follow from the mar-

riage of Darnley, who had nothing of his own, but depended entirely upon his wife.

<sup>45</sup> Mar. 15. "The duk, erle Murray, Argile, are confederat in a common quarrel ageynst all, excepting God and their soverayn.—May 3. The queen hateth the duk, Argile, Murray, allegyn ageynst hym, that he goeth about to set the crown upon his own head." Cecil's diary, Murdin, 758.

CHAP.  
IV.

July 18.

Mary is married.

morning. The conspirators consoled their disappointment for the loss of their prey, by signing a covenant at Stirling, in which they bound themselves to God and each other for the performance of their engagements; and most solemnly declared that they had no other object than to shew humble reverence to the almighty, and faithful obedience to their sovereign lady. The next day they dispatched a messenger to Elizabeth, "under God the protectrix especial of the professors of the religion," to remind her of her promise, and to solicit speedy and effectual assistance<sup>46</sup>.

Mary, on her arrival in Edinburgh, to expose the pretences of the conspirators, published circular letters, in which she declared that as she never had, so she never would, molest any man for matters of conscience, and called on all her faithful subjects for aid against the rebellious lords. The numbers that crowded to her standard, taught her to despise the efforts of Murray and his associates. Darnley had already been created earl of Ross.

<sup>46</sup> The existence of this plot is asserted by thirty-five noblemen, including Argyle himself, in 1568 (Goodall, ii. 358), and by Melville, a contemporary (Memoirs, 56); it is disputed by Laing (Dissertation, 6). That the three lords rose in arms against their sovereign, cannot be denied: whether they attempted to make her prisoner or not at the church of Beith, is of little consequence. The following facts are certain from the dispatches of Randolph: June 24, in answer to an application to Elizabeth, he replied that the queen would support the lords, if their object were to preserve religion, their duty to their prince, and the amity between England and Scotland. They did not acquaint him with the particulars of their plan: but Murray said, he feared it would be necessary to assemble and do their duty to the queen, but at the same time provide for the safety of the state; and some one asked, whether, if Lennox and his son were delivered as prisoners at Berwick, the governor would receive them. Randolph replied in the affirmative. (Keith,

289, 290.) It was already known, that Mary had promised to assist at the baptism of lord Livingstone's son, on the 2d of July. On the 1st she received information, that the three lords had posted themselves in three places near the road to intercept her. Of its truth she was convinced both then and afterwards. She passed, however, in safety, some hours before she was expected. The lords assembled, and immediately sent a petition to Elizabeth for money: they did not want men, but a sum of £3000. (Keith, 287. 291. 294.) Randolph sent the petition, July 4th; on the 6th he wrote, that they had resolved to rise; and on the 16th, Mary informed her subjects, that they were in arms. (Keith, 294. 299.) Murray spread a report, that Darnley intended to murder him. Mary not only declared that it was false, but offered him a safe conduct, signed by the council, to come with as many followers as he chose, and investigate the affair. He refused. Keith, App. 108, 109.

She now conferred on him the title of duke of Albany, ordered the banns to be published, and was married to him in the chapel of Holyrood-house. By a previous proclamation she had commanded that he should be styled king during the marriage, and that all writs should run in the joint names of Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland<sup>47</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.

July 29.

This decisive step disconcerted the English ministers. Unable to discover any pretext for hostilities, they determined to threaten and intimidate. A large sum of money was sent to Murray; a reinforcement of two thousand men reached Berwick: the earls of Shrewsbury and Bedford were commissioned to act as the queen's lieutenants in the northern counties: and the latter obtained permission to make, but at his own risk, an incursion into Scotland. At the same time Tamworth, a new envoy, was dispatched to Mary, furnished with complaints, remonstrances, and threats. But that princess assumed a more spirited tone: she requested her good sister to be contented with the government of England, and to leave Scotland to the care of its own sovereign<sup>48</sup>; she admonished Randolph that if he continued to intrigue with her subjects, she would put him under arrest; she confined Tamworth in the castle of Dunbar, because he had presumed to traverse her dominions without a passport. At the head of eighteen thousand men, she drove the associated lords

She drives the  
insurgents out  
of the realm.

Aug. 18.

Aug. 19.

<sup>47</sup> Keith, 306. The ceremony of the marriage is in a letter from Randolph, Robertson, i. App. xi.

<sup>48</sup> See Tamworth's paper and the answer to it in Keith, App. 99—104. Mary, however, proposed, that she and her husband should bind themselves never to do any thing to the prejudice of the title of Elizabeth and her lawful issue: never to correspond for that purpose with any English subjects, nor afford protection in Scotland, to any who should intermeddle with the succession; never to

contract any alliance to the hurt or displeasure of the English queen; and never (should they afterwards ascend the English throne) to make alteration in the liberties of the kingdom, or the religion established by law; and, in return, she demanded, that Elizabeth should, in the best and most lawful manner, declare, that (failing herself and her lawful issue) Mary was next heir; and, failing Mary, her mother-in-law, the countess of Lennox. Ibid. 104, 105.



CHAP.  
IV.

Oct. 9.

from Dumfries<sup>49</sup>; and compelled them to seek an asylum with the earl of Bedford, who advanced to receive them at Carlisle. Murray hastened to London: at first Elizabeth refused to see him: afterwards he was admitted with his companions in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, when, falling on his knees, he acknowledged that the queen was innocent of the conspiracy, and had never advised them to disobey their sovereign lady. "Now," she replied, "have ye spoken truth. "Get from my presence, traitors as ye are." By this meanness he obtained from her a small pittance for his support at Berwick, though she obliged him to represent it as furnished by the charity of his English friends<sup>50</sup>.

Elizabeth determines to marry.

But while the queen thus opposed every obstacle in her power to the marriage of Mary Stuart, she had been actively employed in seeking a husband for herself. From whatever cause her former repugnance had sprung, it was at length subdued by the clamour of the nation, the remonstrances of her counsellors, and her apprehension of additional danger from the claim of the Scottish queen, if that princess should have issue, while she herself remained childless. But she found it more easy to determine to marry, than to fix on the choice of a husband. Had she consulted her affection only, she would undoubtedly have given her hand to Leicester: but she had to contend with the disap-

<sup>49</sup> Randolph expected a very different result. He had informed the secretary before the marriage, that Darnley's life would be taken; on the 4th of September, that several "were appointed to set upon him, and either kill him or die themselves. If her majesty will help them, they doubt not but one country will receive both queens." Keith, 282. 287. Cotton MSS. Cal. x. fol. 335.

<sup>50</sup> Melville, 57. Notwithstanding the farce enacted before the two ambassadors, there are several letters extant, which prove, beyond

contradiction, that Elizabeth was an accomplice in this conspiracy. I will cite only one from Murray to Cecil, of Oct. 14. "As for me and the remainder here, I doubt not but you understand sufficiently, that neither they nor I enterprised this action without forfeit of our sovereign's indignation, but being moved thereto by the queen your sovereign and council's hand-writing, directed to us thereupon; which being followed, all those extremities followed, as were sufficiently foreseen." Apud Chalmers, ii. 330.

probation of her most trusty advisers, who appealed, and ultimately with success, to her pride, her suspicions, and her parsimony. Cecil had discovered six forcible objections to her marriage with the favourite: he could not bring with him riches, nor power, nor estimation: he was deeply involved in debt: he had a multitude of needy and rapacious dependents, who would engross all the offices and favours of the crown: his reputation had been tarnished by the sudden and tragical death of his former wife: his passions were so violent and mutable, he was sometimes so jealous, sometimes so indifferent, that he would render the queen unhappy: and their union would give the strongest confirmation to the scandalous reports of their amours, which had been so long and so confidently circulated <sup>51</sup>.

But the secretary was too wily a courtier to commit himself by an avowed opposition; that office was reserved for the earl of Sussex, who could rely on the co-operation of the duke of Norfolk and the whole house of Howard, of the lord Hunsdon the queen's cousin, and of sir Thomas Heneage, vice chamberlain, and a rising favourite. By their persuasions Elizabeth was brought to think seriously of a foreign husband; and occasionally, at least, to dispute the ascendancy which Leicester assumed over her. She gave him hints of her displeasure in enigmatic notes: he even thought proper to absent himself from court, whether it were in a fit of jealousy, or at the royal command <sup>52</sup>. But their quarrels ended, as the quarrels of lovers generally end: and by each reconciliation his influence over her heart was con-

Hesitates  
about the  
choice of a  
husband.

<sup>51</sup> Haynes, 444.

<sup>52</sup> Compare Murdin, 760, with Strype, 475, and Camden, 118. While Leicester was absent, it was reported, that some other favourite supplied his place. "Upon these rumours," says Cecil, "I affirm, that the

"queen may be by malicious tongues not well reported: but, in truth, she herself is blameless, and hath no spot of evil intent. Marry, there may lack, especially in so busy a world, circumspection to avoid all occasions." Strype, 481.

CHAP.  
IV.

firmed. Publicly he affected to advocate the project of a foreign alliance: but privately he threw every obstacle in its way; and if he did not ultimately obtain the queen for himself, he succeeded at least in extinguishing the hopes of every other suitor, whether native or foreigner.

Prefers the  
archduke  
Charles.

The queen mother of France had offered to Elizabeth her son the reigning king, though he was only in his fourteenth year. The proposal excited in her counsellors the most serious apprehensions: but the queen, though she entertained it for political purposes, after some delay returned a refusal on the ground of disparity of age. The only foreign prince, towards whom she looked with pleasure, was her former suitor the archduke Charles. The objections of Ferdinand had at last been removed by the perseverance of the duke of Wirtemberg: but the death of that emperor interrupted the negociation; and Elizabeth, attributing the indifference which he had manifested, to the report of her familiarity with Leicester, ordered Cecil to write a letter to Mundt, in which, after a high encomium on the character of the favourite, he was made to express his belief, that the queen loved him on account of his admirable qualifications, as a sister loves a brother, and that in their private meetings nothing was admitted inconsistent with female modesty and decorum<sup>53</sup>. Armed with a copy of this letter the duke renewed his solicitations: but Maximilian, who had succeeded his father, displayed no eagerness for the marriage, and two years were suffered to elapse between the first overture from Cecil, and the arrival of Swetkowitz, the imperial ambassador. He came

1564.  
Sept. 8.

1565.  
June 2.

<sup>53</sup> The history of this extraordinary letter seems to prove, that Cecil was not convinced of the truth of the assertions which he was compelled to make. He would not allow it to remain in the possession of Mundt, but, after he had submitted it to the inspection of

the queen, added a postscript, in which he required Mundt to send it back to him. This was done, and when he received it back, he added to it a note, shewing that he had written it by the express command of Elizabeth. Haynes, 420.



ostensibly to restore the insignia of the garter worn by Ferdinand; in effect to discover the real disposition of the queen towards the archduke Charles. Her indecision immediately revived: one day she listened to Leicester, the next to Sussex: and these two noblemen, apprehending the resentment of each other, went themselves constantly armed, and followed by men in arms<sup>54</sup>. At last the ambassador was told that the articles of the marriage between Philip and Mary must be taken as the basis of any future treaty: but that, as Elizabeth had made a vow never to choose a husband whom she had not previously seen, it was indispensably requisite that Charles should pay a visit to the English court<sup>55</sup>. To this, as long as the result was doubtful, the pride of the emperor would not submit: and the queen, by her mutability and intrigues, contrived to protract the negociation during two or three years. Sometimes Sussex, sometimes Leicester prevailed. The former was sent ambassador to Maximilian: but he carried with him a colleague, the lord North, who had been bribed to betray to the favourite all the secrets of the negociation<sup>56</sup>. Sussex forwarded to Elizabeth the most favourable description of the person, the temper, and the capacity of the archduke<sup>57</sup>: and obtained from that prince a promise that he would be content with the private celebration of mass for himself and his catholic servants; and would assist on occasions of ceremony at the new service in the company of the queen. But in the absence of Sussex, Leicester ruled without control: a council was called, and an answer was returned, that

June 4.

Aug. 6.

1567.  
June 28.

Oct. 18.

And at last  
repents of her  
choice.  
Dec. 10.<sup>54</sup> Camden, 118. Murdin, 760.<sup>55</sup> Haynes, 421—437.<sup>56</sup> Camden, i. 148.<sup>57</sup> Lodge, i. 366, 367. "Yf God coppell  
" you together in lyking, you shall have of  
" him a trewe husband, a lovyng companyon,  
" a wise councelor, and a faythfull servant:  
" and we shall have as virtuouse a prynce as" ever ruled." Ibid. 372. Sussex, however,  
did not expect to prevail. Alluding to the  
secret opposition of Leicester, he says, "When  
" I remember who worke in this vyneyard, I  
" can hardly hope of a good wyne yere: ne-  
" verthelesse I wylle do my parte, whyle I am  
" here, and leave the reste to God." Ibid. i.  
373.

CHAP.  
IV.Dissension  
between Mary  
and Darnley.

if the archduke really aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, he must abandon without reserve the religion of his fathers<sup>58</sup>. Charles, conceiving himself the dupe of the queen's dissimulation and policy, married Mary, the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria.

The history of the English is so interwoven with that of the Scottish queen, that it will again be necessary to revert to the extraordinary events, which took place in the neighbouring kingdom. Mary, in the ardour of her affection, had overlooked the defects in the character of her husband. Experience convinced her that he was capricious in his temper, violent in his passions, implacable in his resentments. He had already contracted habits of ebriety, which led him occasionally into the most scandalous excesses, and made him forget, even in public, the respect due to his consort<sup>59</sup>. But his ambition proved to her a source of more bitter disquietude. She had summoned a parliament for the twofold purpose of attainting the most guilty of the fugitive rebels, and of granting liberty of conscience for those among her subjects, who, like herself, professed the ancient faith. But Darnley insisted, that in addition, the duke of Chastelherault and his partisans should be included in the attainer, and that a matrimonial crown should be granted to himself. By the first of these measures the rival house of Hamilton would have forfeited its right to the succession; by the second, the government would be secured to the king during the term of his

<sup>58</sup> At this proposal the archduke exclaimed:  
 "Howe, counte, cowlde you with reason gyve  
 "me counsell to be the fyrste of my race that  
 "so soddenly showlde chaunge the relygion  
 "that all my awncestors have so long holden,  
 "when I knowe no other: or how can the  
 "quene lyke of me in eny other thyng, that  
 "should be so lyght in chaungyng of my con-  
 "scyence?— This is my only requeste: yf  
 "her matie. satysfye me in this, I wyll never  
 "slack to serve and satysfye her whyle I lyve,

"in all the reste." Ibid. 372.

<sup>59</sup> "Some say he is vicious: whereof too  
 "many were witnesses the other day at Inch-  
 "keith. I will not rehearse to your honour,  
 "what of certainty is said of him at his be-  
 "ing there." At a public entertainment,  
 Mary requested him not to drink to excess.  
 "He gave her such words that she left the  
 "place in tears." See the letters of Randolph  
 and Drury in Keith, 329. App. 163. 165,  
 166.

natural life. But Mary refused : she was deaf to his entreaties, complaints, and menaces : and the discontented prince directed his resentment against those whom he supposed to be her advisers, and particularly against David Riccio, one of her secretaries.

CHAP.  
IV.

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Riccio was a native of Piedmont, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy. At the request of that minister, the queen had appointed him one of the pages of the chamber, and, on the removal of Raulet, had advanced him to the office of secretary for the French language. All her correspondence with foreign princes passed through his hands: his address and fidelity obtained her approbation, and, on her marriage, he was appointed keeper of the privy purse to the king and queen. In this situation he soon earned the enmity of the former, by adhering to his mistress in every domestic quarrel, and, perhaps, by refusing to make advances of money without her authority. But in addition to Darnley, there were also many of the natives who viewed his preferment with displeasure. Riccio was a stranger and a catholic ; two qualities calculated to excite the jealousy both of the courtiers and of the preachers<sup>60</sup>.

Account of  
Riccio.

Besides the lords who had taken refuge in England, several others remained at court, who had been equally engaged in the conspiracy, but had not betrayed themselves by any overt act of rebellion. At the head of the latter were Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Maitland, who, sensible that their fate was linked with that of their associates, anxiously sought an opportunity of preventing the attainder, with which they were threatened<sup>61</sup>. In January, Mary, in opposition to her husband, grant-

Bonds between Darnley and the exiles.

1566.  
Jan. 2.

<sup>60</sup> The industry of Mr. Chalmers has traced, from the treasurer's accounts, the gradual advancement of Riccio, and has proved that he was never one of the queen's musicians, as is generally believed, ii. 156.

<sup>61</sup> To account for the conduct of Morton, we are often told, on the very fallible authority of Knox, that the queen had taken the seals from the earl, and given them to her favourite Riccio. This fable is easily refuted.



CHAP.  
IV.

Feb. 26.

ed a pardon to the duke, on condition that he should reside for some years on the continent ; and Maitland, relying on the discontent of the king, formed the project of inducing him to make common cause with the exiles. By the agency of George Douglas, it was suggested to him, that Mary had transferred her affections to Riccio<sup>62</sup> ; that the pardon of the Hamiltons, and the refusal of the matrimonial crown, had proceeded from the advice of that minion ; and that the only expedient for him to obtain his just rights, was to call in the aid of the expatriated lords. The inexperienced prince became the dupe of this interested advice, and cast himself into the arms of the men, who had hitherto professed themselves his enemies. Two bonds were prepared and subscribed, the one by Darnley, the other by Argyle, Murray, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree. Darnley engaged to prevent their attainder, to obtain their pardon, to support their religion, and to aid them in all their just quarrels : they to become his true subjects, friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies ; to obtain for him the crown matrimonial during the whole of his life ; for that purpose to take part with him “ against all and whosoever that live and die might ;” to maintain his just claim to the succession failing the lady Mary ; to extirpate, or slay, every gainsayer ; and to use their influence with the queen of England, in favour of his mother and brother,

As early as the 12th of October, both Morton and Maitland, though resident at court, and members of the council, were secretly leagued with Murray. “ They only espie “ their time,” says Randolph, “ and make “ fair weather, till it shall come to the pinch.” Apud Chalmers, ii. 464. Yet Morton was still chancellor on the 9th of the following April, the day of Riccio’s murder. Keith, App. 117. 128.

<sup>62</sup> In a letter from Bedford to Randolph, (Robertson, i. App. xv.) and in a short nar-

rative supposed to be written by lord Ruthven, but not published till after his death, by Cecil, it is insinuated that Riccio was the queen’s paramour. There can be no doubt that this is a calumny. It is improbable in itself, considering his age and person : it is not mentioned by Knox, whose charity would have rejoiced to advance such a charge against Mary : it is not even hinted by Darnley himself, when he was solicited by the council to make his complaints against her, and “ not “ to spare her.” Keith, 349.

“that they might be delivered out of ward<sup>63</sup>.” These engagements were followed by another still more atrocious, in which Darnley avowed his determination to bring to punishment divers persons, especially an Italian called David, who abused the confidence of the queen; and, if there were any difficulty to proceed by way of law, “to take them and slay them wheresoever it might happen; and thenceforth bound himself and his heirs to save scaithless all earls, lords, barons, and others, who should aid him in that enterprise<sup>64</sup>.” The other persons, marked out for slaughter in this instrument, were supposed to be the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol, the lords Flemming and Livingston, and sir James Balfour<sup>65</sup>.

Reports were carefully circulated, that “the evangel” was in danger; that Riccio was a secret agent from the pope, and that Mary had signed the holy league, by which, as was pretended, the catholic princes bound themselves to exterminate the protestants by a general massacre<sup>66</sup>. Most of the conspirators in Edinburgh were leading members in the kirk, and had procured from the assembly, the proclamation of a general fast, to be kept from Sunday to Sunday on the week in which the parliament was to open. As if it were intended to prepare the minds of the godly for scenes of blood, and a revolution in the government, the service for each day was composed of lessons from the Old Testament, descriptive of the extirpation of idolatry, the punish-

A public fast.

Mar. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Goodall, i. 227—233

<sup>64</sup> Goodall, i. 266. In this instrument “to call,” means to proceed by law.

<sup>65</sup> Mary’s letter in Keith, 332. Indictment of Yair, Arnot, App. 380.

<sup>66</sup> It appears from Randolph, that he understood the queen had signed some league for the support of the catholic worship. Robertson, i. App. xiv. She had undoubtedly received by Clernaux, a message from the pontiff, in which he exhorted her to constan-

cy, recommended to her care the interests of the catholic faith in her realm, and requested her to send some of the Scottish prelates to the council of Trent. (Jebb, ii. 25.) She herself hoped at the parliament “to have done some good anent restoring the auld religion”; (Keith, 331.) which is explained by Randolph, that “she will have mass free for all men that will hear it.” Cotton MSS. Cal. B. 9. f. 232.

CHAP.  
IV.

Mar. 7.

Murder of  
Riccio.  
Mar. 9.

ment of wicked princes, and the visitations of God on his people, whenever they neglected the admonitions of the prophets<sup>67</sup>. On the Thursday of the fast, the queen opened the parliament: the statute of attainder was drawn by the lords of the articles; and the Tuesday following was fixed for the day on which it should be passed. But on the Saturday, Morton, between seven and eight in the evening, with eighty armed men, took possession of the gates of the palace. Mary, who was indisposed, and in the seventh month of her pregnancy, was at the time seated at supper in the closet of her bed-chamber, with the commendator of Holyrood house and the countess of Argyle, her bastard brother and sister. Riccio, the secretary, Erskine, captain of the guard, and Beton, master of the household, were in attendance<sup>68</sup>. Suddenly the king entered by a private stair-case, and placing himself next the queen, put his arm round her waist. He was followed by lord Ruthven, in complete armour, the master of Ruthven, Douglas, Ballentyne, and Kerr. Mary, alarmed at the sight of Ruthven, commanded him to quit the room, under the penalty of treason: but he replied, that his errand was with Riccio; and the unfortunate secretary, exclaiming, "Justitia, justitia!" sprung for protection behind his sovereign. Her prayers and gestures were despised. Ballentyne threatened her with his dagger; Kerr presented his pistol to her breast; and Douglas, snatching the king's dirk, struck over her shoulder, and left the weapon sticking in the back of Riccio. The table was thrown over in the struggle; and the assassins, dragging their victim through the bed-chamber, dispatched him in the adjoining room, with no fewer than fifty-six wounds.

<sup>67</sup> Goodall, i. 247---250. 273.<sup>68</sup> Cecil's Ruthven makes Riccio to be seated at table with her. Keith, App, 123.

Mary, in her letter, numbers him among her domestic servants in the room. Keith, 331.



Mary's friends, ignorant of the affray in the closet, had hurried from their apartments to oppose Morton, and his band of armed followers. After some fighting, they were driven back : Huntley and Bothwell made their escape through the windows : the rest maintained themselves in different rooms, till they were allowed to depart, about two in the morning. At noon, Darnley, of his own authority, dissolved the parliament : and before evening, he was joined by Murray, and the exiles from Berwick. The following morning, the heads of the conspirators sate in secret consultation ; and it was resolved to confine the queen in the castle of Stirling, till she should consent to approve in parliament of the late proceedings, to establish "the evangel" by law, and to give to her husband the crown matrimonial. After dinner, relying on the assurances of Darnley, they separated, and repaired to their respective dwellings in the city<sup>69</sup>.

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Mary is im-  
prisoned.

Mar. 10.

Mar. 11.

Mary had passed the first night and day in fits and lamentations. She felt some relief from the kind expressions of her brother, the earl of Murray ; and was no sooner left alone with her husband, than she resumed her former ascendancy, and convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct. Darnley's repentance rendered unnecessary the preparations which had been made by Huntley and Bothwell : and the same night, the king and queen, attended by the captain of the guard and two servants, secretly left the palace, and reached in safety the castle of Dunbar<sup>70</sup>. The royal standard was immediately unfurled : be-

She escapes.

Mar. 12.

<sup>69</sup> Keith, 330. App. 119. Robertson, i. App. xv. Arnot, 378. 380. "After this manner," says Knox, "the noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rooms; and likewise the church reformed; and all that professed the evangel within this realm, after fasting and prayer, were delivered and freed from the

"apparent dangers which were like to have fallen upon them." Knox, Hist. 394.

<sup>70</sup> On the same day the earl of Bedford at Berwick, unaware of the turn which took place that evening, wrote to Cecil, exulting "that every thing now would go well." Apud Chalmers, i. 167.

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Mar. 18.

fore the end of the week, eight thousand faithful subjects had hastened to the aid of Mary; and as she approached Edinburgh, the murderers left that city, and fled with precipitation to Berwick. The English queen had been informed of the object of the conspiracy; she had even ordered three hundred pounds to be given to Murray before he left Berwick: but when she heard of the result, she sent her congratulations to her Scottish sister, and commanded the assassins to leave her dominions. But the messenger was instructed to remark at the same time, that England was long and broad; and that they had nothing to fear, if they did not provoke inquiry by obtruding themselves on the notice of the public<sup>71</sup>.

Is delivered of  
a son.

Mary, with her characteristic facility, affected to believe the apology and protestations of her husband<sup>72</sup>; granted a full pardon to Murray and his companions; and, though a few of the minor criminals were punished with death, extended her mercy to several of the conspirators, who were not actually engaged in the murder. As the time of her delivery approached, she took up her residence in the castle of Edinburgh. Both Elizabeth and Murray, the people of England and the people of Scotland, looked forward with suspense and anxiety to the result. It might give Mary an heir to her throne and her pretensions: it might, considering the distressing scenes through which she had passed, prove fatal both to the mother and the child. Murray excluded from the castle every person of eminence but his brother-in-law Argyle; and Elizabeth ordered Randolph, who for his connexion with the conspirators had been expelled from

May 27.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. ii. 333.

<sup>72</sup> He published a declaration of his innocence of the conspiracy. Keith, 334. It deceived no one, and lowered him in the esti-

mation of all. Mary herself says, she did always excuse him thereof, and was willing to appear, as if she believed it not. Ibid. 350.

June 19.

Scotland<sup>73</sup>, to linger in the neighbourhood of Berwick. At length their hopes, if they really cherished such guilty hopes, were disappointed. The Scottish queen was delivered of a son: and the child lived to ascend the thrones of both kingdoms. Elizabeth was dancing at Greenwich, when Cecil whispered the intelligence in her ear. She instantly retired to her chair, reclined her head on her hand, and appeared for some time absorbed in profound thought. By the next morning her feelings were sufficiently subdued, and the messenger was admitted. She expressed her satisfaction at the happy event; accepted the office of gossip at the baptism, and appointed the earl of Bedford to assist in quality of her ambassador at the ceremony<sup>74</sup>.

Elizabeth  
calls a par-  
liament.

In England the birth of the young prince, who was named James, was hailed with exultation by the advocates of the Scottish line: many who had appeared indifferent, as long as Mary remained childless, came forward in support of her cause: and Elizabeth herself, jealous of the good fortune of her sister queen, began to think seriously of marriage, that she also might have issue to inherit her crown. At the same time she grew more fixed in her resolution to keep the right of succession undecided, perhaps through apprehension of danger, more probably from the selfishness of ambition, which could not bear another so near the throne. Her obstinacy, however, was productive of one advantage to the nation: it put an end to that tame submission to the will of the sovereign which had characterized and disgraced the parliaments under the dynasty of the Tudors. The discontent of the nation burst forth in defiance of every

<sup>73</sup> Mary having obtained proofs that he had been active in all the conspiracies against her, ordered him to quit the kingdom: and wrote to excuse the measure to Elizabeth, "as his behaviour must have been besides her (Eli-

zabeth's) opinion, and tending to some other fine and purpose, nor that for the quhilk he was directed there by her." See her letter in Keith, 344.

<sup>74</sup> Melville, 70.



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 IV. ligations of the queen were discussed with a freedom of speech,  
 which alarmed the court, and scandalized the advocates of arbitrary power.

Is displeased  
with her coun-  
cil.

Oct. 12.

After six prorogations poverty had compelled Elizabeth to summon a parliament. The lords of the council, aware of the national feeling, requested to be informed of her sentiments respecting marriage and the succession. She heard them with impatience. Her subjects, she said, from their experience of the past, might rely on her maternal solicitude for the future. They had no reason to complain of her government, unless it were on account of the war with France, the blame of which her counsellors might take to themselves, since they had dragged her into it against her better judgment. As far as regarded her marriage, they were acquainted with the negociation, into which she had entered: but as to her opinion respecting the succession, she should keep it locked up within her own breast. Let them go and perform their duties: and she would perform her's<sup>75</sup>.

And with the  
parliament.  
Oct. 18.

As soon as a motion for a supply was made in the lower house, it was opposed, on the ground that the queen had not redeemed the pledge, on the faith of which the last grant had been voted: she had neither married, nor declared her successor. It was in vain that to subdue the opposition, a royal message informed the house, that she had resolved to marry. A vote was passed, that the business of the supply and of the succession should accompany each other<sup>76</sup>.

Petition of the  
lords.  
Oct. 22.

The upper house sent a deputation of twenty peers to lay before the queen the evils resulting from her silence. She answered in an angry and imperious tone, that she did not choose that her

<sup>75</sup> Letter of Fenelon, the French ambassador, to his court, apud D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, iii. 113.  
<sup>76</sup> D'Ewes, 124. D'Israeli, *ibid*.

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grave should be dug, while she was yet alive: that the commons had acted like rebels; they had behaved to her as they durst not have behaved to her father: that the lords might come to similar resolutions, if they pleased; their votes were but empty sounds without her assent. She would never confide such high and important interests to a multitude of harebrained politicians: but meant to select six grave and discreet counsellors, and when she had heard their opinions, would acquaint the lords with her decision<sup>77</sup>.

This answer provoked several warm discussions in both houses. Sentiments were uttered, which for centuries had not been heard within those walls; that the tranquillity of the nation was not to be hazarded to lull the apprehensions of a weak and capricious woman: that the queen possessed her high dignity for the public benefit: and that, if she were negligent of her duty, it was the office of the lords and commons to compel her to perform it. The earls of Pembroke and Leicester received a prohibition to appear in the royal presence. The duke of Norfolk, who, though he spoke with caution, was suspected of being the leader of the opposition, was marked out for imprisonment and prosecution<sup>78</sup>.

The two houses now joined in a common petition, which was read to the queen by the lord keeper, in presence of a numerous deputation of lords and commoners. Her reply was delivered with greater temper, but wrapped as usual in affected obscurity

Strong  
language in  
the commons.

Oct. 27.

Queen's answer to their  
petition.

Nov. 5.

<sup>77</sup> Lords Journals 635. D'Israeli, 119--121. Mr. D'Israeli thinks that the expression of digging her grave while yet alive, alluded to her supposed objection to marriage, *ob nescio quam muliebrem impotentiam*. Camden, i. 123. It is however plain that both their petition and the answer refer not to the queen's marriage, but to the succession. Her mean-

ing was explained by herself on another occasion. "I will not be buried while I am living, as my sister was. Do I not know, how during her life every one hastened to me at Hatfield? I am not now inclined to see any such travellers." D'Israeli, iii. 114.  
<sup>78</sup> Camd. 124, 125. Murdin, 762. D'Israeli, 121.

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IV.Nov. 9.  
Nov. 12

Nov. 25.

1567.  
Jan. 2.

of language. "If," she said, "any here doubt that I am by  
 "vow or determination bent never to trade in that kind of life  
 "(marriage), put out that kind of heresy, for your belief is there  
 "in a wry. For though I can think it best for a private wo-  
 "man, yet I do strive with myself, to think it not meet for a  
 "prince: and if I can bend my liking to your need, I will not  
 "resist such a mind. As to the succession, the greatness of the  
 "cause, and the need of your returns doth make me say, that  
 "which I think the wise may easily guess, that as a short time  
 "for so long continuance, ought not to pass by rote, as many  
 "tell their tales; even so, as cause by conference with the learned  
 "shall show me matter worth the utterance for your behoof, so  
 "shall I more gladly pursue your good after my days, than with  
 "all my prayers, whilst I live, be means to linger my living  
 "thread<sup>79</sup>." With this enigmatic answer the commons were  
 not content. But Elizabeth sent them an order to proceed to  
 other matters. They maintained that the royal message was  
 an infringement of their liberties; she repeated the command.  
 They obeyed with reluctance: but still allowed the bill for the  
 subsidy, which had been read only once, to lie unnoticed on the  
 table. The queen, after the pause of a fortnight, had the pru-  
 dence to yield. She revoked her former orders: she even sub-  
 mitted to court the favour of the people, by ordering the sum  
 originally demanded to be reduced. After these concessions the  
 public business proceeded: and as soon as a fifteenth and tenth,  
 with a subsidy, had been voted, the parliament was dissolved.  
 On that occasion she took her leave of the two houses in a sar-

<sup>79</sup> D'Ewes, 107. I have inserted this speech, to give the reader a specimen of the queen's eloquence. She seems to have thought it beneath her to speak officially in the language of

ordinary men. On all similar occasions she employs such quaintness of expression and such studied obscurity, that it is almost always difficult to conceive her meaning.



castic and uncourteous speech, in which she warned them never more to trifle with the patience of their sovereign <sup>80</sup>.

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The parliament was scarcely dissolved, before the attention of Elizabeth was called towards Scotland, by a succession of events, scarcely to be paralleled in history. The murder of Riccio had disappointed the hopes of Darnley. Instead of obtaining the matrimonial crown, and with it the sovereign authority, he found himself without power or influence, an object of scorn to some, and of aversion to others. Mary, though she might forgive, could not forget the outrage which he had offered her. Neglecting his advice, she formed a new administration, in which to Huntley, whom she had appointed chancellor, and Bothwell, the hereditary admiral of Scotland, she added her brother Murray, and Argyle, who had married the sister of Murray. There existed, indeed, several causes of dissension between Murray and Bothwell; but she prevailed on them to be reconciled: and at their joint intercession, she pardoned Maitland, notwithstanding the warm opposition of Darnley. This imprudent prince threatened, in his vexation, to kill Murray; and soon afterwards absenting himself from court, refused to return, till three of the chief officers of state should be excluded from the royal counsels. In his residence at Stirling, he formed the capricious design of leaving the kingdom: Lennox, his father, unable to dissuade him, wrote to the queen, at whose invitation he consented, though with reluctance, to repair to Edinburgh. Having endeavoured in vain to change his resolution, Mary led him before the council, and, holding him by the hand, solicited

Discontent of  
Darnley.

Aug. 2.

Aug. 4.

Sep. 22.

Sep. 29.

<sup>80</sup> D'Ewes, 117. Journal of Commons, 76. 78. Camden, 127. She suspected all who were warm on this subject of being more friendly to Mary than to her. "If," she says in a paper written by herself, "these

"fellows were well answered, and paid with lawful coin, there would be no more counterfeits among them." See Archæol. xviii. 242.

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him to detail his complaints, and not to spare her, if she were the cause of offence. In his answer he exonerated her from all blame<sup>81</sup>: but on every other point was sullen and reserved. Returning, however, to Stirling, he acquainted her by letter that his grievances might be reduced to two heads; the want of authority, and the neglect of the nobility. She replied, that the first proceeded from his own fault, since he had employed the authority with which she first intrusted him, against herself; and that he could not expect the nobility to love and honour a prince, who never sought to deserve their affection or respect.

Mary's illness.  
Oct. 8.

The queen, with the lords of the council, repaired to Jedburgh to hold the court, called the justice ayre<sup>82</sup>. Here she was seized with a dangerous fever; on the seventh and eighth days she lay

Oct. 17.

<sup>81</sup> Keith, 345. 351. At this time, and for two months before, Buchanan represents the queen as living in the most shameful adultery with Bothwell. Now it is impossible to reconcile such an assertion with the testimony of those who were present when Mary exhorted Darnley to explain his motives of discontent. "Her majesty said, that she had a clear conscience, that in all her life she had done no action which could anywise pre-judge his or her own honour; nevertheless, as she might, perhaps, have given offence without design, she was willing to make amends as far as he should require; and, therefore, prayed him not to dissemble the occasion of his displeasure, if any he had, nor to spare her in the least matter." He would not at all own that he intended any voyage, or had any discontent, and declared freely, "that the queen had not given him any occasion for any." "We testify, as far as things could come to our knowledge, he has had no ground of complaint; but, on the contrary, that he has the very best of reason, to look upon himself as one of the most fortunate princes in Christendom, could he but know his own happiness." Lords of

Council, Oct. 8. Keith, 349. Maitland sent a copy of this statement to the archbishop of Glasgow. From his letter it appears, that Mary desired the lords of the council to subscribe it, and forward it to the king of France, the queen mother, and the cardinal of Lorraine. It is, however, evident, that he meant it to be considered as detailing the truth. (Laing, ii. App. 73.) And it is confirmed by other letters from Le Croc and from Melville. Keith, 345. 350.

<sup>82</sup> Those who represent Mary as enamoured of Bothwell, attach much importance to a visit which she paid him from Jedburgh. On the 8th he had been wounded in the hand by an outlaw; and, if we may believe them, her love induced her that instant to take a dangerous journey to see him. But Chalmers has shown, that she allowed eight days to pass; and that it was on the 16th that she rode from Jedburgh to Hermitage castle, a distance of twenty English miles, and returned the same day. Her visit might be for a political purpose, as he was her lieutenant on the borders, and as she ordered a "masse of papers," to be forwarded to him the next day. Chalmers, i. 191. ii. 12.

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for several hours in a state of insensibility, and so slender were the hopes of her recovery, that the lords resolved, in the event of her death, to proceed to Edinburgh, and settle the government; a resolution which, if it had been executed, would undoubtedly have excluded the king, and placed the regency in the hands of Murray. During the intervals between the fits, Mary edified the assistants, by her piety, composure and resignation. She recommended, by letter, her son to the protection of the king of France, and of the queen of England: and, sending for the lords, exhorted them to live in harmony with each other, required them to watch with care over the education of the young prince, and solicited, as a last favour, liberty of conscience for their countrymen who professed the catholic faith, the faith in which she had been bred, and in which it was her determination to die <sup>83</sup>. On the ninth day, however, the symptoms were more favourable: she began to recover slowly; and the king, who had been sent for at the beginning of the illness, at length paid her a visit, but departed on the morrow <sup>84</sup>.

Oct. 26.

Oct. 28.

As soon as the queen was able to mount her horse, she proceeded along the banks of the Tweed to Berwick, and thence to the castle of Craigmillar, where she was joined by Darnley. But no advance was made towards a reconciliation. He was too proud to submit: she too suspicious to trust him. The delicacy of her health added, perhaps, to the anxiety of her mind: and she was often heard to lament that she had not died of the fever at Jedburgh <sup>85</sup>. Her situation did not escape the eyes of Murray and Maitland, the enemies of Darnley, who had accused the former of a design to

Conspiracy at  
Craigmillar.  
Nov. 20.

Nov. 26.

Dec. 2.

<sup>83</sup> See the original letters in Keith, App. 133—136. Camden, 130. Maitland attributes her fever to anxiety of mind, caused by the behaviour of Darnley. Laing, ii. App. 74.

<sup>84</sup> Le Croo, the ambassador, says of the king's conduct, *c'est une faute que je ne puis excuser*, 133.

<sup>85</sup> Keith, pref. vii.



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assassinate him, and had demanded, as the price of his return to court, that the latter should be dismissed from the office of secretary<sup>86</sup>. As soon as the king departed, they formed the following plan, by which they might both secure themselves from his hostility, and obtain a pardon for their associates in exile. Their hopes were founded on the persuasion that Mary would cheerfully purchase, at any price, a divorce from the man who had so cruelly offended her: and that the consent of the other noblemen might be won, if it were rewarded with an act of parliament, confirming to them the several grants which had been received from the improvident liberality of the queen. With this view they opened the design separately to Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwell; and all five waited in a body on Mary. Maitland, having reminded her of the injuries which she had received from Darnley, and of the obstinacy with which he persevered in his misconduct, conjured her, in the name of all present, to give her consent to a divorce. At first she discovered no disapprobation of the proposal, provided it might be done according to law, and without prejudice to the right of her child. But soon she asked, whether it were not more advisable, that she should retire for a while, and reside with her relations in France: perhaps Darnley, thus abandoned to himself, might learn to reform. At length she concluded in these words: "I will that ye do nothing, through which any spot may be laid to my honour or conscience: and therefore, I pray you, rather let the matter be in the state that it is, abiding till God of his goodness put remedy thereto"<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 351.<sup>87</sup> Of this conversation there can be no doubt. It was brought forward by Huntley and Argyle, to prove that Murray was the

original proposer of the plan to get rid of Darnley. In his answer he passes it over; and, by his silence, acknowledges its accuracy.

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This answer of the queen put an end to the project of divorce: and the lords reverted to another scheme, which had been previously agitated, that of assassination. Bothwell took upon himself to perpetrate the crime: the others to save him scaithless from the consequences. A bond was immediately drawn by sir James Balfour. It styled the king a young fool and proud tyrant: expressed the determination of the subscribers to prevent him from obtaining the rule over them: obliged them to remove him by some expedient or other; and made each declare that he would repute "the deed his own," by whomsoever it might be done<sup>88</sup>. This instrument was signed by Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Maitland, and Balfour. Whether Murray added his name may be disputed. To me he appears to have acted with his usual duplicity: he would remain neuter; "would neither help nor hinder"<sup>89</sup>.

Bond to murder Darnley.

From Craigmillar, the queen proceeded to Stirling, where the royal infant was baptized. Though Darnley was in the castle, he did not appear at the ceremony. Elizabeth had forbidden her ambassador, the earl of Bedford, to give him the title of king; and Le Croc, the French agent, had received an order not even to speak to him, till he should be reconciled to the queen. When the rejoicings were over, Bedford and Castelnau, each in the name and by the command of his sovereign, solicited the return of Morton, and was seconded by the prayers of Murray, Bothwell, and the other lords. Mary could no longer

Pardon of the exiles.  
Dec. 17.

Dec. 24.

<sup>88</sup> Ormiston's confession in Laing, ii. 322.

<sup>89</sup> It is difficult to doubt the sincerity of Ormiston in his confession. According to him, Bothwell declared, that "the haill lords "in Craigmillar, all that wes ther with the "queen," had determined on the death of Darnley. (Laing, ii. 320.) But Bothwell might exaggerate, and Murray himself maintains, that he signed no bond there. (Good-

all, ii. 321.) I have, therefore, adopted the deposition of Paris: *il ne yeult n'ayder ne nuire.* (Laing, ii. 299.) That deposition was plainly made to propitiate Murray; it, therefore, says as little against him as was possible; and yet amounts to an acknowledgment that he was privy to the plot, and had no objection to its success.

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Consultation  
about the  
murder.

1567.

Jan. 20.

refuse; a pardon for the banished earl and his seventy-six associates was granted, on condition that they should not return to Scotland during the two following years; and Darnley, either to shew his displeasure, or through fear for his life, left the court the same day, and retired to his father's residence in Glasgow<sup>90</sup>.

Before the lords would intercede in favour of Morton, they had required, and received his subscription, and the subscriptions of the other exiles, to the bond devised at Craigmillar. In a few days they again solicited in his favour; and Mary consented that he might return to his native country, but under an obligation not to approach within seven miles of the court<sup>91</sup>. The moment he entered Scotland, Bothwell and Maitland hastened to meet him: they consulted together at Whittingham, near the Lannermoor hills; and the murder of Darnley formed the subject of their deliberation. When they separated, Morton proceeded to St. Andrew's; the others returned to Edinburgh, accompanied by Archibald Douglas, who was soon remanded with this message from Maitland: "Schaw the erle Morton, "that the quene will hear no speech of that matter appointed "unto him." When the messenger complained of its obscurity, he was told that it would be sufficiently intelligible to his master<sup>92</sup>.

Reconciliation  
of the king  
and queen.  
Jan. 4.

It chanced that at this time the small-pox was prevalent in

<sup>90</sup> Keith, 429. Chalmers, 175. 342.

<sup>91</sup> Compare the letter of Douglas, Robertson ii. App. xii, with the confession of Morton, Laing, ii. 354. When the lords proposed the divorce to Mary, at Craigmillar, they made the return of Morton an indispensable condition; had they proposed the assassination to her, they would have done the same. Her delay in granting the pardon, and the restrictions which she successively appended to it, shew that no such thing had taken place. If it had, she would certainly have permitted him to return to the court.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. Arnot, 389. and the letters of Bedford, Jan. 9, and of Drury, Jan. 23, in Chalmers, ii. 227. Goodall, i. 282. If we may believe Morton, he refused to concur in the murder, unless Bothwell should procure him permission from the queen. This was promised, but not effected. One thing, however, is plain, that he permitted Douglas, his confidential friend, to act as his substitute. See his confession, Bannatyne, 494, and Laing, ii. 354, and the letter of Douglas, Robertson, ii. App. xii.



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Glasgow, and that Darnley took the infection. When the news reached Edinburgh, Mary sent her own physician to her husband, with a message that she would shortly visit him herself<sup>93</sup>. This promise she fulfilled: their affection seemed to revive; and they mutually promised to forget all former causes of offence<sup>94</sup>. From Glasgow, as soon as he was able to remove, she returned with him to Edinburgh, and placed him, for the benefit of the air, without the walls, in a house belonging to the provost of St. Mary's, generally called "the Kirk of Field." Here it was that the conspirators prepared to execute the plan which had been discussed, and probably arranged, in the meeting at Whittingham. By a door in the city wall, their agents obtained access to the cellar of the house, undermined the foundations in several parts, and placed a sufficient quantity of gunpowder under the angles of the building<sup>95</sup>. The queen visited her husband daily, gave him repeated testimonies of her affection, and frequently slept in the room under his bed-chamber. She had promised to be present at a masked ball, to be given on the ninth of February, in honour of the marriage of Sebastiani and Margaret Carwood, two of her servants; and the certainty of her

Jan. 24.

Jan. 28.

Jan. 31.

<sup>93</sup> These particulars, from the letters of Drury and Bedford, prove the falsehood of Buchanan's account. Chalmers, ii. 178.

<sup>94</sup> It seems to me proved beyond contradiction, that a reconciliation had apparently, at least, taken place. In addition to the testimonies collected by other writers, Mr. Chalmers adduces that of Clernault, taken at Berwick, Feb. 12: "la bonne intelligence et union en quoi las dame, et las s<sup>r</sup> roy voient depuis trois semaines. Telle mal-aventure est advenue au temps que sa ma<sup>te</sup> et le roy estoient au meillure mesnage que l'on pouvoit desirer." ii. 114.

<sup>95</sup> In the confessions of Powrie, Hay, Hepburn, and Paris, wrung from them by torture, it is said, that the powder was placed, be-

tween ten and eleven at night, in the queen's bed-chamber, under the king's, while she, with her attendants, were with him in his own room. (Laing, ii. 269. 279. 284. 304.) I see not what advantage could be derived from this story; yet it is difficult to believe it. Not only do the time, the distance, and the manner of conveying the powder, render it improbable (see note (O), ); but the council, in their letter of the 10th, Mary, in her's of the 12th, and the trial of Morton prove, that the house was blown up from the very foundation, so that one stone was not left upon another. Hence the real mine must have been made in the cellar. Keith, pref. viii. Laing, ii. 97. 351.

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Darnley is  
murdered.  
Feb. 9.

absence on that night, induced the conspirators to select it for the execution of the plot.

Feb. 10.

On the ninth, Mary went as usual to the Kirk of Field, with a numerous retinue, remained in Darnley's company from six till almost eleven o'clock, and at her departure kissed him, and taking a ring from her finger, placed it on his. She then returned by the light of torches to Holyrood house: on the termination of the ball, a little after twelve, she retired to her chamber; and about two the palace and city were shaken by a tremendous explosion. It was soon ascertained, that the house of Kirk of Field had been blown up with gunpowder, and that the bodies of the king and his page Taylor were lying dead in the garden, while those of three men and a boy remained buried in the ruins <sup>96</sup>.

This tragical event has given birth to an interesting controversy, whether the Scottish queen was or was not privy and consenting to the death of her husband. Few questions in history have been more keenly or more obstinately discussed; but her advocates, as well as her accusers, occasionally leave the pursuit of truth for the pursuit of victory: their ardour betrays both parties into errors and misrepresentations; and the progress of the historian is retarded at every step by the conflicting opinions and insidious artifices of his guides. In the conduct of Mary, previously to the murder of Darnley, I see nothing that can fairly impeach her character: in her subsequent behaviour there is much of more doubtful tendency. In the supposition of her guilt, it will be considered as the intended consequence of the crime: in the supposition of her innocence, it may be explained away by a reference to the difficulties of her situation. I shall

<sup>96</sup> Keith, pref. viii. Laing, ii. 97.

narrate the facts with impartiality : the reader must draw his own conclusion<sup>97</sup>.

It is acknowledged by all, that the queen acted, at first, as an innocent woman would have acted. She lamented the fate of a husband, to whom she had been so lately reconciled. She expressed a suspicion, that it had been intended to involve her in the same destruction : and she repeatedly announced her resolution, to take ample vengeance on the authors of so flagitious a crime. Her chamber was hung with black : the light of the day was excluded ; and in darkness and solitude she received the few, who were admitted to offer their respects and condolence. Letters, describing the manner of the murder, the state of her mind, and the measures she intended to pursue, were written to the foreign courts<sup>98</sup> ; and a proclamation was issued, offering rewards in money and land, for the discovery and apprehension of the murderers, with a full pardon to any one of the party who would accuse his accomplices. The same noblemen continued to attend the royal person ; and Murray, who the day before the murder had left the court on a visit to his wife, rejoined his colleagues in the council.

The dissension which had so long prevailed between the king and queen, was universally known ; and that knowledge naturally provoked a suspicion, that Mary herself might have been a secret accomplice in the murder. In Edinburgh, inquiries were made ; much was discovered to implicate Bothwell and his servants as the actual assassins ; and the charge was openly brought against him in anonymous “ bills,” affixed, during the darkness of the night, in the most public parts of the city. In

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Mourning of  
Mary.

Feb. 10.

Feb. 12.

Bothwell ac-  
cused of the  
murder.

<sup>97</sup> I have hitherto made no allusion to the celebrated letters, because I shall have a better opportunity in the following chapter.

<sup>98</sup> Keith, pref. viii. Anderson, ii. 202. Laing, ii. 97. Killygrew's letter in Chalmers, i. 209.



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Feb. 20.

a few days, the earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, came forward, and a correspondence of some interest took place between him and the queen. At his request, she summoned a parliament: Bothwell, and some others, were accused by him of the murder; and a day was appointed for the trial of their guilt or innocence. Lennox left Glasgow to attend: but on the eve of "the assize" he wrote from Stirling, to request an adjournment<sup>99</sup>. The earl of Murray, with his usual caution, had solicited leave to travel, and intrusting his interests to the care of Bothwell, departed from Edinburgh on his way to France.

Mar. 24.

Apr. 11.

Whatever motives Lennox might allege for his absence, it is evident that he was intimidated by the superior power of Bothwell, and by the association in his support. On this account he had already solicited the mediation of the queen of England; and Elizabeth instantly dispatched a messenger to Scotland with a letter, which did equal honour to her head and her heart. Had it been perused by Mary before the trial, it would probably have opened her eyes to the abyss which yawned before her: but there is reason to believe that it was not suffered to reach the hands of that unfortunate princess till after the acquittal of the accused<sup>100</sup>.

Apr. 8.

He is tried,  
and acquitted.  
Ap. 12.

The provost of Berwick, the bearer of the letter, had reached Holyrood house at an early hour in the morning. But the object of his mission was already known: he was treated with incivility, and could procure no one to inform Mary of his arrival. After a delay of some hours, Maitland took the letter, and returned with an answer, that the queen was still in bed, and that no one dared to disturb her repose. Bothwell immediately proceeded to the Tolbooth, surrounded by two hundred soldiers,

<sup>99</sup> Anderson, i. 36. 54. Killygrew says, "I find great suspicions, but no proofs." Chal-

mers, i. 209.

<sup>100</sup> This letter is in Robertson, i. App. xix.

and four thousand gentlemen. Maitland rode by his side; Morton accompanied him, and supported his cause; the earl of Argyle presided as hereditary justiciary of Scotland<sup>101</sup>. A motion to postpone the trial for forty days, was made and rejected; and as no prosecutor appeared, the jury having heard the indictment, returned a verdict in favour of the accused. He immediately affixed a paper to the cross, in which he re-asserted his innocence, and offered to fight, in single combat, against any native of Scotland, France, or England, who should dare to charge him with the murder<sup>102</sup>.

To clear herself from suspicion, it was incumbent on the queen to bring the real assassins to justice. This had been remarked to her by Elizabeth; it had been urged in the most impressive terms by her ambassador at Paris, and it had, on more than one occasion, been acknowledged by Mary herself. But how, her adversaries ask, did she proceed? She refused the reasonable petition of her father-in-law; she granted Bothwell a collusive trial; and she persisted in maintaining his innocence on the credit of an acquittal, which, to every impartial observer, furnished additional confirmation of his guilt. Would she have acted in a manner so fatal to her reputation, had she not been impelled by some powerful motive, such as consciousness of crime, or a licentious passion for the person of the murderer? In reply, her advocates remark, that she was a young and defenceless woman in the hands of a faction; that she could receive no information, could adopt no measure, but through the medium of her council; and that this council was

<sup>101</sup> See Drury's letter of Apr. 15. Chalmers, ii. 245—247. Mr. Laing will not allow that Morton was at all concerned in this trial. (i. 70.) Yet I see not how he can elude the testimony of Belforest, (Jebb, i. 403.); or

of Camden, *Mortonio causam ejus sustinente*, i. 138. Morton had been appointed one of the jury, but paid the forfeit, under pretence that he was a kinsman of Darnley. Drury, *ibid*.

<sup>102</sup> Anderson, ii. 107.

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composed of the very persons who had planned the murder, or directed its execution, or given bonds to screen the perpetrators from punishment. It was no wonder, then, if in such circumstances, and surrounded by such interested and unprincipled advisers, she were taught to believe, that Bothwell was innocent, that the accusation had been suggested by the malice of his enemies, and that Lennox requested a delay, because he found himself unable to substantiate the charge.

Proceedings  
of the Scottish  
parliament.

Two days after the trial the parliament was opened, and its proceedings appear to cast some light on the real object of those who had procured the death of Darnley. Though Mary had reigned but a short time, she had already bestowed, at the solicitation of her ministers, two-thirds of the property of the crown, on them and their adherents. They held, however, these acquisitions by a precarious tenure: as the law of Scotland gave the sovereign the power of revoking all such grants at any time, before he or she had reached the age of twenty-five years. It was known that the late king had expressed himself with much warmth against the improvident bounty of his wife. In the preceding April, Mary had made a partial revocation; and, as the present was the last year in which she could exercise that right, there could be little doubt that Darnley, had he lived, would have urged her to a general act of resumption. The great object of the lords was to take away the very possibility of such a measure. In the short space of three days, the lands forfeited by Huntley were restored, the grants made to Murray, Bothwell, Morton, Crawford, Caithness, Rothes, Semple, Herries, Maitland, and others, were confirmed; and the power of revocation was taken both from the queen and her successors. In addition, the act abolishing the papal jurisdiction, which had been made by the convention in 1560, but had never received the

Apr. 14.



royal assent, was now ratified ; but to it was appended, probably to silence the objections of the queen, a permission for all Scotsmen to serve God according to the dictates of their consciences<sup>103</sup>.

The next proceeding unfolds to us another and important part of the original conspiracy. When Bothwell undertook to murder the husband, he appears to have demanded, as the price of his services, the marriage of the widow. On the day after the dissolution of parliament, twenty-four of the principal peers, comprising, as well those who had been distinguished by their loyalty, as those who had repeatedly borne arms against their sovereign, assembled and subscribed a new bond. They were made to assert their belief of the innocence of Bothwell: they obliged themselves to defend him against all calumniators, with their bodies, heritages and goods; and they promised upon their consciences, and as they would answer to the eternal God, to promote a marriage between him and the queen, as soon as it could be done by law, and she might think convenient ; and for that purpose to aid him with their votes, their lives, and their goods, against all mortals whomsoever. A more disgraceful association does not sully the page of history<sup>104</sup>.

A new bond to Bothwell.

Apr. 20.

The next day Mary rode to Stirling, to visit her infant son, whom, for greater security, she had lately intrusted to the custody of the earl of Marr. On her return, she had reached the Foulbriggs, half a mile from the castle of Edinburgh, when she was met by Bothwell at the head of one thousand horse. To resist would have been fruitless : and the queen with her attendants, the earl of Huntley, Maitland, and Melville, was conduct-

He seizes the person of the queen.

Apr. 24.

<sup>103</sup> Keith, 378. Act Parl. ii. 547. It is singular, that Anderson published the confirmation to Bothwell, and omitted the others, i. 117.

<sup>104</sup> Keith, i. 383. Anderson, i. 107. The subscribers comprise all the bishops that were in parliament but one, all the earls but two, and all the lords but five.

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ed to the castle of Dunbar. On the following morning, Huntley and Maitland were liberated: the queen was detained ten days longer: nor did she leave the walls of Dunbar till she had consented to become the wife of Bothwell.

She consents  
to marry him.

To explain this extraordinary transaction, her enemies represent it as a collusion between the parties. They had long been lovers; they wished to marry; and a shew of violence was made to save the reputation of the queen<sup>105</sup>. It is, however, but fair to listen to her own story. Mary tells us, that previously to her visit to Stirling, Bothwell had dropped some hints of marriage: but received so resolute an answer, as convinced him that force alone could win her consent. On her return towards Edinburgh, he seized her person, and conducted her against her will to Dunbar. There he renewed his suit with more earnestness; conjured her to attribute his violence to the ardour of his affection; and laid before her the bond of the lords with their respective signatures. Mary perused it with astonishment and dismay: yet her repugnance was not subdued. It did not arise, if we may believe her own assertion, from any suspicion that the earl had been guilty of the murder of Darnley—she had been taught, by all around her, to believe the charge groundless and vexatious—but she considered the match unequal, and the proposal premature: and she wished, before she entered on another marriage, to take the advice of her friends

<sup>105</sup> To these insinuations may be opposed two powerful objections. 1°. Mary's enemies never spoke of the collusion for many months afterwards. In their different proclamations, and in the act of parliament against Bothwell, they considered her captivity as real and effected by superior force. Anderson, i. 131. 136. 139. 142. Act Parl. iii. 6—8. 2°. To prove the collusion, they produced a paper said to have been written or signed by

her, and purporting to be a licence to the lords to subscribe the bond on the 20th. Now, if this licence were genuine, no appearance of force would have been necessary; she had already declared to the whole nobility of Scotland, that she was willing to marry the earl. If it be not, how can we assent to an hypothesis, the framers of which were compelled to commit an act of forgery for its support?

both at home and abroad. She had at first cherished a hope that the news of the outrage would summon an army of loyal subjects to rescue her from her prison: but day passed after day; no sword was drawn in her cause, no attempt made in her favour: the apathy of the lords proved to her that the bond was genuine, and that she was a captive in the hands of an audacious subject. Bothwell insensibly assumed a more decisive tone: "nor did he cease till, by persuasion and importunate suite, accompanied with force, he had driven her to end the work"<sup>106</sup>. The meaning of the words "accompanied with force," she has not explained: Melville, her servant and fellow prisoner, assures us that it was the violation of her person<sup>107</sup>.

Bothwell now left the fortress: but it was to conduct the captive queen from one prison to another, from the castle of Dunbar to that of Edinburgh. Here she pleaded for time, that she might obtain the consent of the king of France, and of her relations of the house of Guise. But his ambition was too impatient to run the hazard of delay. The only remaining obstacle, his existing marriage with Janet Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntley, was in a few days removed. Both had already sued for a divorce, she on the ground of adultery in the consistorial, he on that of consanguinity in the archiepiscopal, court: in both a favourable judgment was pronounced: and it was hoped that the objections of the protestants would be silenced by the decision of the one, those of the catholics by that of the other. Exactly one month after his trial, Bothwell led the queen to the

They are married.

May 3.

May 12.

<sup>106</sup> Anderson, i. 89. 102.

<sup>107</sup> Melville, 80. Melville's testimony is corroborated by that of Mary's enemies, who say she was compelled "to become his bed-fellow by force, fear, and (as by many conjec-

tures may well be suspected,) by other extraordinary and unlawful means." Keith, 418. See, on this subject, a powerful paper by Tytler, in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, i. 538.



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May 15.

court of session, where, in the presence of the judges, she forgave him the forcible abduction of her person, and declared that he had restored her to the full enjoyment of liberty : the next day, she created him duke of Orkney ; and having granted a pardon to the lords who had subscribed the bond, was married to him by a reformed minister in the hall of Holyrood house<sup>108</sup>. Still, however, she remained a prisoner. Guards continually watched the passages leading to her apartments : no person could obtain access to her, except in the presence of Bothwell ; and the harsh treatment which she daily experienced, convinced her that she had given herself a cruel and imperious master. The unhappy queen was often discovered in tears. Her present sufferings taught her to perceive and lament her past indiscretion : she could have no idea of that long train of evils with which it was to be followed<sup>109</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> Anderson, i. 87. 136. Melville, 80. Laing, i. 94. There is an unimportant controversy, whether the marriage ceremony was

performed by a priest as well as a minister.

<sup>109</sup> Anderson, i. 132. 136. Melville, 82.

## CHAP. V.

## E L I Z A B E T H.

CAPTURE, IMPRISONMENT, AND RESIGNATION OF MARY STUART—  
SHE SEEKS AN ASYLUM IN ENGLAND—CONFERENCES AT YORK  
AND WESTMINSTER—PROJECT OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN MARY  
AND THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—HE IS IMPRISONED—REBELLION  
IN THE NORTH—BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND DEPOSITION  
AGAINST THE QUEEN—TROUBLES IN THE NETHERLANDS—AND  
IN FRANCE.

WHOEVER is conversant with the history of this period, must have observed that, in the judgment of most of the Scottish lords, self-interest was paramount to every other consideration. Hence their conduct perpetually varied with the varying course of events: every new prospect of gain or aggrandizement suggested new counsels and new crimes, and the most solemn engagements were both contracted and violated with equal precipitancy. We have seen the same individuals binding themselves by their duty to the eternal God, first to prevent the marriage of Darnley with their queen, then to raise that nobleman

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CHAP. V. to the throne ; and lastly, to procure his assassination. The reader will not be surprised, if he now beholds them entering on a fourth association, to punish the murderer whose deed they had promised "to reckon as their own," and then to transfer the sovereign authority from the queen to a regent of their own creation.

Association to  
oppose Both-  
well.

Of the lords who, though not in the secret of the murder, had been induced, by fear or interest, to subscribe the bond in favour of Bothwell's marriage, many were at the very time ashamed of their own conduct. In such a state of mind, they viewed his subsequent seizure of the royal person with feelings of suspicion and resentment. Meetings were held ; projects of opposition were suggested ; and inquiry was made what part the queen of England would take in the approaching contest<sup>1</sup>. The question awakened in her ministers fresh hopes of effecting that which the war of the reformation had failed to accomplish. But Elizabeth checked their eagerness : she refused to interfere with an armed force ; and merely signified her assent that the earl of Bedford might repair to Berwick, and "comfort" the discontented lords. Cecil, however, though he dared not give any express assurance of support, acquainted them with his opinion, that the nobility of Scotland, but particularly those who had previously bound themselves to Bothwell, must immediately take up arms, if they wished to avoid the infamy of being considered accomplices in his guilt<sup>2</sup>.

It has been assumed by some writers that, when Morton and Maitland joined with Bothwell in plotting the death of Darnley, they had two other objects in view, which they carefully concealed from their colleague ; the dethronement of Mary, and

<sup>1</sup> By Kirkaldy of Grange, apud Chalmers, ii. 236. note a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 235. not. x. Robertson, i. App. No. xx.



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the subsequent elevation of Murray to the regency. But philosophical historians are apt to attribute to the foresight of politicians those counsels which are, in reality, suggested by the passing events of the day. The dissension between Mary and her husband had produced suspicion; by her precipitate marriage that suspicion was ripened into conviction; and the associates of Bothwell saw, that unless they joined his opponents, they must submit to share his infamy, perhaps his punishment. The earls of Morton, Marr, and Athol, the lords Home, Semple, and Lindsay, the lairds of Tullibardine and Grange, met at Stirling, and were joined by Montrose, Glencairn, Ruthven, and Sinclair. Their plan to surprise Bothwell and the queen at Borthwick, was defeated by a rapid flight to Dunbar: but they entered Edinburgh; and by proclamation charged the earl with the murder of Darnley, the treasonable seizure and marriage of the queen, and an intention of gaining possession of the prince, that he might murder the heir apparent, as he had already murdered his father<sup>3</sup>.

June 11.

In four days Bothwell ventured with his friends to meet the more numerous and well appointed force of his enemies on Catterberry hill, at no great distance from Edinburgh. From an early hour in the morning till nine at night, the two armies faced each other. It was in vain that Le Croc employed his authority and eloquence to reconcile the parties. The queen offered a full pardon to the confederates, on condition that they should disband their forces: they required of her to come over to the nobility, and leave Bothwell to suffer the punishment of his crime. He offered to

Mary surrendered to the confederates.  
June 15.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson, i. 128—134. It appears from the letter of Beton, that Bothwell escaped from Borthwick in the morning, before the arrival of the lords; that Mary remained there all the day, with about half a dozen servants: and that at night she rode away in male attire, was received at a short distance

by Bothwell, and conveyed by him to Dunbar. Laing, ii. 109. This fact proves incontestably, that the queen was unwilling to separate from Bothwell, whether her reluctance arose from attachment, or from the causes, which in a few pages she will assign.

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fight singly with Morton, or any one of his accusers. The challenge was accepted first by Tullibardine, afterwards by Lindsay: but for reasons, with which we are unacquainted, no combat followed. At length it was agreed that he should retire without molestation; that the queen should return to her capital, and that the associated lords should pay to her that honour and obedience which was due to the sovereign. She gave her hand to Kirkaldy of Grange, and was by him conducted to the army of his colleagues; in whose name Morton, bending his knee, said, "This, madam, is the place where you ought to be: and we will honour, serve, and obey you as ever the nobility of this realm did any of your progenitors." The agreement was mutually ratified; and the army returned towards Edinburgh<sup>4</sup>.

She is imprisoned in Lochlevin.

An hour did not elapse before Mary learned that she was a captive in the hands of unfeeling adversaries. At her entrance into the city, she was met by a mob in the highest state of excitement: her ears were assailed with reproaches and imprecations: and before her eyes was waved a banner, representing the dead corpse of her late husband, and the prince her son on his knees exclaiming, "Revenge my cause, O Lord." She expected to proceed to the palace; but was conducted to the house of the provost; and locked up in a chamber, with orders that no person, not even her maids, should have access to her. During the two-  
and-twenty hours that she was confined in this solitary prison, the unhappy queen abandoned herself to the terrors which her situation inspired. From the street she was repeatedly seen at

June 16.

<sup>4</sup> Goodall, ii. 145. 164. Laing, ii. 116. This connivance at the escape of Bothwell, appears to confirm the opinion, that the confederate lords chiefly aimed at the deposition of Mary, and the establishment of a regency. Had they taken possession of him,

though they might not have so easily deprived the queen of her crown, they could have immediately effected what they professed to have in view, the punishment of the murder, and the dissolution of the marriage.

the window, almost in a state of nudity; and was often heard to call on the citizens, conjuring them to arm and deliver their sovereign from the cruelty of traitors. About nine the next evening she was conducted to Holyrood house: and after a respite of an hour was conveyed by a body of four hundred armed men out of the capital. Athol rode on one side of the captive, Morton on the other: and at some distance they delivered her to the custody of Lindsay and Ruthven, by whom she was led to the castle of Lochleven, the residence of William Douglas, uterine brother of Murray, and heir presumptive to Morton<sup>5</sup>.

Elizabeth had been informed of this extraordinary revolution by an envoy from the insurgents, whom she received with the strongest expressions of displeasure. The insult offered to the Scottish queen was, she contended, common to every crowned head; it resulted from the doctrines of Knox, which she had so often condemned: it required severe and immediate punishment, that subjects might learn to restrain their unhallowed hands from the anointed persons of their sovereigns. But while she laboured with sincerity in favour of Mary, her efforts were defeated through the address and wiles of her secretary. She sent Throckmorton to Scotland, with instructions to require, from the lords,

Resigns her  
crown.

June 30.

<sup>5</sup> Keith, 403. "Sche came yesterday to ane windo of hir chalmer, that lukkit on the hiegait, and cryit forth on the pepill, quhow sche was haldin in prison, and keepit be hir awin subjects, quha had betrayit hir. Sche came to the said windo sundrie tymes in sa miserable a stait, hir hairs hangand about her loggs, and hir breest, yea the maist pairt of all hir bodie, fra the waist up, hair and discoverit, that na man could luk upon hir bot sche movit him to pitie and compassion. For my ain part I was satisfieit to heir of it, and meight not suffer to see it." Beton's letter of the 17th. Laing,

ii. 117. Mary accused Maitland and Kirkaldy as the cause of her misfortunes. Randolph afterwards says to them: "You two were the chief occasions of the calamities, as she hath said, that she is fallen into. You, lord of Liddington, by your persuasion and counsel to apprehend her, to imprison her, yea, to have taken presently the life from her: and you, lord of Grange, by your solicitation, travel and labour to bring in others to allow thereof, and to put in execution that, which by the other, you, lord of Liddington, was devised." Strype, ii. App. 20.



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July 24.

that they should liberate their queen; from Mary, that she should forgive the offence of her subjects, and concur in the punishment of the murderers; from both, that the young prince should be sent to England, as the only place where his life would be in safety. But Throckmorton was the agent of Cecil, as well as of his sovereign. He demanded the liberation of the Scottish queen: yet consented to wait for an answer, till all the lords should be assembled at Edinburgh: he asked permission to visit Mary, but acquiesced in a refusal, when he learned that a similar request had been refused to the French ambassador<sup>6</sup>. While letters passed slowly between him and Elizabeth, the lords of the secret council, encouraged by the approbation of the kirk, proceeded with expedition and energy. Three instruments were devised, by one of which the queen was made to resign the crown in favour of her son; by the second, Murray was appointed regent during the minority of the prince; and by the third, certain noblemen were named to supply the place of Murray during his absence, and in the event of his death. These writings were intrusted to the lord Lindsay, the keeper of Mary, and the most stern and unfeeling of the saints: but with him was sent Robert Melville, with letters both from Throckmorton, and from some of the conspirators, who pretended to be her secret friends, advising her to consent without hesitation, because no deed, executed under such circumstances, could be considered binding in law. She had scarcely time to read the letters, when Lindsay entered, threw the instruments on the table, and bade her either sign them, or prepare to die as the assassin of her husband. The unhappy queen burst into tears: then hastily recovering her-

<sup>6</sup> The history of Throckmorton's negotiation may be collected from the documents in Robertson, i. No. xxi. and Keith, 411—430. Laing, ii. 124—129.

self, took up the pen, and subscribed her name without looking at the contents<sup>7</sup>.

Within five days the infant prince (he was in his thirteenth month) was anointed and crowned<sup>8</sup>, and Murray, who had already left France, hastened to Edinburgh. Before, however, he would assume the regency, he resolved to visit the royal captive in the castle of Lochleven. At the news of his arrival a gleam of hope shot across the mind of the unfortunate queen. Murray was her favourite brother. He owed to her his wealth, his honours, and his influence. She had formerly pardoned his treason and ingratitude, and restored him to the first place in her council. Mary hastened to meet him, and, to her surprise, found him cold, formal and reserved: her tears, caresses, and entreaties proved fruitless: she could not draw from him one consoling expression: and when they parted, she knew not whether to consider him as a friend or a foe. After supper they met again; but Murray now assumed a sterner tone. He loaded his afflicted sister with reproaches, bade her repent and be patient, and dropped some distant hints of the bar and the scaffold. It was an hour after midnight when he left her with this ominous remark, that "she had nothing to hope for but God's mercy; let her seek that as her chief refuge." In the morning followed a third interview, in which the earl appeared a very different man. He affected to feel pity for her misfortunes, and expressed a wish to screen her from the vengeance of her enemies. To Mary,

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Is visited by  
Murray.  
July 20.  
Aug. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Keith, 430—434. *Il s'm'ont menassé de me tuer, si je ne signois.* Anderson, iv. 31. par. ii. 86. Some say, that Ruthven accompanied Lindsay. Both had been appointed keepers of the queen; but Ruthven was removed, (July 14,) on suspicion, that he had supplied her with intelligence. (Rob. No. xxi.) He was employed the whole of July 24th, at Edinburgh. Keith, 425, 426.

<sup>8</sup> Keith, 437—439. Lesley says of this coronation, "of one hundred earles, bi-shoppes, and lordes, and more, that have voice in parliament, ther wer no more present, but fower earles only; ye had farther six lordes, who wer such as had laied their violent hands upon their quene afore, and two or three abbots and priors." Anderson, i. 44.

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Aug. 22.

Her letters  
first brought  
forward.

who had passed a sleepless night in anguish and terror, his softened and consoling manner, made him appear as an angel from heaven. She embraced him, kissed him, conjured him to assume the regency, that he might preserve her life and that of her son. To draw from her this request had been the sole object of his visit. He assented, after several refusals: but, at parting, bade her recollect that he was only one man: it was useless for him to ensure her safety, unless she deserved it. If she should attempt to escape, or should raise disturbance against the government, it would not be in his power to screen her from punishment<sup>9</sup>. Two days after his return from Edinburgh, he was proclaimed regent; and ever afterwards, in justification of his own conduct, alleged to foreign powers, that his acceptance of the office was extorted from him by the tears and prayers of Mary in her prison at Lochleven<sup>10</sup>.

The reader will recollect that one of the avowed objects of the associated lords, was to free the queen from the thralldom of Bothwell: the moment she came into their hands, they immured her in a prison, and in a few days deprived her of her crown. In vindication of their conduct, they alleged, that they had offered to obey her as their sovereign, provided she would abandon Bothwell, and consent that he should suffer punishment as the chief murderer of Darnley<sup>11</sup>. On her refusal they had placed her under confine-

<sup>9</sup> Throckmorton's letter of the 20th of August, in Keith, 444—448. From whom Throckmorton received the account, we know not. He tells the queen, that Murray informed him, that he had also required his sister to desist from her inordinate affection for Bothwell, and her resentment against the lords, 447.

<sup>10</sup> See especially his proclamation of August 22, "for obedience thairof he hes accepted and ressavit the charge." Keith, 454. Mary had maintained liberty of conscience for all persons, as far as the fanati-

cism of the preachers would permit; but Murray entered on the regency by taking the following oath: "and out of this realme of Scotland and impyre thairof I sall be cairful to ruite out all hereticks and enemies to the trew worschip of God, that sall be convict be the trew kirk of God of the forsaid crimes." Ibid. 453.

<sup>11</sup> "To punish the king's murder, chiefly in my lord Bothwell." Laing, i. 104. This proposal was made to her by Maitland, an accomplice. It would seem that Bothwell



ment, with the hope that solitude and reflection would wean her from that guilty passion, which she had so long indulged: but her obstinacy seemed to increase: it endangered the safety of the prince, of the lords, and of the state: it reduced them to the painful necessity of depriving her of the sovereign authority, and of transferring it to her son. Mary replied that these were mere pretexts: she had offered to convene the three estates, to submit to them the two questions of the validity of her marriage and the punishment of the murderers, and to abide by their determination, whatever it might be. To such a proposal no reasonable man could object: but her adversaries had required her assent to demands the most unjust and unnatural. It could not be expected that a queen, in her situation (she knew herself to be pregnant) should disown her husband, and by that act bastardize her child, and forfeit her honour, at the sole will of an armed faction<sup>12</sup>.

Some months later it was deemed advisable to throw off the mask. A silver casket, which Mary had inherited from her first husband Francis, and which she is said to have given to Bothwell, had come into the possession of the earl of Morton<sup>13</sup>. In it, if we may believe him, were found several papers in the hand-

June 20.

was to be punished, and his accomplices were to escape.

<sup>12</sup> Throckmorton's letter of July 18, in Robertson, i. App. xxi. The plan of a convention of the estates, which he was ordered to propose to the lords, agreed with that which Mary had already suggested. See it in Keith, 416.

<sup>13</sup> There is something to excite suspicion in the history of this casket. It was said to be taken upon the person of Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, on the 20th. On the 26th he was examined before Morton, Athol, the protector of Maitland, and two others. No question was asked, no mention was made of

the casket. It is replied, that he was examined about the murder only. But when a man was put to the torture to make him confess, every question was asked, which could bear upon the charge; and, as the letters were of such importance, we must believe, that he was at one time or other examined on that head. What became of the examination? To prove the authenticity of the letters at the conferences, Morton took his oath that he received them from Dalgleish. I think that, if it had been prudent to produce the examination of Dalgleish, such a document would have proved more satisfactory.

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V.

Dec. 4.

Dec. 10.

Mary attempts  
to escape.

writing of the queen, which proved her to have been an accomplice in the crime. The importance of the discovery was secretly communicated to the chiefs of the party, and to the queen of England: but no particulars were divulged before the month of December, when a resolution was taken to accuse Mary of adultery and murder; to maintain that she had suffered herself to be seduced by Bothwell, and afterwards had consented to the death of her husband, that she might be able to marry her paramour; and to declare that her captivity and destitution were “in her own default; in so far as by divers her privy letters, written and subscribed with her own hand, and sent by her to James, earl Bothwell, and by her ungodly and dishonourable proceeding in a private marriage, suddenly and improvisedly thereafter, it was most certain that she was privy, art and part, and of the actual devise and deed of the murder of the king her lawful husband.” This act of the council, but with some alterations, was adopted by the parliament: and to it was added a second of forfeiture against Bothwell, enumerating among his other offences, the violence which he had undutifully employed to compel his sovereign to marry him. It seems not to have occurred to the framers of these acts, that they appear to stand in opposition to each other. If Mary’s letters were genuine, if she was “swa blindlie affectionate to the private appetyte of that tyrane,” neither her conveyance to Dunbar, nor her subsequent marriage, could have been the effect of compulsion, but must have proceeded from her own will and consent<sup>14</sup>.

The Scottish queen was still confined in the towers of Lochleven, under the jealous eye of the lady Douglas, mother to the regent, and formerly mistress to James V. It was in vain that, to

<sup>14</sup> See the two documents in Goodall, ii. act of council, and the act of parliament, note 62—69, and on the variations between the (P).

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V.

recover her liberty, she made different offers to her brother and the council. They had resolved that she should never leave her prison alive; and, if we may believe her own assertion, had seriously listened to several proposals for the shortening of her days. But she possessed resources beyond the controul of her enemies; and her beauty, her manner, and her misfortunes, won her an invaluable partisan in George Douglas, the brother of the regent. By previous concert with Beton, a trusty servant of the queen, who lurked in the nearest villages, he introduced a laundress at an early hour into the bed-chamber of Mary, who exchanged clothes with the woman, and carrying out a basket of linen, took her seat in the boat. She had almost reached the opposite bank, when, to secure her muffler from the rudeness of one of the rowers, she raised her arm to her face, and a voice immediately exclaimed, "that is not the hand of a washerwoman." She was recognised, and conveyed back to Lochleven; George fled from the resentment of his relatives, and left the task of liberating the queen to an unsuspected associate, an orphan boy of the age of sixteen, known by the name of the little Douglas<sup>15</sup>.

1568.  
March 25.

Five weeks elapsed before he found an opportunity of making the attempt. One evening, while the lady Douglas sate at supper, having adroitly drawn the keys from the table, he called the queen, and Kennedy one of her maids, led them out of the castle, locked the door after them, and threw the keys into the lake. A boat had been prepared: the preconcerted signal was made: and George Douglas and Beton received the fugitives on the beach. Mary slept that night at Niddry, a house belonging to lord Seton: the next morning she rode in safety to the castle of

She succeeds.

May 2.

<sup>15</sup> Drury's letter of 3d of April, in Keith, 469.



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Hamilton, and revoked the resignation of the crown which she had made in her prison at Lochleven<sup>16</sup>.

May 13.

And flees into  
England.

At this intelligence the royalists crowded round their sovereign: nine earls, nine bishops, and eighteen lords offered her their congratulations and services: and the queen became acquainted, for the first time according to her advocates, with the real history of the murder of Darnley, and of the guilt of Bothwell<sup>17</sup>. To her brother the regent, who chanced at that moment to be in Glasgow, she made repeated offers, of settling every cause of dissension in a free parliament, and of delivering up to justice every person whom he should accuse of the murder, provided he would do the same by those whom she might also accuse<sup>18</sup>. Morton and Maitland were alarmed: they imprisoned her messengers, and proclaimed her adherents traitors. Mary was on her road to the castle of Dunbarton, when Murray, with a small but disciplined force, appeared on an eminence called Langside. At the sight, her followers, consulting their loyalty rather than prudence, rode in confusion to charge the rebels: they were received with coolness and intrepidity: and, after a sharp contest, turned their backs and fled. From the field of battle, the disconsolate queen rode to the abbey of Dundrennan, a distance of sixty miles, in the course of the same day. Her adversaries followed in every direction: but she eluded their pursuit; resumed her flight the next evening, and on the following morning, after a hasty repast, expressed her determination to seek an asylum in the court of her good sister the queen of England. Her best friends remonstrated; the archbishop of St. Andrew's conjured her on his knees to change her resolution: but Mary trusted to the assurances which she had received, commissioned Beton to take

<sup>16</sup> Anderson, iv. par. ii. 52. 87. Keith, 471.  
Jebb, ii. 230.

<sup>17</sup> Anderson, iv. part ii. 82.  
<sup>18</sup> Anderson, iv. 31, 32.

back to Elizabeth a diamond ring, the pledge which that princess had given her of affection and support; and, crossing the Solway frith in a fishing boat, landed with a small retinue in the harbour of Workington, whence she proceeded through Cocker-mouth to Carlisle <sup>19</sup>.

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V.

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May 16.

During these transactions it was difficult for an ordinary observer to unravel the intricate policy of the English cabinet. Elizabeth publicly professed herself the friend of the Scottish queen, declared to foreign princes that she would restore her to her throne, forbade her ambassador to assist at the coronation of the prince, refused to Murray the title of regent, and demanded, in a tone of authority, the liberation of Mary. But, on the other hand, her ministers were intimately leagued with the enemies of that princess; they dissuaded their sovereign from appealing to arms, on the pretence that such an appeal would be the death-warrant of the royal captive; they imparted advice and information to Murray and his council; and they encouraged him in the persuasion that his proceedings were in reality approved by the English queen <sup>20</sup>.

Plans of the  
English cabi-  
net.

Mary's unexpected arrival in England, had opened new prospects to Cecil and his associates. They rejoiced that the prey which they had hunted for years, had at last voluntarily thrown herself into the toils; but they were perplexed to reconcile their designs against the royal fugitive with the appearance of decency and justice. After repeated consultations, it was concluded, that to allow her to proceed to any foreign court, or to solicit aid of any foreign prince, would be to risk all the advantages which had

<sup>19</sup> Anderson, iv. 3. 33. Keith, 477—483. Jebb, ii. 268.

<sup>20</sup> "Although," says Murray to Cecil, "the quene's majestie, your mistress, outwardlie seam not altogether to allow the present state

"heir, yet doubt I not bot her hienes in hart lykis it well aneuch. I have had infallible experience of your gude will in especial." Haynes, 462.

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V.

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been obtained by the treaty of Leith: that, if it were advisable to replace the sceptre in her hands, it ought to be by the influence of Elizabeth alone, and under restrictions which would leave her only a nominal authority; but that to detain her in captivity for life, would be the most conducive both to the security of their sovereign, and to the interests of their religion<sup>21</sup>. The accomplishment of this object was intrusted to the dark and intriguing mind of Cecil. Mary was at first assured that Elizabeth would vindicate the common cause of sovereigns, and reinstate her in her former authority, upon condition that she would be satisfied with the aid of her good sister, and reject that of France or Spain, or any other power<sup>22</sup>. Next it was intimated to her, that the English queen had determined to essay the influence of advice and authority, before she would have recourse to arms and bloodshed: lastly a hint was given that, in order to justify the interposition of Elizabeth, it was desirable that the Scottish queen should clear herself from the odious crimes with which she had been charged by her enemies.

Mary, immediately after her arrival, had demanded permission to visit Elizabeth, that she might lay before her the wrongs which she had suffered, and explain to her the deceit, the calumnies, and the crimes of her adversaries. But a personal interview might have proved dangerous, not only to Murray and his party, but to their friends in the English cabinet. Cecil suggested to his mistress, that, as a maiden queen, she could not in decency admit into her presence a woman charged

<sup>21</sup> Anderson, iv. 34—44.

<sup>22</sup> The first message to Mary was to obtain from her a promise not to solicit or receive any aid from France: "which if she will do, she shall then be assured that we will have the principal regard to her state, so as her subjects may be reduced to acknowledge their

"dutie without shedding of blood, or trouble of her realm; and, if they will not yield to reason by treaty or persuasion, we will give to her such aid as shall be requisite to compel them." Instructions to Leighton, Anderson, iv. 27. Mary assented: but could never obtain the promised aid.



with adultery and murder. Let her first call on Mary to disprove the accusations of her opponents before a board of English commissioners. She had a right to require it; for history showed that the Scottish was subject to the English crown: and that all controversies between the people and the king or queen of Scotland ought to be decided in the court of their superior lord. She had now an opportunity of exercising that right; and it would prove dishonourable to her, if she omitted to avail herself of it<sup>23</sup>. He found it more easy to persuade Elizabeth than Mary. The latter objected to every thing in the shape of a trial. It would consume time, of which every moment was to her of importance; because delay served to consolidate the usurped authority of the regent, and, by disappointing the hopes, to diminish the number of her adherents. Then from whom did the proposal originate? From one who had always proved her bitterest enemy. Who would name the commissioners, and superintend the proceedings? A party, that from the beginning of her reign, had constantly given advice and support to her rebels. And who was to be her judge? She could acknowledge none. She was an independent queen; and would never submit to place the crown of Scotland at the foot of a foreign power. She therefore requested permission to return again into Scotland, or to pass through England to France. The demand was reasonable; but it accorded not with the views of the council, and was at first eluded, and afterwards refused<sup>24</sup>.

This crooked policy, which gradually extinguished all her hopes, wrung from Mary expostulations, written with the dignity

Mary's com-  
plaints.

<sup>23</sup> Anderson, iv. 26. 37. 103. 105.

<sup>24</sup> Laing has converted Mary's objections to the proposed trial into so many proofs of her guilt. Undoubtedly, if she were con-

scious of guilt, she would object to a trial. But I think it evident, that if she were innocent, she still had many reasons to refuse such an inquiry as was proposed.

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V.

of a queen, and the spirit of an innocent and injured woman. She observed that, if she had come into England, it was in consequence of the assurances which she had received during her confinement in Lochleven; and that if Elizabeth now repented of her promises, the least she could do was to allow the princess whom she had deceived, to seek for aid in other courts. That the English queen had received into her presence the bastard Murray, notwithstanding all the crimes of which he had been guilty: and yet she refused to receive a queen and a relation, who felt and was ready to prove herself innocent. Her enemies were not to expect that she would answer their false accusations in prison: they were her subjects, not her equals: she would rather die in captivity, than condescend to put herself on the same footing with them. But let Elizabeth restore her to liberty, and she would prove her innocence in the presence of her good sister, as her friend, but not as her judge. Let Morton and Maitland, the real contrivers of the murder of her husband, be sent for: it would give her pleasure to meet them face to face before the queen of England, and before the nobility of England, in Westminster Hall. In a word, let Elizabeth remain neuter: she asked no more: her sister might, if she pleased, withhold the aid which at first she had promised: at least let her not furnish aid to the rebels who had driven their sovereign from her throne<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> See the correspondence in Anderson, iv. 47—97; and in Haynes, 465, 466, 469. I observe, that in these letters, Mary continually declares herself innocent, and accuses Morton and Maitland of the murder of Darnley, and of falsely charging her with it. "Ils ont divisé et favorisé, et signé et assisté à un crime, pour le me mettre fausement à subs." Anderson, iv. 30. "Withal she affirmed that both Lyddynton (Maitland) and the lord Morton were assentying to the

"murder of her husband, as it could well be proved." Ibid. 54. "Desire my good sister, the queen, to write that Lithington and Morton (who be two of the wisest and most able of them to say most against me) may come, and then let me be there, in her presence face to face, to hear their accusations, and to be heard how I can make my purgations; but I think Lithington would be very loth of that commission." Ibid. 90. "Estant innocente, comme Dieu mercy je me

CHAP.  
V.

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Consents to a  
conference at  
York.  
June 20.

These remonstrances produced but little effect. After long consultation it was resolved, by the English ministers, that Mary should not be received at court till her innocence had been fully established; that her request to leave the kingdom should not be granted; and that she should be immediately transferred from Carlisle to Bolton castle, as a place presenting fewer opportunities of escape. But on what principle of justice, it was asked, could she be detained a prisoner? She was not the subject of Elizabeth. She had come into the kingdom at the express invitation of the queen: since her arrival she had transgressed no law, had committed no offence. It was answered, that she had formerly asserted a right to the crown, and, if she were set at liberty, might re-assert that right: that, a catholic herself, she could rely on the aid of all catholics at home and abroad: and that her succession to the throne, if it were ever effected, would prove the ruin of the protestant cause, both in England and Scotland<sup>26</sup>. On these grounds, the English ministers persisted in requiring a trial, with the hope of being able to disgrace her. She persisted in the rejection of a proceeding, which she deemed derogatory from her dignity, and injurious to her honour. At length the subtlety of Cecil suggested an expedient, which equally served his purpose,—a trial, not of Mary, but of her enemies; who, if they could justify their conduct to the satisfaction of certain English commissioners, should be allowed to retain their estates and honours; if not, should be abandoned to the justice or the mercy of their sovereign. If the Scottish queen would approve of this proposal, a treaty might be negotiated, by which Elizabeth should undertake, on certain conditions, to reduce her subjects to obedience, and to replace her

July 28.

“sents, ne me faites vous pas tort de me tenir  
“icy.” Ibid. 96. “Mon innocence et la fiance

“que j’ai en Dieu m’assurent.” Haynes, 465.  
<sup>26</sup> Anderson, iv. 102---106.



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on the throne<sup>27</sup>. Mary, contrary to the opinion of her best advisers, gave a reluctant assent. Murray dared not refuse; and the place of conference was fixed in the city of York.

It is opened.

The commissioners to hear and determine this important cause, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, the confidant of Cecil. The queen of Scots was represented by Lesley, bishop of Ross, the lords Livingstone, Boyd, and Herries, and three others. On the opposite part, Murray attended in person, with Morton, Lindsay, the bishop of Orkney, and the abbot of Dunfermlin, aided by Maitland and five other counsellors. To adjust the preliminaries occupied several days. Mary insisted that the promise of the English queen to replace her on the throne, should appear in the powers given to her commissioners; and Murray required a confirmation of the assurance, which he had already received, that, in the event of conviction, Mary should never return to Scotland. These contradictory demands, which at once discovered the insincerity of the English cabinet, were ultimately granted<sup>28</sup>: and the commissioners of the Scottish queen, as plaintiffs, opened

Oct. 4.

Oct. 8.

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, iv. 109. Goodall, ii. 183. Haynes, 467. One of the conditions suggested was, that Mary should abolish the mass, and introduce the English reform into Scotland, in place of the republican kirk. She had of late attended the sermons and service of a minister of the church of England, a circumstance which flattered Knollys with the hope of her conversion: though she soon undeceived him, and declared that her object was to show that, if she adhered to the ancient creed, it was not, as her enemies said, through ignorance of the new doctrines (Anderson, iv. 13. Robertson, i. App. xxiv.). But whatever were her own opinion, she gave a qualified assent to the proposal, chiefly at the urgent solicitation of lord Herries. In her private instructions to her commissioners, she says, "Albeit, I have been instructit and

"nourishit in that religion, quhilk hath stand lang time within my realme, callit the auld religioun, zit nevertheless I will use the counsel of my derrest sister thairanent, be the advice of my estat in parliament, and labour that is in me to cause the samin have place through all my realme." Goodall, ii. 347. Sixteen of the queen's lords being consulted on the subject, referred the decision to her prudence. Ibid. 364.

<sup>28</sup> Anderson, iv. part ii. 25—41. Goodall, ii. 108—128. That Mary agreed to the conferences, on the express condition of being restored to her throne at their termination, is evident from Anderson, iv. 109. That a promise was given to Murray of the opposite tendency, is also plain, from Anderson, iv. part ii. p. 11.

Oct. 9.

the charges against Murray and his associates ; that they had risen in arms against their sovereign, had traitorously confined her in Lochleven, and had, by intimidation, compelled her to resign her crown. It had been expected that Murray, in reply, would rest his justification on the part which it was pretended that Mary had acted in the murder of Darnley. But he sought to play a deeper and surer game. He waited on the English commissioners, and expressed his readiness to communicate to them, but in secret, and as to private individuals, the proofs of her guilt. They should recollect, that the lives of himself and of his associates were at stake : that before they could appear as public accusers of their sovereign, they had a right to ascertain, whether their proofs would be considered sufficient to establish the charge ; whether, if it were established, the judges would pronounce sentence ; and whether security would be given, that after sentence Mary should never be restored to her throne. He then laid before them translations of eight letters, supposed to be written by her to Bothwell, some before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person ; two contracts of marriage, said to have been signed by them both, and a collection of amatory sonnets, described as composed by her, and sent to her paramour. No answer given by the commissioners would satisfy his fears ; and, at his request, they wrote to Elizabeth for additional instructions<sup>29</sup>.

Oct. 10.

That the cause of this delay might not be suspected, Murray now gave in a pretended answer to the charge. His friends, he said, had taken up arms, not against the queen, but Bothwell, by whom she was controlled : they had afterwards “ se-

<sup>29</sup> Anderson, iv. 41—63. Goodall, ii. 128—138. Robertson attributes these questions to Murray's knowledge of an intrigue of Maitland with the duke of Norfolk. But he had

first put them in June, four months before, and received answers. Goodall, ii. 75. 89. Robertson, i. No. xxv.

CHAP.  
V.

Oct. 16.

Intrigues of  
the different  
parties.

“questrated” her, because she would not separate her cause from his ; and had at last accepted, but not extorted, her resignation. To a plea so weak and unsatisfactory the commissioners of Mary opposed a most victorious rejoinder<sup>30</sup>.

In the mean time, York had become the scene of active and intricate negociation. The Scots were divided into two parties, called the king’s lords, and the queen’s lords, at the head of which were the earl of Murray, and the duke of Chastelherault, lately returned from France. Both of these earnestly desired a compromise. Murray knew that his charge against Mary would be met with a similar charge against his associates, and that her proofs were better able to bear investigation than his<sup>31</sup>. Should he fail, he would be left without resource to the vengeance of his sovereign ; should he succeed, yet the sickly state of the infant king made it probable that, in a short time, his mortal enemy, the duke, would come to the throne. Hence he was willing to give up his proofs against Mary, to pronounce her innocent by act of parliament, and to allow her a considerable revenue from Scotland, provided she would either confirm her resignation of the crown, or, retaining the name of queen, consent to reside in England, and leave to him the title and the authority of regent. The duke, the next heir after the infant James, feared, on the contrary,

<sup>30</sup> Anderson, 64.—70. 80.—91. Goodall, 139—148. 162—170. They afterwards acknowledged that this was a fictitious plea, because they dared not put in their real answer. Yet they had solemnly sworn, “to proceed sincerely and uprightly ; and, for no affection, malice or worldly respect, to advance any thing otherwise than their own consciences should bear them witness before God, to be honest, godly, reasonable, just and true.” Anderson, 39.

<sup>31</sup> This, a most important fact in the con-

troversy respecting the authenticity of the letters, is expressly asserted by one, who was able to judge, the earl of Sussex. “Yf her adverse partee accuse hir of the murther by producyng of hir letters, she wyll deny them, and accuse the moste of them of manyfeste consent to the murther, hardely to be denied : so as, upon the tryall on bothesydes, her proofes wyll judycyally falle beste owte, as yt is thought.” Lodge, ii. 1, 2.



the intrigues of Murray, and the hostile pretensions of the house of Lennox. He demanded that the queen should be restored to the crown ; but was willing that the prince should be educated under the care of Elizabeth, and that the government should be conducted by a council of noblemen, in which every man should have that place which became his rank. "These parties," says the earl of Sussex, "toss between them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, and care neither for the mother nor the child, (as I think before God), but to serve their own turns<sup>32</sup>."

To prevail on Mary to accede to his terms, Murray employed the artful and intriguing Maitland. That statesman had already informed her, as a friend, of the charge to be brought against her, had secretly sent her copies of the supposed documents in a Scottish translation, and had exhorted her to adopt a compromise as the only expedient to preserve her honour<sup>33</sup>. To the duke of Norfolk he suggested, in the name of the regent, a marriage with the Scottish queen ; assured him in private of her innocence ; and intimated that a speedy termination of all differences could alone prevent the English ministers from publishing the defamatory documents<sup>34</sup>. Lastly, he attempted to persuade the bishop of Ross, that if Mary would confirm her resignation made in Lochleven, and marry the duke of Norfolk, the queen of England would replace her on the throne<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> See his very interesting letter from York, Oct. 22. Ibid. Also another from Knollis, Robertson, i. No. 16. The duke of Norfolk also asserts the same. "Some seke hollye to sarve ther owne partycular turnes, the wytche beyng done, they care not what becomes nether of quene nor kyngne." Goodall, ii. 157.

<sup>33</sup> Murdin, 52. 53. He assured Mary, that he would not have come to York, had it

not been to do her service. Ibid. Yet the whole of his conduct tended to produce that, which we learn from Sussex, Murray wished to effect. Hence I have no doubt, that his suggestions to her were made with the privity of the regent.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 164. See also State Trials, i. 92, 93, 94. where Norfolk, Murray, and Ross, charge each other with the first proposal.

<sup>35</sup> Robertson, i. App. xxvi. Murdin, 53.

CHAP.  
V.

The conference is transferred to Westminster.

Though Cecil and his colleagues in the public documents affected an eager desire to act justly between the opposite parties, it is evident, from their private correspondence, that they only sought to derive advantage from the misfortunes of the Scottish queen<sup>36</sup>. Their first object was to disgrace her in the eyes of Europe, by convicting her of adultery and murder; the second, if the other were impracticable, to replace her on the throne, but under such restraints, that she should be the nominal, Elizabeth the real sovereign of Scotland<sup>37</sup>. They were fully acquainted with the state of the conferences at York, the reluctance of Murray to bring forward the charge, the presumed insufficiency of his proofs, the project of marriage between Norfolk and Mary, and the multiplied intrigues of Maitland. Instead of returning a direct answer to Murray, they replied, that his questions contained several points which could not be elucidated by letter, and required that two commissioners from each party, with sir Ralph Sadler, should hasten to the court, to give to the queen the necessary information. Mary felt some surprise at this unexpected demand; but expressed her satisfaction that the cognizance of her cause would at length come before Elizabeth herself. Murray sent his commissioners, and hinted a wish to

Oct. 16.

Oct. 20.

<sup>36</sup> This is plain, from several passages. Thus Sussex observes: "Of the two ends before wrytten, I thinke the fyrste to be beste in all respects for the quene's ma<sup>te</sup>., if Murray wyll produce suche mat<sup>r</sup> as the quene's ma<sup>te</sup> maye, by vertue of her superioryte over Scotland, fynd judycially the S. quene gyilty of the murth<sup>r</sup> of her husband, and therw<sup>th</sup> deteyne her in England at the charges of Scotland, and allow the crownyng of the yonge kynge, and regency of Murrey.... Yf this wyl not falle ow<sup>t</sup> suffyciently, (as I dowte it wyl not), to determyne judycially, yf she denye her lettres; then surely I thynk it beste, to procede by cōposytyon, w<sup>th</sup>owte

"shew of eny meanyng to procede to tryall; and heryn as it shall be the surest waye for the Q.'s Ma<sup>te</sup> to procure the S. quene to surrender." (Lodge, ii. 5.) Thus Norfolk tells Ross, that the object is "to cause her to come in disdain with the hail subjects of the realm, that she may be the maire unable to attempt any thing to the disadvantage of Elizabeth." Robertson, i. No. xxvi. Murrin, 53. At her first arrival, assurances were sent to Murray, that she should never leave England. Haynes, 469.

<sup>37</sup> Anderson, iv. 8—25. Goodall, ii, 97—108. Robertson, i. No. xxvii.

follow them: and Norfolk and Sussex, aware that their services were no longer required, resumed their former occupation, the one as lieutenant on the border, the other as president of the council in the north. The conferences, though not formally, were virtually dissolved<sup>38</sup>.

Hitherto Mary seems to have cherished the most flattering expectations: but when she learned that Murray had proceeded to London, and that, in violation of the royal promise<sup>39</sup>, he had been admitted into the presence of Elizabeth, her former disquietude revived: she saw the existence of a dark and mysterious plot devised for her ruin; and she ordered her commissioners to require of the queen, in the presence of the nobility and foreign ambassadors, that she might be confronted with her accusers before them all: and if so equitable a request were refused, to declare that their powers were withdrawn, and to demand their passports<sup>40</sup>. The sequel proved that her suspicions were well founded. Murray received favourable answers to the questions which he had proposed at York, that judgment

Murray charges the queen with the murder.

Nov. 22.

Nov. 26.

<sup>38</sup> Anderson, ii. 93—96. Goodall, ii. 170—179. Mary gave new instructions to her commissioners the next day: in which she says, that if any subject be brought forward, not comprised in their former instructions, they are not to answer till they know her mind; as they cannot confer with her now as they did during the conferences at York. Ibid. 350. I think this is not fairly stated by Laing, i. 580.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 184. 215. On the 22d of October, Sussex advised Cecil, "to foresee that these Scotts on bothe sydes packe not together, so as to unwrapp (under collar of this composytion,) ther mystres owte of all present slaunders, purge her openly, shewe themselves satisfied with her abode here, and, within a shorte tyme afr, ether by reconcylement, or the deathe of the chylde, join together to demaunde of the quene the

"delyvery home of there queen, to governe her owne realm, she also making the lyke requeste; and then the quene, havying no juste cause to deteyne her, be bownd in honor to retorne her into her realme, and, for mattrs that in this tyme shall passe, have her a mortal enemy for ever after." Lodge, ii. 6.

<sup>40</sup> "He being ressavit and welcomet unto hir, and we, an free princess, not havinge access to answer for our selves, as he and his complices, thinks, therefor, ye can proceid na farther in this conference; and ther may be some heids proponit quhairto you can not answer of your selfis, unless we were there in proper persoun, to give answer to the calumnies quhilk may come in question aganis us, swa that partiality appeirs to be usit manifestly." Goodall, ii. 185.



CHAP. should be pronounced, that the Scottish queen should not be  
 V. restored to authority, and that all his acts should be allowed<sup>41</sup>.

Thus encouraged, he brought forward his charge, that Mary had been "of fore-knowledge, counsel, and device, persuader and "commander of the murder of her husband, and had intended "to cause the innocent prince to follow his father, and so to "transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and "godless tyrant." Mary's commissioners immediately requested an audience of the queen, and demanded, that as Murray and his associates had been admitted into her presence to accuse their sovereign, she might also be admitted into the same presence to prove her innocence; and that in the mean time her accusers might be detained in the country, to receive, at the close of the inquiry, that punishment which they would be found to deserve. Elizabeth coldly replied, that it was a subject which required long and mature deliberation.

Dec. 1.

Dec. 3.

Produces the  
 letters and  
 contracts.

Dec. 3.

Dec. 6.

Dec. 9.

It was in vain that the bishop of Ross and his colleagues made every effort to obtain an answer. They applied to the council; they petitioned the queen; they protested against the proceedings, and, by the advice of the duke of Chastelherault, and of the French and Spanish ambassadors, declared that the conference was at an end<sup>42</sup>. But Cecil would not allow of their proceeding: he was anxious to procure in due form the proofs of the accusers before the interruption of the conference: and, in defiance of every remonstrance, refused to receive their protest and declaration. Murray employed the interval to lay before the commissioners, the letters, contracts, and sonnets, which had been secretly exhibited at York, accompanied with the depositions of several witnesses, and with such other papers as he deemed confirmatory of the charge. The chief of the Eng-

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 200.

<sup>42</sup> Goodall, ii. 206. 226.

lish nobility, the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick, were then summoned before the privy council, and sworn to secrecy. The past proceedings were explained; the papers, both the originals and copies, were laid before them; and letters, said to have been written by Mary to Elizabeth, were added, that the hand writing might be compared. What impression was made on their minds we know not: but instead of being required to pronounce on the authenticity of the documents, or the guilt of the accused, they were merely told that Mary had demanded to answer in the royal presence, and that Elizabeth thought it inconsistent with the modesty of a maiden queen to grant the request. They expressed their approbation, and the next day, the queen sending for the commissioners, informed them, that she could not receive their mistress into her company; that in the present circumstances, any compromise would cover her with lasting infamy; and that she ought to answer the charge in some way, which might convince the public that it was groundless<sup>43</sup>.

Dec. 14.

Dec. 15.

Dec. 16.

Such is the official account of the proceedings: but the record has descended to us in a very suspicious shape, altered and interlined by the hand of Cecil. There is reason to believe that he had been disappointed in his views; and that the earls had betrayed some distrust of the proofs, or made some objection to

Mary retorts  
the charge.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. 226—260. Anderson, iii. 32. As far as I can judge, the English minister had no intention to proceed to final judgment. His object appears to have been to obtain legal possession of the letters, that by publishing them he might justify, in the opinion of the world, Mary's subsequent detention in England. Elizabeth answered her commissioners, that she would not put Mary to the trouble of coming to London, till she saw what kind of proofs her accusers could produce. They protested in writing against such a proceeding, and declared the conferences at an end. Cecil would

not accept the paper, under pretence that it gave an incorrect statement of the queen's answer. To please him they erased every objectionable passage, and presented it again. In the mean time Murray had presented the documents. The commissioners dated their protest on the 6th, the day on which they first offered it, and before the presentation of the letters: but Cecil insisted it should be dated on the 9th, after the presentation. At length it was agreed that both dates should be inserted, with the reasons for each. Goodall, ii. 226. 239.

CHAP.  
V.

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Dec. 22

Dec. 19

the manner of proceeding<sup>44</sup>. From this moment he adopted a new plan. As Mary was now aware that the publication or concealment of papers so prejudicial to her honour, depended on the pleasure of the English queen, it was hoped that with this knowledge she might be induced to resign her crown, or at least to be content with the title of queen, while the authority should remain with the regent. Knollis received orders to suggest and urge to her the adoption of this scheme, but as proceeding from himself, and without authority: and the commissioners were detained at London, that by the advice of pretended friends they might be drawn into the same sentiments. But the resolution of Mary disconcerted her adversaries. She had no sooner received the refusal to admit her into the royal presence, than she ordered her commissioners to declare to the queen and council, that "where Murray and his accomplices "had said that she knew, counselled, or commanded the murder "of her husband, they had falsely, traitorously, and wickedly "lied, imputing unto her the crime, of which they themselves "were the authors, inventors, doers, and some of them the very "executioners:" that where they alleged, that she had intended to make her son follow his father, "the natural love which a "mother bears to her only bairn," was sufficient to prove their falsehood; their attempt to have slain him in the womb, sufficient to shew their hypocrisy: that she could not allow charges so calumnious to be passed over in silence, but demanded that copies

<sup>44</sup> Cecil wrote to Norris at Paris, "that because her majesty meant to have the whole matter advisedly heard, she had appointed an assembly not only of the whole council, but of all the earls of the realm, to take such resolution and end, as she shall be advised unto by her said council." (Cabala, 155.) Yet they appear to have determined nothing. On the contrary, if we may believe

the Spanish ambassador, in a letter to Philip, they had displayed some spirit, and checked a little the violence with which Cecil sought the destruction of Mary; "dichos señores havian mostrado algun valor, y contrastado un poco la furia terrible, con que el Secretario Cecil queria perder aquella señora." Dispatch of Jan. 1, 1569. MSS. at Simancas.



of the papers should be given to her commissioners, and the originals submitted to her own inspection; and pledged her word to name certain individuals among her accusers, and to convict them of the murder, provided she might have access to the presence of the queen, and a reasonable time to collect her witnesses and proofs<sup>45</sup>.

This unexpected declaration perplexed Elizabeth and the secretary: but the Christmas holidays allowed them a respite of a fortnight; and they waited with impatience for the result of the negociation at Bolton<sup>46</sup>. On the seventh of January, the bishop of Ross solicited an audience of the queen. He had received a new order from his sovereign to demand copies of the documents, that she might answer them in every particular, and prove to the whole world that her accusers were "liars" as well as traitors. Elizabeth replied, that she would take time to consider the demand, but thought it best for Mary to resign her crown, and lead a peaceful life in England. The bishop assured her that such advice could not be admitted; the queen had authorized him to declare that she would never consent to it, upon any conditions which were, or could be, proposed; but was willing to extend her clemency towards her disobedient subjects, as far as might stand with her honour and the common

The conference is dissolved.

1569.  
Jan. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Goodall, ii. 274—293. Elizabeth was already informed, that the persons whom she chiefly meant to accuse were Morton and Maitland. Goodall, ii. 71. Mary in her instructions to her commissioners, declares, that she never wrote such letters to any living creature; that if any such exist, they are feigned and forged by her accusers. See, on the authenticity of the letters, note (P).

<sup>46</sup> On Jan. 3, Cecil informs Norris, that matters are at a stand, "because, for the saving of her honour, motion is made on her behalf, to make some appointment between

"her and her subjects; nevertheless outwardly she offereth to prove herself innocent, so she may be permitted to come to the queen's presence, and answer for herself, which is thought to be the more earnestly required, because it is also thought assured it will be denied"—what will be the end, he cannot guess. Cab. 157. It should be recollected, that Cecil's advertisements to ambassadors are not always to be credited; they explain the manner in which he wishes transactions to be represented in foreign courts.

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weal of her kingdom. He was desired to confer with the lords of the council; but persisted in the same refusal<sup>47</sup>.

Jan. 10.

Jan. 12.

Jan. 13.

The bold and triumphant tone now assumed by the Scottish queen, appears to have alarmed her adversaries. It was resolved to put an end to the conferences. Murray and his associates were first licensed to depart, with a declaration, that as nothing had been proved against them to impair their honour, so they had shewn no sufficient cause, why Elizabeth "should conceive "any evil opinion against the queen her good sister." Ross and his colleagues were next called, and received an assurance that copies of the papers should be sent to Mary, whenever she would pledge herself to give to them a satisfactory answer. They replied, that such delay was unnecessary, as Mary had already given that pledge on two occasions, by writings under her own seal and signature: that if her accusers were permitted to return to Scotland, the same indulgence ought to be extended to her; and that if it were intended to detain her a captive in England, they took the present opportunity to protest in her name against the validity of any act which should be performed by her while she remained under restraint<sup>48</sup>.

Mary claims  
the victory.

During the conferences at York, Mary had maintained a decided superiority: it has been contended, that in those at Westminster she yielded the advantage to her adversaries, by refusing to plead, unless it were in the presence of the queen. Her demand has been represented as the evasion of a guilty conscience, a pitiful expedient, to avoid a trial, from which she could antici-

<sup>47</sup> Goodall, ii. 297---234. Quant a la demission de ma couronne, je vous prie de ne me plus empescher: car je suis resolvée et deliberée plus tost mourir, que de faire: et le derniere parole que je ferons en ma vie sera d'une royne d'Ecosse. Ibid. 301.

<sup>48</sup> Goodall, ii. 285. 288. 298. 305---315. Ross says, that from the time that Mary ac-

cused Murray and his associates, they became "earnest suitors to have licence to return to "Scotland without farther triall, which was "graunted unto them, but upon what conditions, colour and devises, God and their "own conscience can witness." Anderson, iii. 33.

pate nothing but conviction. To me such reasoning appears inconclusive. The claim of Mary was reasonable and just: she was not placed on an equal footing with her accusers; while they were present to produce their proofs, she was confined at a distance of more than two hundred miles, when she had to refute them; and the refusal of her request would naturally suggest a suspicion that her English sister sought not the discovery of the truth, but the condemnation of her captive. The triumph of Murray was however of short duration, and the subsequent conduct of the Scottish queen, shews that the threat of interrupting the conferences, was held out only as an inducement to Elizabeth to grant her demand. On the very day on which she received the refusal, she wrote to her commissioners, that she could not suffer the slander of Murray to pass unnoticed, and ordered them to resume the conferences by denying the charge, as far as regarded herself, and retorting it upon her accusers. From that moment she resumed the ascendancy. In proportion as she urged the prosecution of the inquiry, Murray shrunk from it. Even Elizabeth condescended to solicit a compromise. But it was then too late. Mary would submit to no conditions, till her innocence was established; and the last resource of her enemies was to send back the regent with his originals to Scotland, and to lock up the copies from the inspection of Mary and her commissioners. The victory was undoubtedly her's. It was claimed by her friends: and it appears to have been acknowledged by the chief of the English nobility, who had witnessed the whole of the proceedings<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Ross, apud Anderson, i. 80, iii. 58. When Cecil saw this passage, he wrote to Norris: "In this book a notable lie is uttered, that all the noblemen that heard her cause, did judge her innocence, and therefore made suite to her majesty, that she might marry

"with my lord of Norfolk." (Cabala, 174.) The last is not asserted by Ross: the first is, and that they wished her well to marry the duke. I suspect the bishop is correct, from the conduct of Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester.



CHAP.  
V.

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Project of  
marriage be-  
tween Mary  
and Norfolk.

The duke of Norfolk, on his return from the conferences at York, had met with a very ungracious reception from Elizabeth. Aware of the cause, he assured her, that the project of a marriage between himself and Mary, had not originated from him: that he had never given, nor would ever give, to it any encouragement. "But would you not," said she, "marry the Scottish queen, if you knew that it would tend to the tranquillity of the realm, and the safety of my person?" "Madam," replied the duke, "that woman shall never be my wife, who has been your competitor, and whose husband cannot sleep in security on his pillow." This sarcastic allusion, while it gratified the malice, lulled the suspicion of Elizabeth<sup>50</sup>. But Murray, before his departure, was careful to revive the former intrigue. He sent Robert Melville to Mary, and waited in person on the duke. To both he made the same observation: that the only expedient to secure the tranquillity of both realms, was the marriage of the Scottish queen with a protestant nobleman: and that no nobleman was so likely to win the approbation of all parties as the duke of Norfolk. The duke replied, that he could not resolve on a question of such importance, till he had ascertained the will of his sovereign: Mary, that she would give no answer, while she remained a captive. Let him restore her to her authority, and she would listen to his advice, and prove herself a forgiving and indulgent sister.

There is reason to believe that Murray, on this occasion, acted with his accustomed duplicity. He was aware that the Scottish friends of Mary had assembled on the borders to oppose his return; and that the Nortons, Markenfields, and other northern families in England, had associated to intercept him on his road through Yorkshire. He had, in reality, no inclination to support

<sup>50</sup> Haynes, 574. Murdin, 51. 180. Howell's State Trials, i. 988. Anderson, iii. 36. 41.

a measure, which would remove him from the regency : but he sought to elude the snares of his enemies ; and by this message, procured from the credulity of his sister, an order to her friends to offer no violence to him during his journey<sup>51</sup>.

The Scottish queen was then at Rippon, on her way to Tutbury. Elizabeth, having interrupted the inquiry, had resolved to imprison her in the heart of the kingdom, under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury. The foreign powers complained of such treatment of a crowned head : but in answer to their remonstrances, she boasted of her indulgence to Mary, in putting an end to the investigation, and suppressing documents, which would otherwise render her the execration of her contemporaries, and immortalize her infamy with posterity<sup>52</sup>.

Throckmorton, who no longer possessed the confidence of Cecil, but had attached himself to the earl of Leicester, was an eager partisan of the projected marriage. At his suggestion Leicester repeatedly discussed the question with the duke, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke. The proposal might flatter the ambition of Norfolk : but he remembered his promise, and feared the resentment of Elizabeth. He recommended Leicester himself as the future husband of Mary : and on the refusal of that nobleman, proposed his own brother, the lord Henry Howard. At length his consent was extorted at a meeting of the earls, with Ross the agent of Mary, and Wood the envoy of Murray ; and a common letter was written to the Scottish queen in the names of Norfolk, Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester. They proposed that she should be restored to her throne, and receive a confirmation of her claim to the succession in England on the following conditions ; she should never impugn the right of Elizabeth, or of the heirs of her body ; should conclude a perpetual

Proposed to  
her.

May.

<sup>51</sup> Murdin, 51. 54. State Trials, i. 982.

<sup>52</sup> Digges, 14.

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June.

league, offensive and defensive, with England; should allow the English reform to be established in Scotland; should receive her disobedient subjects to favour; should procure from the duke of Anjou, a renunciation of all claims, which she might have ceded to him; and, lastly, should consent to a marriage with the duke of Norfolk. On the five first points her answer was satisfactory: with respect to the last, she replied, that woful experience had taught her to prefer a single life: but she was willing to sacrifice her own feelings to their superior judgment: one thing only she required, that they should previously obtain the consent of Elizabeth: for the displeasure of her English sister at her marriage with Darnley, had been the origin of all her subsequent misfortunes <sup>53</sup>.

The secret betrayed.

When the liberation of Mary was next discussed in the English cabinet, the four lords proposed the five first articles: but they suppressed all notice of the marriage, till Maitland, who was to disclose the project to Elizabeth, should arrive from Scotland. The plan was approved; and the lord Boyd and Wood were dispatched, the former to procure the consent of the Scottish royalists, the latter that of the regent and his party. Norfolk immediately opened a secret correspondence with Mary, through the agency of the bishop of Ross. He persuaded himself that the English queen was still ignorant of the whole proceeding: but the fidelity of Leicester is doubtful, and of Wood, it is certain, that he had betrayed the secret before his departure <sup>54</sup>.

July 1.

The intrigue was now rapidly hastening to a crisis. Bothwell, by a formal instrument, had signified from Denmark his consent to a divorce to be pronounced by any competent tribunal: and the duke had engaged himself to Mary so far that, to use his own

<sup>53</sup> Camden, i. 186. Anderson, iii. 50---52. Haynes, 535. 542. 545.

<sup>54</sup> Anderson, iii. 50---55. Hardwick papers, i. 189---194.



expression, he could not recede in conscience, though he would not advance a step till Murray had removed certain impediments out of his way <sup>55</sup>. The approbation of the kings of France and Spain had been asked through their ambassadors: Cecil, though he would not promote, engaged not to oppose the project: and the consent had been obtained of the principal nobility, though some expressed an apprehension, that the duke would fall a victim to his credulity. Nothing remained but that the regent should approve the articles, and Maitland open the subject to Elizabeth. Much repugnance was anticipated on her part: but that, it was thought, might be subdued by the consentient efforts of her council and nobility <sup>56</sup>.

Murray assembled the Scottish parliament, and while he affected to speak in favour of the liberation of Mary, employed all his influence to prevent it. The articles devised by the English council, were rejected: even a motion to appoint judges, who might examine the validity of the queen's marriage with Bothwell, was negatived. Maitland saw the perfidy of the regent: as soon as his favourite plan was defeated, he began to fear for his own safety, and sought an asylum amongst the clansmen of his friend, the earl of Athol <sup>57</sup>.

An envoy, with the narrative of the proceedings of the Scottish parliament, found Elizabeth at Farnham, and it was immediately whispered among the ladies at court, that Mary and Norfolk were secretly contracted to each other <sup>58</sup>. Though Leices-

Murray opposes the plan.  
July 25.

July 25.

Elizabeth is irritated  
Aug. 15.

<sup>55</sup> Haynes, 520.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 549. Anderson, iii. 62, 63. Camden, i. 187.

<sup>57</sup> Anderson, iii. 71. Cabala, 155, 156. On this the duke remarked: "he (Murray) hath a new marke in hys eye, no lesse than a kyngdom: God send hyme suche luke as others have hade, that hath folowyd his cowerse." Haynes, 522.

<sup>58</sup> Murray informed the queen that the

Scots would not consent to the restitution of Mary in any manner. Elizabeth was displeased, for she began to wish her out of the realm, upon conditions to avoid peril. Norfolk's marriage with her might succeed, if Elizabeth would approve, says Cecil, "but I wish myself as free from the consideration thereof, as I have been from the intelligence of the devising thereof." Cabala, 169.

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ter was urged, though he promised to represent the whole matter to the queen, he delayed. Elizabeth invited the duke to dinner: and as she rose from table, advised him to beware on what pillow he should rest his head. This ominous allusion alarmed him and his friends: Leicester again promised, and again delayed: and the court proceeded to Tichfield, where Elizabeth was informed that her favourite was confined to his bed by a sudden and dangerous indisposition. She hastened to visit him: and received from him, as she sate by his bed-side, a confession, interrupted with sighs and tears, of his ingratitude and disloyalty in having without her knowledge attempted to marry her rival to one of her subjects <sup>59</sup>.

Sep. 15.

Leicester was soon forgiven by the love-sick queen: Norfolk was severely reprimanded, and forbidden on his allegiance ever more to entertain the project. He assented with cheerfulness: but soon observed, that whenever he came into the presence of the queen, she met his eye with looks of disdain and anger: that the courtiers avoided his company, and that Leicester treated him as an enemy. Hoping to mollify the queen by letters of submission and the intercession of his friends, he retired from court: as did also the earls of Arundel and Pembroke. The duke promised to return within a week: but he proceeded to London, and from London to Kenninghall in Norfolk. Thence he wrote to the queen, attributing his absence to his fear of her resentment. But suspicions of his loyalty had by this time been infused into her mind: she sent him a peremptory order to return without delay, and joined the earl of Huntingdon and the viscount Hereford, in commission with the earl of Shrewsbury, for the more secure custody of the queen of Scots <sup>60</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Camden, i. 188. Haynes, 546.

<sup>60</sup> Camden, *ibid.* Haynes, 521. Cabala, 168.

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V.

A short time before, Paris, a page concerned in the murder of Darnley, had been apprehended. Elizabeth, under the persuasion that he could make important disclosures, requested that he might be sent to London : but he was already executed, and in place of the prisoner, she received two depositions, said to have been made by him before his trial. In the first, he charged Maitland as the contriver of the plot : Argyle, Huntley, and Balfour, as accomplices ; and Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, as the supporters of Bothwell : in the second, he described Mary as privy and assenting to the murder. It was at a time when Murray sought to prevent the intrigues of Maitland in favour of the Scottish queen. Having inveigled the secretary to attend a council at Stirling, he placed him under arrest, and named a day for his trial. In this situation attempts were made to render him the accuser of Norfolk. He refused<sup>61</sup>, and Murray acted the part of a traitor. He sent the duke's letters to the queen, with a protestation respecting himself, that he had not originally devised the project, nor would ever have assented to it, had he not been compelled by motives of personal safety. Elizabeth ordered the duke, on his return to court, to be committed to the Tower, the earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke to be excluded from her presence, and the bishop of Ross, the lord Lumley, and some others, to be placed under arrest. All were subjected to that rigorous system of examination which was then in use. A series of ensnaring questions was proposed to each individual in private, and he was told that his only hope of mercy depended on the veracity of his answers. The different confessions were then compared ;

Aug. 16.

Aug. 9.

Aug. 10.

Sep. 3.

Norfolk is sent  
to the Tower.

Oct. 5.

Oct. 10.

<sup>61</sup> Laing, ii. 295—318. "He has flatly denied to me to be in any sort the accuser of the duke of Norfolk." Murray to Cecil, apud Chalmers, ii. 483. On the day of

trial his friends assembled in such numbers, that the regent put off the trial for an indeterminate period. Laing, ii. 326.



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V.

the collation suggested new questions, to explain discrepancies, to call forth additional information, and to draw the prisoners into accusations of each other. Thus the interrogatories were multiplied, till the prosecutors had sifted every suspicious circumstance, and had convinced themselves either of the guilt or of the innocence of the accused. Of the examinations on this occasion, many are still extant<sup>62</sup>; and from them it is evident that the duke and his friends entertained no traitorous or disloyal intention; though their presumption, in treating with a foreign princess on such a subject, and in such circumstances, was calculated to offend the feelings, and to disconcert the measures of their sovereign.

Conspiracy to  
Liberate Mary.

But the attention of the ministers was soon occupied by a much more alarming project. The Scottish queen had many friends in the northern counties. To men of warm and generous feelings, the spectacle of a young, a beautiful, and accomplished princess, drawn within the borders by the promises, and then imprisoned by the jealousy, of a female relative, could not fail of being an interesting object. Those who approached her, were won by the elegance of her manners, and the charms of her conversation: and all departed from her presence compassionating her misfortunes, and disposed to favour her cause<sup>63</sup>. The advocates of her right to the succession, condemned the selfish policy which sought to weaken that right by the defamation of her character; and the professors of the ancient creed looked on her as a martyr, suffering for her attachment to the faith of her

<sup>62</sup> Haynes, 534—536. 541—549.

<sup>63</sup> "If I might give advice," says White to Cecil, "there shall be verray few subjects in this land have accesse to, or conferens with this ladie. For besyd, that she is a goodly personadge (and yet in trouthe not comparable to our souverain) she hath with-

"all an alluring grace, a prety Scottishe speeche, and a serching wit clowded with myldness. Fame might move some to leve her, and glory, joined to gain, might stir others to adventure moche for hir sake." Haynes, 511.

fathers. During the summer she had received many offers of service from men, who, in the true spirit of chivalry, were willing to risk their lives and fortunes to rescue an injured queen from the power of her persecutors. These she refused, through the cautious advice of the duke of Norfolk. But the disgrace of that nobleman extinguished her hopes: the appointment of two, whom she considered as her sworn enemies, to be her keepers, agitated her with violent apprehensions for her life. She dispatched secret messages to the earl of Westmoreland, whose wife was the sister of Norfolk, and to the earl of Northumberland, who had received many affronts from the council; and through these earls to Egremont Ratcliffe, brother of the earl of Sussex, to Leonard Dacre, the uncle of the late lord Dacre, to the Nortons, Markenfields, Tempests, and all who had formerly made to her the tender of their services<sup>64</sup>. The precise terms of these messages were never ascertained: the result proves that she reminded them of their promises, and besought them to liberate her from the power of her enemies.

During the month of October an unusual ferment was visible in the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland: and the court was repeatedly alarmed with rumours of rebellion, which could never be traced to any authentic source<sup>65</sup>. The earl

Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland in arms.

<sup>64</sup> Mary said openly Cecil "was her enemy, and would cause her to be made away." Haynes, 511. She wrote to have Huntingdon and Hereford removed: the first had an interest in her death, the other had said at table the duke of Norfolk should be "cut shorter or it weare long." Murdin, 50. Both wrote in their own vindication. Haynes, 532.

<sup>65</sup> Dr. Nicholas Morton, formerly a prebendary of York, had visited the northern counties in the spring of this year. He came from Rome with the title of apostolical peniten-

tiary. The object of his mission appears to have been to impart to the catholic priests, as from the pope, those faculties and that jurisdiction which they could no longer receive in the regular manner from their bishops. Camden says that he urged the northern gentlemen to rebellion, and had been sent to inform them, that the pontiff had deposed the queen, on account of heresy: (Camden, 194.) but he could only inform them, that a bull of deposition was in preparation: for it was not signed or published till the next year. Of his activity, however, in promoting the insurrection,

CHAP.  
V.

Nov. 14.

Nov. 16.

Proclamation  
in favour of  
catholic wor-  
ship.

of Sussex communicated the information to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and was satisfied with the apparent loyalty and sincerity of their answers. In a few days his suspicions revived: they were confirmed by the refusal of the two lords to obey his invitation to York. Still Northumberland balanced between the danger to himself, and his engagement to Mary: but he was suddenly awakened from his irresolution, by a real or feigned alarm in the dead of the night, that an armed force was on its march to apprehend him at Topcliffe. He rose, and repaired in haste to the castle of Branspeth, where the earl of Westmoreland, notwithstanding the entreaties of Norfolk, had already called around him some hundreds of his friends and tenants. The next day, the banner of insurrection was unfurled <sup>66</sup>.

The real object of the insurgents was, to march to Tutbury, to liberate the queen of Scots, and to extort from Elizabeth, a declaration that Mary was next heir to the throne. But, to increase their numbers, they addressed a proclamation to all persons professing the catholic faith, calling on them to unite in this attempt to redress the national grievances, restore the ancient worship, and protect from ruin the old nobility of the realm. Much was expected from this appeal to the religious feelings of the people. "There are not," says Sadler, "in all 'this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of her

there can be little doubt. The Nortons and Markenfields were his relatives. His father and Markenfield's father had married two sisters. Strype, ii. 389.

<sup>66</sup> It appears that the leaders, before the insurrection, assembled several clergymen, and put to them the question, whether the unjust arrest, and imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk, would not justify them in taking up arms in defence of their liberties, and of the ancient

nobility of the realm. The opinions were divided. Murdin, 221. A few days before the insurrection, Northumberland and his countess went to Wentworth house. The latter sought to introduce herself in disguise as a nurse to Bastian's wife in child-bed. Had she succeeded, she meant to exchange clothes with Mary, that the latter might escape. Chalmers, from a letter in the paper office, i. 345.



“majesty’s proceedings in the cause of religion”<sup>67</sup>. Occasionally, indeed, some of them attended the established worship, that they might escape the grievous penalties threatened by the law : but this very conformity, extorted in opposition to conscience, exasperated their discontent. They saw around them examples of successful insurrection in the cause of religious liberty. The calvinists of Scotland had established their own creed, in defiance of all opposition ; the calvinists of France had thrice waged war against their own sovereign : both had been aided with men and money by the queen of England. If this were lawful to other religionists, why might not they also draw the sword, and claim the rights of conscience ?

As the insurgents advanced, they burnt the bible and the book of common prayer in the cathedral of Durham, and re-established the mass at Rippon. Their standard represented the Saviour, with blood streaming from his wounds, and was borne by Norton, an aged gentleman, whose grey locks and enthusiastic air aroused the feelings, and commanded the respect, of the beholders. On Clifford moor they mustered their forces, and held a council of war. The Spanish ambassador had informed them, that they must not look for assistance to him, but to the duke of Alva, in Flanders<sup>68</sup> : the catholic gentlemen, instead of listening to their appeal, had joined the royal banner under the earl of Sussex<sup>69</sup>, and the council had ordered two

The insurgents retreat.  
Nov. 16.

Nov. 18.

<sup>67</sup> Sadler, ii. 55. The proclamation is in Strype, i. 547. See note (Q).

<sup>68</sup> They applied both to him and the pontiff, to aid them in the restoration of the catholic worship : but their applications were too late. “Nobilitatem tuam hortamur” (says Pius to Alva) “et quo majore animi nostri studio possumus rogamus, ut, si hoc charissimi in Christo filii nostri Hispaniarum regis catholici voluntate et commodo facere

“potest, quidquid ad eas copias (of the insurgents) vel tuendas, vel augendas, vel adjuvandas conferre valet, id ne prætermittere velit.” Laderchi, iii. 230. But the records at Simancas shew, that Alva always dissuaded Philip from sending aid to the discontented in England.

<sup>69</sup> “I fynde the gentilmen of this countrey, though the most parte of them be well affected to the cause which the rebells make

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V.

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Nov. 25.

armies to be collected, one before them in the south, another in their rear to the north. They abandoned their design of liberating the queen of Scots, and with 7000 men hastened back to Raby castle. Two days later Mary was removed, for greater security, from Tutbury to the city of Coventry.

They solicit  
the aid of the  
catholic lords.  
Dec. 10.

The sudden retreat of the insurgents compelled sir George Bowes, the commander of the royalists, to throw himself into Barnard castle, which surrendered at the end of ten days. In the interval the two earls had taken possession of Hartlepool, to open a communication with the Spanish Netherlands<sup>70</sup>; and had dispatched messengers into different counties, to solicit aid from the noblemen and gentlemen, distinguished by their attachment to the ancient faith, or known to abet the cause of the queen of Scots. In their new manifesto they no longer talked of the reformation of religion, but of the necessity of determining the succession to the crown. This, they observed, had been the object of the ancient nobility of the realm: but had been defeated by the pernicious counsels of the queen's confidential advisers, who sought to maintain their own power, by taking the lives and liberties of their adversaries. Hence they had determined to oppose force to force, and committing themselves to the mercy of the Almighty, earnestly solicited the assistance of all who regarded the welfare of the realm, or the preservation of the ancient nobility. The earl of Derby was the first to apprehend the messenger, and send his letters to the queen: the example was followed by many others: and Elizabeth, affected by the loyalty of their conduct, returned thanks to God, who had given her such loving and dutiful subjects<sup>71</sup>.

Nov. 29.

" the colour of their rebellion, yet in outwarde  
" shew well affected to sarve your majestie  
" trewly against them." Sadler, Nov. 26.  
Vol. ii. 43.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 52. The surrender of Hartlepool gave great uneasiness to Cecil. Ibid. 53. 57.

<sup>71</sup> Haynes, 563---565. Murrin, 38. Camden, 194. Sadler, ii. 54. " The queen's ma-

CHAP.  
V.They flee into  
Scotland.

Nov. 18.

Dec. 12.

Dec. 16.

Dec. 21.

A month had elapsed since the insurgents first unsheathed the sword, and still Sussex, the queen's lieutenant, remained stationary at York. By many it was said that he maintained a secret correspondence with the two earls: and Elizabeth herself began to entertain suspicions of his loyalty. Sir Ralph Sadler proceeded to York with the title of treasurer of the army, to act as a spy on the conduct of the lieutenant; and a captain Styrcley was suborned to introduce himself as a friend to the earl of Westmoreland at Branspeth. Sussex however proved a loyal but cautious commander. The principal portion of his army consisted of catholic gentlemen and their tenants, whom duty or interest had ranged under the royal standard: and without additional force, he hesitated to venture a battle, the loss of which might be followed by the rising of the whole country<sup>72</sup>. On this account he waited for the arrival of the lord admiral and the earl of Warwick, who led an army of 12,000 men, raised in the southern counties: and then, keeping a day's march in advance, he proceeded towards the insurgents, whose force was daily diminished by desertion, and whose expectations had been disappointed by the apathy of the catholics, and the indolence of the duke of Alva. A pretended friend warned them of the approach of the royalists, whom he represented as 30,000 strong: all idea of resistance was abandoned: they retired from Branspeth to Hexham: the footmen dispersed: the horse, about five hundred men, hastened to Naworth castle, and from Naworth, fled across the borders into Liddisdale, escorted by their allies, three hundred Scottish horse, the partisans of Mary<sup>73</sup>.

"jesty hath had a notable tryal of her whole realm and subjects in this time, wherein she hath had service readily of all sorts, without respect of religion;" Cecil to Norris. Cabala, 180.

<sup>72</sup> Sadler, ii. 42. 73. 78. Haynes, 553. 558. 569. I suspect, that the spy captain Styrcley,

was the same person as is called captain Shurley in Norton's speech at his execution. If so, he appears to have been an active agent in plotting the rebellion. Norton declared that "he was the cause of his death." Howell's State Trials, i. 1085.

<sup>73</sup> Sadler, ii. 63, 64. Cabala, 170, 171.



CHAP.  
V.

## Executions.

It was in vain that Elizabeth demanded the immediate surrender of the fugitives. Murray, by threats and money, prevailed on Hector Græme, of Harlow, to give up the earl of Northumberland: yet he did not dare to send the captive to England, but confined him in the castle of Lochleven. The countess, with the earl of Westmoreland, Ratcliff, Norton, Markensfield, Swinburn, Tempest, and the other exiles, were safe under the protection of the border clans of Hume, Scot, Kerr, Maxwell, and Johnstone, whose chiefs set at defiance the authority of the regent, and the threats of the English queen<sup>74</sup>. These, in a short time, were all safely conveyed to the continent: but their unfortunate followers in England felt the whole weight of the royal vengeance. All who possessed lands, or chattels, were reserved for trial, that the forfeitures, consequent on their attainders, might indemnify the queen for the expenses of the campaign: the poorer classes were abandoned to the execution of martial law; and between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district of sixty miles in length, and forty in breadth, there was not a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not expire on the gibbet. The survivors were at length pardoned, but on condition that they should take not only the oath of allegiance, but also that of supremacy<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Cabala, 171. Haynes, 373. Lodge, ii. 28. Sadler, ii. 95. 101. A letter from Constable, a spy, gives an interesting account of the borderers. "At supper I hard vox populi, that the lord regent would not for his owne honor, nor for th'onor of his country, deliver th'earls, if he had them both, unless it were to have there quene delivered to him, and if he would agre to make that change, the borderers would stirt up in his contrary, and rescue both the quene and the lords from him: for the like shame was never done in Scotland: and that he durst better eate his own luggs than come again to sake

"Farnierst. Hector of Th'arlowe's (he had betrayed Northumberland) head was wished to be eaten among us at supper." Sadler, ii. 118. If we believe Ross, Murray had actually made the offer of exchange by two successive messengers; but Ross, with the foreign ambassadors, prevented it by their remonstrances. Anderson, iii. 83, 84.

<sup>75</sup> Strype, 552. Stow, 664. The bishop of Durham writes, that in that county the sheriff cannot procure juries, "the number of offenders is so grete, that few innocent are left to trie the gilty." Sadler, ii. 95, note.

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V.Queen's pro-  
clamation.

When the queen's lieutenant had taken ample vengeance on the rebels, she was advised to publish a proclamation, declaratory of her past proceedings and present intentions. In it, she observed, that many had been drawn into rebellion by false assertions of designing men, who attributed to her an intention of persecuting for religious opinions. She therefore declared, that she claimed no other ecclesiastical authority than had been due to her predecessors: that she pretended no right to define articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies, formerly adopted by the catholic and apostolic church, or to minister the word or the sacraments of God: but that she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule, should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion, to see all laws, ordained for that end, duly observed, and to provide that the church be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops, and ministers. Moreover, to do away all doubts arising from false reports, she assured her people that she meant not to molest them for religious opinions, provided they did not gainsay the scriptures, or the creed apostolic and catholic, nor for matters of religious ceremony, as long as they should outwardly conform to the laws of the realm, which enforced the frequentation of divine service in the ordinary churches<sup>76</sup>.

No one had been more deeply implicated in the project for the liberation of Mary than Leonard Dacre, the male representative of the noble family of the Dacres of Gillsland. At the commencement of the rebellion he left the court to raise men, avowedly for the service of Elizabeth, but with the intention of joining the two earls. Their disorderly flight from Hexham to Naworth, convinced him that the cause was desperate. He

Rising of Leo-  
nard Dacre.<sup>76</sup> Haynes, 501. See note (Q).

CHAP.  
V.

1570.  
Jan. 18.

Feb. 22.

Inroads across  
the borders.

1570.  
Jan. 23.

hung upon their rear, made a number of prisoners, and obtained among his neighbours the praise of distinguished loyalty<sup>77</sup>.

But the council was better acquainted with his real character ; and the earl of Sussex received orders to apprehend him secretly, on a charge of high treason. This probably was the cause that we find him, within the space of a month, braving, single handed, the authority of his sovereign. At his call, three thousand English borderers ranged themselves under the scollops-shells, the well-known banner of the Dacres. They met the royal army, commanded by lord Hunsdon, on the banks of the river Gelt. Leonard displayed, in the battle, the courage of a warrior and the abilities of a leader ; and though he was defeated, his opponent had not to boast of an easy or bloodless victory. He found an asylum first in Scotland, and afterwards in Flanders<sup>78</sup>.

It is probable that the hopes of Dacre were excited by the intelligence received from Scotland. Murray had fallen a victim to private vengeance : he had been shot in the streets of Linlithgow by Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, whose wife had lost her reason, in consequence of the treatment which she had received from a retainer of the regent. This bloody deed was hailed as a victory by the friends of the Scottish queen. That very night the lairds of Ferniherst and Buccleugh, to display their joy, crossed the English borders in hostile array : the duke of Chastelherault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, assumed the government, as the lieutenants of Mary. Kirkaldy admitted them into the capital ; and the cause of the Scottish queen obtained a temporary ascendancy over that of her opponents. But Elizabeth, under the pretence of punishing those who had

<sup>77</sup> Cabala, 171. Sadler, ii, 114.

<sup>78</sup> Sadler, ii. 140. Camden, i. 197.



CHAP.  
V.

Ap. 17.

May 4.

Excommuni-  
cation of Eli-  
zabeth.1559.  
May 5.

invaded her dominions, and offered an asylum to her rebels, ordered the lord Scroop to enter Scotland on the western, the earl of Sussex on the eastern coast. The clans of the Johnstones, Kerrs, and Scots, saw their lands wasted, their houses and fortresses given to the flames: Hume castle and Falscastle, the property of the lord Hume, were taken, and garrisoned with Englishmen; and the earl of Morton, the chief among the king's lords, aided by his foreign allies, ravaged without mercy the domains of the Hamiltons, the Livingstons, and the other adherents of the captive queen. They were saved from utter ruin by the importunities of the French ambassador and of the bishop of Ross. Elizabeth recalled her forces: she even appeared to waver between the choice of a successor to Murray, and the liberation of Mary: but the escape of the English rebels from Scotland to Flanders, rekindled her resentment; she signified her willingness, that Morton and his friends should elect a regent; and Lennox, the grandfather of the young king, was, at the royal recommendation, raised to that dignity<sup>79</sup>.

In narrating these events, the consequences of the detention of Mary in England, I have omitted several insulated occurrences, to which it will now be necessary to call the attention of the reader.—1<sup>o</sup>. When Pius IV. ascended the papal throne, he had sought by letters and messengers to recal Elizabeth to the communion of the Roman church, and afterwards invited her, like other princes, to send ambassadors to the council at Trent<sup>80</sup>.

The opening of the council had not been notified to Elizabeth: it was not a free christian council: her predecessors had always refused access to papal messengers, when they thought proper. She would refuse now, because his presence might cause disturbance in the realm. Pallavicino, ii. 620. Camden, 84. Strype, i. 113.

<sup>79</sup> Cabala, 171. 174—178. Lodge, ii. 42. Anderson, iii. 90—96.

<sup>80</sup> Parpalia, whom she knew, was the first messenger (Camden, 72); the second, with the invitation, was Martinengo. He solicited a passport, through the Spanish ambassador. On May 1, 1560, a council was held, and the passport was refused for these reasons:

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V.

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The attempt was fruitless : but, though her obstinacy might provoke, his prudence taught him to suppress, his resentment. To the more fervid zeal of his successor Pius V. such caution appeared a dereliction of duty. Elizabeth had by her conduct proclaimed herself the determined adversary of the catholic cause in every part of Europe : she had supported rebels against their catholic sovereigns in the neighbouring kingdoms ; and had, in defiance of justice and decency, thrown into prison the fugitive queen of Scots, the last hope of the British catholics. The pontiff considered himself bound to seek the deliverance of the captive princess ; he represented to the kings of France and Spain that honour, and interest, and religion, called on them to rescue Mary from imprisonment and death : and the moment he knew that Elizabeth had committed the cognisance of her cause to the commissioners at York and Westminster, he ordered the auditor Riario to commence proceedings against the English queen in the papal court. In the act of accusation it was asserted, that Elizabeth had assumed the title of head of the church, deposed and imprisoned the canonical bishops, and instituted schismatical prelates in their sees ; that, rejecting the ancient worship, she had supported a new worship, and received the sacrament after the manner of heretics ; and that she had chosen known heretics for the lords of her council, and had imposed an oath derogatory from the rights of the holy see. In proof of these charges were taken the depositions of twelve Englishmen, exiles for their religion<sup>81</sup>, and, after several months, the judges pronounced their opinion that she had incurred the canonical penalties of heresy. A bull was prepared, in which

<sup>81</sup> The witnesses were Goldwell, the deprived bishop of St. Asaph, Shelley, prior of St. John's, Clennock, bishop elect of Bangor, Morton, prebendary of York, Henshaw, rec-

tor of Lincoln college, Daniel, dean of Hereford, Bromborough, Hall, and Kirton, doctors of divinity, and three others. Becchetti, xii. 105.

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V.

the pope, after an enumeration of her offences, was made to pronounce her guilty of heresy, to deprive her of her “pretended” right to the crown of England, and to absolve her English subjects from their allegiance. Still, forcible objections were urged against the proceeding; and Pius himself hesitated to confirm it with his signature. At length the intelligence arrived of the failure of the insurrection: it was followed by an account of the severe punishment inflicted on the northern catholics, of whom no fewer than eight hundred were said to have perished by the hands of the executioners: and the pontiff, on the 25th of February, signed the bull, and ordered its publication. Several copies were sent to the duke of Alva, with a request that he would make them known in the sea-ports of the Netherlands; and by the duke some of these were forwarded to the Spanish ambassador in England<sup>82</sup>. Early in the morning of the fifteenth of May, one was seen affixed to the gates of the bishop of London’s residence in the capital. The council was surprised and irritated: a rigorous search was made through the inns of law; and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln’s inn, who acknowledged, on the rack, that he had received it from a person of the name of Felton. Felton resided near Southwark, a gentleman of large property and considerable acquirements; but his temper was ungovernable, and his attachment to the creed of his fathers approached to enthusiasm. On his apprehension he boldly confessed, that he had set up the bull; refused, even under torture, to disclose the names of his accomplices and abettors; and suffered the death of a traitor, glorying in the deed, and proclaiming himself a martyr to the papal supremacy. But, though he gave the queen on the scaffold no other title than that of the pretender, he asked

1570.  
Feb. 25.

Mar. 30.

Daring ac-  
tion of Felton.  
May 15.

Aug. 8.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 107.



CHAP.  
V.

her pardon, if he had injured her; and in token that he bore her no malice, sent her as a present, by the earl of Sussex, a diamond ring, which he drew from his finger, of the value of four hundred pounds<sup>83</sup>.

Elizabeth  
seeks its revo-  
cation.

If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by, when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence: among the English catholics, it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by incompetent authority: others that it could not bind the natives, till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power: all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a source of considerable uneasiness and alarm. She persuaded herself that it was connected with some plan of foreign invasion, and domestic treason<sup>84</sup>. She complained of it by her ambassadors as an insult to the majesty of sovereigns: and she requested the emperor Maximilian to procure its revo-

<sup>83</sup> Camden, 211—215. Bridgewater, 42. Dodd, ii. 157. The government account of his execution, makes him repent of the fact. It is in Howell's State Trials, i. 1085. His wife, who had been maid of honour to Mary, and a friend of Elizabeth, had till her death a licence to keep a priest for her own family. Felton had obtained the copies of the bull from the chaplain of the Spanish Ambassador, who immediately left the kingdom. Becchetti, 107.

<sup>84</sup> A conspiracy was detected in Norfolk, about the same time when Felton set up the bull: but there does not appear any connexion between the two. Three gentlemen were accused of a design to invite Leicester, Cecil,

and Bacon, to dinner, to seize them as hostages for the duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and to expel the foreign protestants, who had lately been settled in the county. They had a proclamation ready, inveighing against the wantonness of the court, and the influence of new men. (Camd. 215. Lodge, ii. 46.) Soon afterwards lord Morley retired to the continent. It was supposed, that he scrupled to acknowledge the queen after the publication of the bull, and the earl of Southampton requested to have, on the subject, the opinion of the bishop of Ross, who replied, that there could be no difficulty; such bulls must, before they could bind,

cation. To the solicitations of that prince, Pius answered by asking, whether Elizabeth deemed the sentence valid or invalid. If valid, why did she not seek a reconciliation with the holy see? if invalid, why did she wish it to be revoked? As for the threat of personal revenge, which she held out, he despised it. He had done his duty, and was ready to shed his blood in the cause<sup>85</sup>.

2<sup>o</sup>. If, however, the kings of France and Spain refused to avail themselves of the papal bull, it was not because they had received no cause of provocation. The English ministers persisted in their former policy. That they might occupy these powerful princes at home, they continually urged the reformers in France and the Netherlands to take up arms, and aided their efforts sometimes covertly with money, sometimes more openly by actual hostilities. The discontent in the Netherlands was at first common to both catholics and protestants. The natives had for centuries grown in wealth and population under the mild and paternal government of the dukes of Burgundy : but the rights and franchises which they claimed, accorded not with the arbitrary notions of their present sovereign, Philip of Spain : nor was it long before every class of men began to remonstrate : the nobility, that they had been deprived of their constitutional weight in the state ; the clergy, that the most opulent abbeys, hitherto possessed by natives, had been dissolved to found bishoprics, which were bestowed on strangers ; the reformers, that they were the victims of a sanguinary persecution ; and the laymen of both persuasions. that their best and dearest privileges were invaded by the illegal proceedings of a new tri-

CHAP.  
V.

1571.  
Jan. 5.

Rebellion in  
the Nether-  
lands.

be put in execution, and that depended on foreign princes, not on private individuals. Murdin, 30. 40. It appears, however, that Morley left the kingdom on another account :

to escape the prosecutions with which he was threatened for having assisted at mass. Haynes, 604, 605. 622.

<sup>85</sup> Becchetti, xii. 107, 108.

CHAP.

V.

1566.

April.

bunal, formed after the model of the Spanish inquisition. To put down this odious institution, both catholics and protestants bound themselves to each other by the most solemn engagements. The compromise, such was the name which they gave to the league, alarmed the duchess of Parma, the governess of the provinces; she commanded the inquisitors to suspend their proceedings, and the reformers, looking on this concession as a victory, rose in arms for the purpose, as they pretended, of extirpating idolatry, plundered the churches, murdered the priests, and drove the monks and nuns from their convents. Though the duchess, blending firmness with conciliation, had been able to suppress this ebullition of popular fanaticism, Philip deemed her unequal to the task of supporting the sovereign authority in such turbulent times: and chose for her successor Alvarez, duke of Alva, whose principles of passive obedience had recommended him to the favour of the king, and whose military renown struck terror into the hearts of the factious. The men who had been, if not the ostensible leaders, at least the secret abettors, of the preceding troubles, were William, prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn; all three making open profession of the catholic creed, though the former, if he had any religion at all, was in heart a protestant. The prince, anticipating the vengeance of the king, had stolen away to his principality of Nassau. Egmont and Horn awaited the arrival of Alva. The duke entered the Netherlands at the head of fourteen thousand men: in the presence of this force the spirit of opposition melted away: the former edicts were confirmed by others still more rigorous: the penalties of treason were denounced against all who had framed the compromise, or insulted the religion and authority of their sovereign: and the two counts, in consequence of orders received from Philip, were apprehended and imprisoned.

1567.

April.

Aug.



CHAP.

V.

New civil war  
in France.

3°. The prince of Orange had long been secretly connected with the prince of Condé, and the other protestant leaders in France, who all believed, or affected to believe, that at the interview between the French and Spanish courts at Bayonne, a league had been formed by the catholic princes for the extirpation, first of the protestants in France, and then of the protestants in other countries. Of this league no satisfactory evidence has ever been produced<sup>86</sup>: but the opinion of its existence served the purpose of those who framed the report, as effectually as if it had been real. Assuming the arrival of the duke of Alva as the first step in the plan, Condé called a meeting of the French protestants; in which it was resolved to anticipate their enemies, by surprising the court at Monceaux. The project was, however, discovered, and the king escaped with difficulty to Paris, in the midst of a body of Swiss infantry, who, marching in a square, repulsed every charge of the huguenot cavalry. The English ambassador, Norris, had been deeply implicated in the arrangement of this atrocious, and, in reality, unprovoked attempt: but though the queen, as a sovereign, condemned the outrage, Cecil required Norris to “comfort” the insurgents, and exhort them to persevere<sup>87</sup>. Thus a new civil and religious war was lighted up in the heart of France: the king found himself besieged in his capital: and if the insurgents

Sept. 28.

Nov. 3.

Nov. 10.

<sup>86</sup> The meeting was solicited by the king of France, and reluctantly acceded to by Philip. That monarch was not present himself, but sent the duke of Alva with his wife: whom he forbade to contract any engagement, without his knowledge and assent. What passed between the parties was never known; and, the only account that can be relied upon, is given by Strada, out of a letter from Philip to the archduchess Margaret. He informed her, that the French monarch professed a deter-

mination to support the catholic faith; that several marriages were proposed by the queen mother, but not concluded; and that, on account of the embassy of the sultan to Charles, it was proposed to him to exchange his alliance with the Turk for one with Spain. Strada, l. iv. Anno 1565. See also a dissertation by Griffet, in Daniel, x. 357.

<sup>87</sup> Cabala, 143. Davila, 200. Castelnau, l. vi. c. 4.

CHAP.  
V.

1568.  
Mar. 10.

May.

June 5.

Aug.

Nov.

Seizure of  
money going  
to the duke of  
Alva.

were defeated in the battle of St. Denis, the advantage was dearly purchased with the death of the constable Montmorenci. A short pacification was concluded in the spring<sup>88</sup>; but the interval was employed by the huguenots to carry the flames of war into the Netherlands; and three thousand French protestants joined the prince of Orange, who had now openly embraced the reformed faith, and had undertaken to expel the Spaniards from Belgium. He sent before him his brother Louis of Nassau, who penetrated into the province of Groningen. At first a partial victory cheered him with the hope of more decisive success: but Alva marched against him with expedition, burst into his intrenchments, and dispersed his army. A few days later Orange, with twenty thousand men, crossed the Rhine. But it was in vain that the prince offered battle to his wary antagonist: that he encamped and decamped nine-and-twenty times: the vigilance of the duke was not to be surprised: and want, mutiny, and desertion, compelled the prince to recross the borders, and to disband his army<sup>89</sup>.

During these transactions, Elizabeth's ministers had practised their usual policy. In secret they aided the prince of Orange: publicly they maintained the relations of amity with the Spanish monarch<sup>90</sup>. Many of the troops that invaded the Netherlands, had been raised at the instigation of the English agents abroad:

<sup>88</sup> Benoit, 38. Davila, 224.

<sup>89</sup> Meteren, 79. Strada, ll. ii. Bentivoglio, 86. 91.

<sup>90</sup> Mann was at this time ambassador at the court of Spain. In the beginning of 1568, he was "secluded from the use of his office, and removed to a village called Bannias, two leagues from Madrid." In June, the queen sent for him home. (Murdin, 764, 765.) The cause of this treatment was given out to be the irreverent language which he had used in speaking of the pope. (Camden, 175.) I suspect there was another secret and more

important reason. It was at the time of the incarceration of the unfortunate Don Carlos, the son of Philip, whose real history will not be known till the Spanish government shall have allowed the publication of the records in Simancas. From them it will appear, that the prince was charged not only with a design to murder his father, but also with having entered into a treasonable negotiation with the English cabinet. In such circumstances it will not appear surprising, if Mann became an object of jealousy to Philip.

many had been paid with English money. But chance supplied an easy means of inflicting a more severe wound on the Spanish interest in Belgium. A squadron of five sail, laden with specie, for the payment of the royal forces, had sailed from Spain: and, to escape a hostile fleet belonging to the prince of Condé, had taken refuge in the English ports. After some hesitation, it was determined to seize the money for the use of the queen, on pretence that it belonged to certain Italian bankers, who had exported it on speculation, and might receive from Elizabeth as high interest, and as certain security, as they could obtain in other countries. The remonstrances of the Spanish minister were treated with contempt. But the duke, to revenge himself, seized the goods, and imprisoned the persons, of the English merchants in Flanders: and Elizabeth retaliated on the goods and persons of the Flemish merchants in England. To justify or excuse this proceeding, letters were sent to Philip, who deemed it prudent to connive at what it was not his present interest to resent: but the commerce between the two countries was interrupted; and captures to the prejudice of the merchants were reciprocally made at sea by the Flemish and English cruisers<sup>91</sup>.

Nov. 19.

1569.  
June 18.

The princes of Orange and Condé had constantly acted in concert: and the former had no sooner retreated from Belgium, than the flames of war burst out for the third time in the heart of France. Each party laid the blame on the perfidy of the other: and both the king and the prince sought to strengthen themselves with the aid of foreign powers. Condé, not content with the promises of the prince of Orange, and the offers of the duke of Deuxponts, dispatched Chastillon, and afterwards Cavagnes, into England. But the disgraceful termination of her

Support given  
to French hu-  
guenots.

Sep. 17.

<sup>91</sup> Cabala, 158. 160. Murdin, 766. Camden, 175. Haynes, 501.



CHAP.  
V.

Oct. 6.

former attempt in France had taught Elizabeth a useful lesson ; and to overcome her repugnance to join in the present war, it was observed to her, that the cause of the French protestants was her own : that the moment they should be subdued, the queen of Scots would be recognised, by the catholic powers, as queen of England : that she had already transferred her right to the duke of Anjou ; that the pope had granted him the investiture of the kingdom ; and, what ought to remove every doubt, the command of the army, which should invade England, had been already offered to Condé <sup>92</sup>. What credit the queen gave to these fables, is uncertain : but she consented to aid the prince with twenty thousand pounds, and a certain quantity of military stores, and to receive, in return, salt and wine to the same value. The king of France complained that England supplied the wants of his rebellious subjects, and that Norris, the ambassador, was one of the chief instigators of the troubles within his dominions. But the ingenuity of Cecil supplied him with evasions : and Norris was exhorted to persevere in defiance of the remonstrances and threats of the French monarch. The cause of the insurgents met, however, with repeated disappointments. Condé fell in the battle of Jarnac : Dandelot died of an infectious fever : and the admiral Coligni, the chief hope of the huguenots, was defeated by the duke of Anjou, at Montcontour. From this period, the queen of England ceased not to exhort both parties to sheath the sword ; and a third edict of pacification was published in the course of the following year <sup>93</sup>.

1569.  
Mar. 14.  
Oct. 3.

1570.  
Aug. 5.

How far such perpetual interference of the English government in the internal concerns of foreign states could be justified

<sup>92</sup> Haynes, 474. The story of the transfer was denied both by Mary and Anjou. Much inquiry was made into it. Cabala, 163, 164.

<sup>93</sup> Cabala, 152. 154, 155. 165. Murdin, 766.

by the apprehension of future danger, I shall not stop to inquire : but Elizabeth could have no reason to complain, if, after what had passed, the French and Spanish kings should convert her own policy against herself. Hitherto, indeed, they deemed it prudent to dissemble, that they might not, by open hostility, compel her to make common cause with their discontented subjects : but they cherished the recollection of the injuries which they had received, and trusted that the day would come, when they should be able to take just and ample revenge<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Dissimulare malebat ne ludibrio esset, ira Greg. XIII. 235.  
in tempus dilata. Bomplani Pontificatus

## CHAP. VI.

## ELIZABETH.

CONSULTATIONS RESPECTING THE SCOTTISH QUEEN—PENAL LAWS AGAINST THE CATHOLICS—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE PURITANS—DETECTION OF A CONSPIRACY—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE—CIVIL WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS—THE DUKE OF ANJOU ACCEPTS THE SOVEREIGNTY—VISITS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND—THEY PROMISE TO MARRY EACH OTHER—HIS DEPARTURE AND DEATH—AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

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VI.

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Consultation  
respecting  
Mary Stuart.

**M**ORE than two years had elapsed since the arrival of Mary in England: and she was still a captive, still her fate was held in suspense. To indifferent persons, her detention appeared a most cruel and arbitrary measure: by the counsellors of Elizabeth, it was justified on the ground of expediency. They saw that her right to the succession was generally admitted. Should



she survive their mistress, they could anticipate nothing but danger to themselves from her resentment, and danger to the reformed church from her attachment to the ancient worship. It was moreover known, that in the estimation of many she had a better claim to the present possession of the crown than Elizabeth herself. If a favourable opportunity were to offer, could it be doubted that the kings of France and Spain, in revenge of the injuries which they had received, and the catholics of England, to relieve themselves from the pressure of persecuting laws, would unite and place her on the English throne? In their opinion, the very existence of the government, and of the established worship, was at stake <sup>1</sup>.

The shortest and most certain expedient was to go boldly to the root of the evil, and by the death of Mary, to extinguish at once the hopes and the designs of her partisans. This, during several years, was strongly and repeatedly urged by some of the council <sup>2</sup>. If it was rejected by Elizabeth, her repugnance arose less from motives of humanity, than of decency. She was willing that Mary should perish, but was ashamed to embrace her own hands in the blood of a sister queen. Hence she offered to transfer the royal captive to the hands of the Scottish regent, provided he would give security that she should be removed out of the way: and hence the earl of Shrewsbury was made to engage, that Mary should be put to death on the very first attempt to rescue her from his custody <sup>3</sup>.

First plan to  
put her to  
death.

In the supposition that the Scottish queen were suffered to live, the marriage of Elizabeth into the royal house of France

Second to pro-  
vide against  
her claims.

<sup>1</sup> Such apprehensions perpetually occur in the State Papers of this reign. "Our chief object," says Leicester, "are these two things; that the queen may be preserved in safety, and the true religion maintained as-

"suredly." 51.

<sup>2</sup> See Digges, 203. 263. 268. 269. 276. Part of Leicester's letter in Murdin (231.) refers to the same subject.

<sup>3</sup> Murdin, 224. Lodge, ii. 96.

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had been suggested by Cecil, and was supported by the earl of Sussex<sup>4</sup>. If she had issue, Mary would cease to be the presumptive heir: if she had none, the French monarch would still have a strong interest in maintaining Elizabeth on the throne. Leicester and Hatton, the queen's minions, as they were called, advocated the same opinion in public: in private they whispered, so at least it was said, very different sentiments into the royal ear<sup>5</sup>.

There was another party, consisting of Bromley, Mildmay, Sadler, and Sidney, who ridiculed the dangers apprehended by their colleagues, and maintained that the queen, by persevering in the conduct which she had hitherto observed, might continue to reign with equal safety and glory. She had only to keep down the discontented at home by the severity of the laws, and to occupy the attention of her enemies abroad by preserving alive the spirit of revolt in their dominions; and she would still be the terror of her own subjects, and the arbitress of the neighbouring powers<sup>6</sup>. In this opinion the other two parties, as long as they could not carry their favourite projects, concurred. But experience proved, that they had to treat with a fickle and obstinate woman, who was swayed as much by passion as by reason; and who, in a sudden fit of pride, or terror, or parsimony, would often break all their measures, and reject their advice.

Negotiation  
with her.

In the autumn of 1570, the solicitations of Mary, the attempts of her friends in England<sup>7</sup>, and the remonstrances of the French and Spanish monarchs, extorted from Elizabeth a promise to fix

<sup>4</sup> See his opinion at length in Lodge, ii. 177—186.

<sup>5</sup> Digges, 343. Camden, 276. 322. 329. Lodge, ii. 184.

<sup>6</sup> Murdin, 326, 327. 833, 334. Sadler, ii. 563.

<sup>7</sup> Several persons undertook to liberate her

from her captivity, among whom were sir Thomas Stanley and sir Edward Stanley, younger sons of the earl of Derby, sir Henry Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, sir Thomas Gerard, Rolleston, Hall, Owen and others. Camden, 216. Murdin, 20—22. 35.

the conditions, on which her captive might at last be restored to liberty. For this purpose, Cecil and Mildmay repaired to Chatsworth, the prison of the Scottish queen<sup>8</sup>. During the negociation, which continued a fortnight, that princess proved herself a match for these wily and experienced statesmen: but the necessity of her situation compelled her to yield in a manner to all their demands, and to throw herself on the mercy of her English sister, with respect to those points which bore the hardest on her maternal and religious feelings. Elizabeth professed to be satisfied: the only thing wanting to a complete accord, was the assent of the two parties in Scotland, called the king's and the queen's lords<sup>9</sup>. Their commissioners arrived in London. The first, with Morton at their head, read to Elizabeth, in defence of their proceedings, a long lecture on the abstract right of subjects to depose immoral or lawless sovereigns: a most uncourtly doctrine, to which she listened with an evil grace, and answered with expressions of displeasure. With those of the latter, the chief subjects of discussion were the securities to be given by the queen of Scots: a discussion which was protracted from day to day by the usual irresolution of Elizabeth. On the

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Oct. 1.

1571.  
Feb. 11.  
Feb. 28.

Mar. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Cecil did not like the appointment. "I am thrown into a maze, that I know not how to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mildmay and I are sent to the Scottish queen. God be our guide: for neither of us like the message." Cabala, 179.

<sup>9</sup> One of the most singular propositions submitted to Mary was, that she should forbear all claim to the crown of England, whilst "the queen's majestie and *any issue* to come of her body shall live," so that the queen of Scots should not be deprived of any right of hers "yf God should not give to the queenis majestie *any issue* of her bodye to have continuance." Mary consented, but on condition that in both places the word "lawful" should be inserted before "issue." To this

the commissioners demurred: and after a debate of some days it was allowed to stand thus, "any issue by any lawful husband." Haynes, 608. 614. It is remarkable that Elizabeth would never allow the expression, "heirs lawfully to be begotten," used in the statute of the first of her reign, to be employed afterwards, but substituted in its place the "natural issue of her body:" and the more remarkable, because she knew of a scandalous report that she had already had two children by Leicester. Only the last August a gentleman, named Marsham, had been tried at Norfolk, for saying, "that my lord of Leicester had ii childerne by the queene; and was condemned to lowse bothe his eares, or ells pay c<sup>d</sup> presently." Lodge, ii. 47.



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Feb. 26.

one hand, she feared to restore to her crown a princess, whom she had so deeply injured : on the other, she deemed it dangerous and disgraceful to sanction, by her authority, the democratic doctrine of the king's lords. She balanced so long between the two extremes, that her favourite counsellors could not divine the result<sup>10</sup> : she was rescued from this state of suspense by the policy of Cecil, whom she had lately raised to the peerage by the title of baron Burleigh.

Unexpectedly  
interrupted.

Mar. 26.

The reader will have observed, that in general Elizabeth affected a rooted antipathy to the state of marriage. By some it was ascribed to a resolution never to divide her authority with a husband ; by others, to a consciousness of some natural defect ; and by a third party, to an unwillingness to be restrained in the enjoyment of her pleasures. Now, however, she listened with apparent pleasure to the suggestion of a marriage with the duke of Anjou : her ambassador received orders to entertain the project, without appearing too anxious for its success : and, in proportion as the prospect grew more flattering, it was observed that the queen's wish for an accord with Mary, gradually cooled. Her counsellors seized the opportunity to break off the conferences. The commissioners, on the part of the young king, were remanded, on the ground that they had come without sufficient powers : those of Mary were dismissed, with a recommendation to be ready against the return of their adversaries. The whole was an artifice to gain time : if the marriage with Anjou should take place, no accord with Mary would be requisite ; if it did not, the treaty might be renewed at the will of Elizabeth<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> "Believe me," says Leicester, "whatever you may hear, there is no man in England can tell you, which way it will go." Digges, 57.

<sup>11</sup> In a letter of April 8th, Elizabeth is made to inform Walsingham, that when she minded to make a final end of the business,

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VI.Acts of parliament.  
April 2.

Scarcely were the commissioners departed, when the parliament commenced. The late occurrences, the rebellion in the north, the publication of the papal bull, and the unlicensed departure from England of the lord Morley and several other gentlemen, suggested to the ministers several new enactments, which had for their chief object to check the boldness of the partisans of Mary, and to cut off the communication between the English catholics and the court of Rome. The first bill was divided into two parts. By one it was proposed to make it treason in any individual to claim a right to the crown during the queen's life; or to assert that it belonged to any other person than the queen; or to publish that she was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper; or to deny that the descent and inheritance of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament: by the other to punish, with one year's imprisonment for the first offence, and with the penalty of præmunire for the second, all persons who should by writing or printing affirm, that any one particular person was the heir of the queen, except the same were "the natural issue of her body"<sup>12</sup>. Another bill enacted the penalties of treason against all persons who should sue for, obtain, or put in ure any bull, writing or instrument from the bishop of Rome, or absolve or be absolved in virtue of such bulls

Against the  
catholics.

"she found that the earl of Morton and his colleagues had no sufficient commission: they therefore go home to obtain one, which done, she trusts shortly to make an end of the controversy." Digges, 77. Yet all this is a tissue of falsehood. At the very commencement Morton informed the council, Feb. 19, that he had no power to negotiate respecting the restoration of Mary to the royal authority. (Haynes, 623.) And Cecil, on March 24, and April 7th, told Walsingham, "that it was only devised to win delay:" and therefore "he must make the best of it, and seek out reasons to satisfy the French court."

Digges, 67. 78.

<sup>12</sup> *Incredibile est quos jocos improbi verborum aucupes sibi fecerunt ex clausula illa præter naturalem ex ipsius corpore sobolem.* Camden, 241. The next year she was troubled with fits, which gave rise to conjectures and reports. "I assure you," says Leicester to Walsingham, "it is not as has been reported. Somewhat, indeed, her majesty hath been troubled with a spice or shew of the mother, but indeed not so. The fits that she hath had, hath not been above a quarter of an hour: and yet this little hath bred strange brutes here at home." Digges, 288.

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or writings<sup>13</sup>; and the penalties of præmunire against their aiders and abettors, and all others who should introduce, or receive the things called agnus Dei, and crosses, pictures or beads blessed by the bishop of Rome, or others deriving their authority from him: a third compelled all individuals above a certain age, not only to attend the established service, but also to receive the communion after the new form: and a fourth ordered every person who had left, or who should leave the realm, either with or without licence, to return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the penalty of forfeiting his goods and chattels, and the profits of his lands during life to the use of the queen. These bills diffused the most serious alarm through the whole body of the catholics. It was evident that the ministers sought the total extinction of the ancient faith. The catholic lords, a large portion of the house, assembled: they complained that, if the bills passed, they could neither remain within the kingdom, without offence to their consciences, nor leave it without the sacrifice of their fortunes: and they determined to wait in a body on the queen, and present to her a strong but respectful remonstrance. This project was, however, abandoned: but at the same time, the bill respecting the frequentation of communion, the most harassing in its probable consequences, was dropped. The other three passed the two houses, and received the royal assent<sup>14</sup>.

The queen's  
antipathy to  
the puritans.

But in addition to the catholics, there was another class of religionists, that gave the queen perpetual cause of disquietude. These were the puritans; they derived their origin from some

<sup>13</sup> At the last Norfolk assizes three gentlemen were "condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with the losse of all their goods and lands during their lives, for reconciliation," Lodge, ii. 46. A man was said

to be reconciled, who, after he had gone to the new service, returned to the catholic worship, and received absolution. This religious offence by the new statute was made high treason.

<sup>14</sup> St. 13 Eliz. c. 2.



of the exiled ministers, who, during the reign of Mary, had imbibed the opinions of Calvin, and on their return urged the queen to a further reformation. They approved of much that had been done: but they also complained that many things had been left untouched, to which they could not accommodate their consciences. They objected to the superiority of the bishops, and the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts; to the repetition of the Lord's prayer, to the responses of the people, and to the reading of the apocryphal lessons in the liturgy; to the sign of the cross in the administration of baptism, and to the ring and the words of the contract in that of marriage; to the observance of festivals, the chaunt of the psalms, and the use of musical instruments in cathedral churches; and above all, to the habits, "the very livery of the beast," enjoined to be worn by the ministers during the celebration of the service<sup>15</sup>.

It is pretty evident that the queen herself had formed no settled notions of religion. Policy had induced her to adopt the reformed creed: policy equally taught her to repress the zeal or the fanaticism of these ultra-reformers. On the one hand, the less she receded from the ancient model, the more easily would her catholic subjects be brought to conform to the new worship: on the other, there had been much in the previous conduct of the puritans, to wound and alarm her pride and her feelings. They had written against the government of females: they still taught that the church ought to be independent of the state. It was in vain that they offered apologies for the obnoxious works; that they took the oath of supremacy in the sense which she had given to it in her injunctions: though they were secretly supported by the most favoured and powerful of her ministers, she retained to the last a rooted antipathy

<sup>15</sup> Neal's Puritans, c. iv. v.

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against their doctrines, an insuperable jealousy of all their proceedings.

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The high commission court.

By the assumption of the supremacy it had become the duty of Elizabeth to watch over the purity of doctrine, the maintenance of discipline, and the decency of the public worship: and when it was asked, how a female could execute these functions, or exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the legislature solved the difficulty by enabling her to avail herself of the services of delegates appointed by the crown. These she armed with the most formidable and inquisitorial powers. They were authorized to inquire, on the oath of the person accused, and on the oaths of witnesses, of all heretical, erroneous and dangerous opinions; of absence from the established service, and the frequentation of private conventicles; of seditious books and libels against the queen, her magistrates, and ministers; and of adulteries, fornications, and all other offences cognizable by the ecclesiastical law: and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, by fine, imprisonment and deprivation<sup>16</sup>. The first victims who felt the vengeance of this tribunal, called the high commission court, were the catholics: from the catholics its attention was soon directed to the puritans.

1564.

Archbishop Parker, as chief commissioner, had with the aid of his colleagues compiled certain ordinances respecting the apparel of the clergy, and the order of the service. He undertook the task by command of the queen; but she was advised by the enemies of the measure to refuse her approbation, and the ordinances were at last published under the more modest

<sup>16</sup> Rymer, xvi. 291. 564. Whoever will compare the powers given to this tribunal with those of the inquisition, which Philip II. endeavoured to establish in the Low Countries, will find that the chief difference between the two courts consisted in their names. One was the court of inquisition, the other of high

commission. In the first commissions (see one in Strype's Grindal, App. 64) the power of interrogating the person accused on his oath, was not expressly inserted: yet the judges always attempted it, because they were ordered to inquire "by all ways and means they could devise."

title of advertisements. Still, however, she urged the commissioners to the discharge of their duty. Sampson, dean of Christ church, and Humphreys, president of Magdalen college, were imprisoned for their disobedience: thirty-seven out of the London clergy were suspended from the exercise of their functions; and an intimation was given, that unless they conformed within the space of three months, their obstinacy would be visited with the punishment of deprivation<sup>17</sup>.

This act of rigour, instead of producing uniformity, led to an open schism. The lay puritans abandoned the churches, and held private meetings for the purpose of religious worship. But "conventicles" came within the jurisdiction of the delegates. More than one hundred persons, apprehended at a meeting in Plumber's hall, were brought before the high commission court; those who refused to acknowledge their offence, were committed; and of the prisoners, twenty-four men and seven women did not recover their liberty till after the expiration of twelve months. But the experience of ages has shewn that religious opinions are not to be eradicated by severity. If the puritans were silenced in the church, they had still access to the senate; and as soon as the parliament opened, no fewer than seven bills, for a further reformation, were introduced into the lower house. To the queen such conduct appeared an act of high treason against her supremacy: and during the Easter recess, Strickland, the mover of the bills, received an order to withdraw, and to attend the pleasure of the council. After the adjournment, his absence was noticed by his colleagues. It was moved that he should be called to the bar of the house, that he might state the reason of his absence: he was not a private individual, but the representative of his constituents: the prohibition which he had received

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1567.  
Mar. 26.

Separation  
from the esta-  
blished  
church.

Opposition in  
parliament.

1571.  
Apr. 6.

Apr. 16.

Apr. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Wilk. con. iv. 246, 247. Strype's Parker, 158.



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Apr. 21.

was an injury to the country, a violation of parliamentary privilege: if it was tamely submitted to by the house, it would form a most dangerous precedent: as the queen could not make the law, so she had no right to break it: her prerogative was, indeed, to be maintained, but it should be confined within reasonable limits: that house could determine the right to the crown, certainly it could entertain motions respecting religious ceremonies. Language, so bold and so unusual, electrified the members: the obstinacy of the ministers flinched before the untameable spirit of their opponents: and after a consultation in whispers, the speaker moved that the debate should be suspended. The next morning Strickland appeared in his place, and was received with loud congratulations<sup>18</sup>.

This victory was owing to that tone of mind which religious enthusiasm always imparts. It formed a new era in the history of the house of commons. The members learned to cherish their privileges, to think more highly of their own importance, to resist, with greater confidence, the arbitrary pretensions of the crown. Yet it is observable, that these very men, who thus, through religious motives, braved the resentment of their sovereign, possessed, in reality, no notions of religious liberty. When Aglionby, in opposition to the bill for compelling all persons to receive the communion, pleaded the rights of conscience, he was told by some, "that it was no straitening of consciences, " but only a charge on the goods of those who would not vouch " safe to be, as they should be, good men and true christians ;"

<sup>18</sup> D'Ewes's Journal, 156. 175, 176. An act was, however, passed, to compel all clergymen to subscribe, and declare their unfeigned assent to the thirty-nine articles. The judges interpreted it to mean all the articles without exception: but the puritans, relying on the obvious signification of the words,

" all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true christian " faith and the doctrine of the sacraments," maintained that no assent was required to the articles, which regarded discipline. 13 Eliz. c. 12. See Collier, ii. 530. Neal, c. v.

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by others, that it was the duty of the house to make the law ; if men were froward, or ignorant, or obstinate, let *them* look to the consequences. They had no one to blame but themselves<sup>19</sup>.

The queen, however, did not suffer her opponents to depart without a severe reprimand. On the dissolution of the parliament, the lord keeper, by her command, informed them that their conduct was thought contrary to their duty and their place : that, as they had forgotten themselves, they should be otherwise remembered ; and “ that the queen’s highness did utterly disallow “ and condemn their folly, in meddling with things not apper-  
“ taining to them, nor within the capacity of their under-  
“ standings<sup>20</sup>.”

Members re-  
primanded by  
the queen.

May 29.

In France, an attempt had been made to prevent the projected marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, by offering to him the captive queen of Scots. But this the prince knew to be an impracticable scheme. Elizabeth presented a fairer prize to his ambition : and, aware of the influence of flattery over her heart, he was careful to inform her of his conviction, “ that she was the most perfect beauty that God had made “ during the last five hundred years<sup>21</sup>.” The queen was pleased ; but irresolute. She had persuaded her counsellors, perhaps she had persuaded herself, that she was determined to marry : in a few weeks her eagerness had subsided ; she preferred a single life ; but was still ready to sacrifice her happiness to the wishes of her people. There was, however, one point on which she would not yield : Anjou might become her husband, if he pleased, but he must renounce the catholic, and adopt the reformed worship. This opened a new discussion : while it was yet in progress, she announced her final determination to live and die unmarried ; and then, recalling her words, ordered her am-

Negotiation of  
marriage with  
Anjou.

Mar. 23.

July 7.

Sept.

Dec. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 161. 177.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 151. See note (S).

<sup>21</sup> Digges, 101.

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Dec. 31.

bassador to resume the negociation. The leaders of the French protestants forwarded the project with all their influence: Lignerolles, the duke's favourite, and the supposed enemy of the match, was assassinated: and a confident hope was entertained, that the prince, no longer under his influence, would accede to the proposed terms. He replied, however, that his conscience was as tender as the conscience of the queen: and that, in such circumstances, he felt himself bound to refuse, what otherwise it would have been his most ardent wish to obtain. Elizabeth expressed her disappointment, in warm and uncourteous language. Perhaps her pride was wounded, for she was now the wooer: perhaps she suspected that, notwithstanding his denial, he gave credit to the scandalous tales of her amours with Leicester and Hatton<sup>22</sup>.

Treaty of alliance with France.

Painful as this disappointment was to the ministers, they were not left without resource. On the first treaty for the marriage, they had been careful to engraft a second treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two crowns: and to this they now clung, as to the last plank, according to their own language, which could save them from destruction. A long negociation ensued: months were employed to decide the insertion or exclusion of a single word; and at length the treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of the English cabinet<sup>23</sup>.

1572.  
Apr. 22.

<sup>22</sup> The reader will find abundant authority for this narrative, in the private correspondence of Leicester and Burleigh with the ambassador Walsingham. Digges, 63. 65. 71. 110. 115, 116. 133. 139. 153. 161. 166. Anjou swore, that he gave no credit to dishonourable tales, p. 196. On the reports respecting Leicester and Hatton, see Murdin, 204.

<sup>23</sup> Camden, ii. 265. The great difficulty was, that Elizabeth wished to have inserted in the article, binding the king of France to

give her aid in case of invasion, these words, "though the invasion be made on account of religion." It was objected, that so open an assertion would justly give offence to all catholic sovereigns; and the queen at last accepted the treaty with the following amendment: "in all cases of invasion whatsoever." The king gave, in addition, a written explanation, that invasion on account of religion was comprehended in these words. Digges, 155. et seq. Murdin, 213.



Their anxiety for this alliance had arisen from their conviction of danger to themselves and to their mistress. It was a period, in which, according to the bishop of Ross, the spirit of discontent and disloyalty pervaded the majority of the nation. All who had held offices under the late queen, from the highest functionary in the state to the petty constable of the village, had been marked out for disgrace by the present government. Excluded, as they were, from every place of profit or power, and harassed with petty prosecutions and injuries, they naturally sought either a change of system, or a new sovereign: the young men of good but indigent families, too proud to support themselves by their own industry, and too numerous to obtain civil or military employment under the crown, looked forward to a revolution, as a game in which they had little to risk, and every thing to win: the friends of the queen of Scots, who pitied her misfortunes, and advocated her claim to the succession, aimed at the downfall of a ministry, her ancient and implacable enemies: and many of the catholic gentlemen, daily harassed by the intolerance of the laws, thought it was as well to venture their lives and fortunes in defence of the rights of conscience, as to forfeit their rents and chattels to the queen, and to linger out their existence in a jail<sup>24</sup>. All these wanted but a leader. They looked up to the duke of Norfolk, who was still in confinement; they sought assistance from foreign powers; and they negotiated with the Spanish ambassador, who, like the English envoys on the continent, was willing to encourage the hopes, and further the projects, of the malcontents. In April, Bailly, a servant to the queen of Scots, coming from Brussels, was detained at Dover, as the bearer of a packet of letters, some of which, from the address being written in cipher, had excited suspicion. These, before they reach-

<sup>24</sup> Anderson, iii. 152, 153. Murdin, 215.

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ed the council, the bishop of Ross contrived to exchange secretly for others<sup>25</sup>: but Bailly himself was sent to the Tower, and disclosed on the rack that he had received the letters from Rudolphi, formerly an Italian banker in London: and that they contained assurances to the persons to whom they were written, that the duke of Alva approved of the projected invasion of England. Sufficient matter was thus discovered to awaken the vigilance of the ministers, but too little to furnish a clue which might lead to the detection of the conspirators.

Detection of a  
conspiracy.

In the following August, one Brown, of Shrewsbury, carried to the council a bag of money, which he had received from Higford, secretary to the duke of Norfolk, with orders to deliver it to Bannister, the duke's steward. In it were found letters which proved that the money was destined for the lord Herries, to be applied to the service of the Scottish queen in Scotland. The duke, Higford, Barker, another secretary, Bannister, and the bishop of Ross, were immediately apprehended. Higford readily answered the interrogatories, and voluntarily pointed out the place where he had secreted papers, which his master had ordered him to destroy<sup>26</sup>. Barker when he had felt, Bannister as soon as he saw, the rack, became equally communicative. From their disclosures, questions were framed and put to the duke: and, as often as he denied the charge made against him, he was shewn the written confessions of his servants, and required to reconcile his denial with their assertions. The bishop of Ross pleaded, at first, the privilege of an ambassador<sup>27</sup>: when

<sup>25</sup> Ross was on the watch. On the first intelligence of the seizure, he obtained the real letters from lord Cobham, to whom they had been delivered, and gave others of an innoxious description in their place. Camden, 234.

<sup>26</sup> He was supposed to have been for some time in the pay of the secretary.

<sup>27</sup> He alleged that in the case of Randolph and Tamworth, who had been proved to have given advice and money to Mary's rebels, that queen, out of respect to their office of ambassadors, had contented herself with ordering them to quit Scotland; he, therefore, expected the same treatment. But Burleigh

this was refused him, he answered with evasion : but as soon as he perceived that the whole matter was known, he confirmed, by his deposition, the confessions of the other prisoners.

From the comparison of all their answers, it appeared that several plans had been in agitation for the release of the Scottish queen ; that she had, on different occasions, asked and obtained the advice of the duke of Norfolk ; and that the money, lately sent by him to Bannister, had been intrusted to him for her use by the French ambassador. But that which bore the hardest against him was the mission of Rudolphi to the duke of Alva, the king of Spain, and the Roman pontiff. The two last had long ago made to Mary the offer of their services : but she waited till the interruption of the conferences between her commissioners and those of the regent disappointed her hopes : and then, despairing of redress from the justice of Elizabeth, she gave to Rudolphi, as her ambassador to foreign courts, a letter of instructions, subject to the approval or correction of the duke. From these it appeared that she despaired of assistance from France during the civil wars which convulsed that kingdom ; and had determined to rely on the promises of the king of Spain. That monarch had offered to her don John of Austria as her husband : but she preferred the duke of Norfolk, provided he would agree to restore the catholic faith, and to send her son James to be educated in Spain<sup>23</sup>. Rudolphi found the duke at Howard house, still a prisoner, complaining of the wrongs which he had suffered, and irritated at the refusal of his petition for leave to attend his duty in parliament. The Italian laid before him two projects : one that he should intercept the queen on her way to the house of lords, by the junction of his friends with certain

cut him short by saying, that he must answer, 195, 196.  
or be put upon the rack. Anderson, iii. 195, <sup>23</sup> Camden, 235.



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noblemen and knights, of whose names he held a list in his hands : the other, that he should agree to assemble the greatest force in his power, and join the duke of Alva, who would land at Harwich with ten thousand veterans. In either case it would be easy to extort from the queen her consent to the removal of her ministers, the marriage of Norfolk with Mary Stuart, and the repeal of those laws, which affected the rights of conscience. Norfolk listened to him with patience ; and, according to the statement of those who had inquired of Rudolphi, with approbation. But some doubt may be thrown on the veracity of the Italian, and some on the credit of the informers. *He* was interested to support the hopes of those whom he had engaged in the plot ; *their* depositions were drawn from them, by the promises of life and liberty, by the fear of the rack, and in some instances, by the actual infliction of torture. The duke himself maintained to the last, that the whole conversation between him and Rudolphi was confined to certain pecuniary transactions, and to the policy of procuring from Flanders aid for the Scottish partisans of Mary against her Scottish opponents. The Italian, however, left England, represented himself to the duke of Alva, the pope, and the king of Spain, as the messenger of Mary and Norfolk, and obtained assurances of support<sup>29</sup>.

Mar. 26.

Duke of Norfolk condemned.

When the alarm, excited by these disclosures, had subsided, it was resolved to proceed against the conspirators with the utmost rigour of the law. The duke of Norfolk became the first object of punishment. The obstinacy with which he persevered in seeking the marriage of the queen of Scots, had awakened all the resentment of Elizabeth ; and his death was sought by her

<sup>29</sup> Compare the confessions in Murdin, p. 1—164, with the account given by the bishop of Ross (Anderson, iii. 149—187, and Camden, ii. 227—230. 235—240). Norfolk had

been removed from the Tower, the 4th of August, 1570. But he still remained a prisoner at different houses till Sept. 7th, 1571, when he was sent back to the Tower.

counsellors as an awful warning to the other friends of that princess. Two months were employed in preparing the public mind for his trial and condemnation. The detail of the treasons imputed to him was communicated to the lord mayor, and through that magistrate to the citizens of London. Publications of similar import were circulated through every part of the kingdom; and the pulpits were made to resound with invectives against him, the duke of Alva, the pope, and all the catholic powers. At length the queen named the earl of Shrewsbury lord high steward, who immediately summoned six-and-twenty peers, selected by the ministers, to attend within two days in Westminster hall<sup>30</sup>. There the duke was charged with imagining and compassing the death of his sovereign: 1°. by seeking to marry the queen of Scots, though he knew that she claimed the crown of England to the exclusion of Elizabeth. 2°. by soliciting, through the agency of Rudolphi, foreign powers to invade the realm. 3°. by sending money to the aid of the English, who were rebels, and of the Scots, who were enemies to the queen. The duke, in his answer, maintained his innocence on all the three heads. 1°. The queen of Scots was not the competitor of his sovereign for the English crown. From the moment that she became her own mistress, she had abstained from taking the

1572.  
Jan. 14.

Jan. 16.

<sup>30</sup> A few days before, Berners and Mather were apprehended at the instance of Herle, their associate. From their several examinations it appears, that all three were discontented men, who complained that under the existing government, nothing could be obtained by any others than "dancers and carpet knights;" men, such as Leicester and Hatton, who were "admitted to the queen's privy chamber." They had often conversed on the means by which the duke of Norfolk might be liberated, on the murder of his enemy the lord Burleigh; and on the prefer-

ment to be expected under a new sovereign. But there appears no trace of any plot for the actual execution of such purposes. Mather said, the death of Burleigh had been proposed to him by the Spanish ambassador. It was denied, and equivalently recalled by himself. Berners and Mather suffered; Herle saved his life by becoming informer: though Mather told him, that if another hour had passed, he himself meant to have informed against Herle and Berners. Murdin, 194—210. Digges, 165. Camden, 254.

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title of queen of England, and had repeatedly offered to renounce it in ample form, if Elizabeth would acknowledge her undoubted claim to the succession. 2<sup>o</sup>. He had never spoken with Rudolphi but once ; and then he understood that the sole object of the Italian's mission was to procure aid for the Scottish subjects of the Scottish queen. 3<sup>o</sup>. He had never sent money to the English rebels ; and though he had allowed his servant to take the charge of a sum of money for the lord Herries, he conceived that he had done no wrong ; for Herries was the devoted servant of Mary, and Mary the acknowledged ally of Elizabeth. On all these points he spoke with temper, decision, and eloquence<sup>31</sup>.

The history of this trial will shew, how difficult it was, according to the jurisprudence of the age, for any prisoner to escape conviction under a prosecution by the crown. The duke of Norfolk had been a close prisoner in the Tower during eighteen weeks. He had been deprived of the use of books, and debarred from all communication with his friends. He received notice of trial, only the evening before his arraignment. He was kept in ignorance of the charges against him, till he heard the indictment from the bar. He was refused the aid of counsel to suggest advice, or to unravel the sophistry of the crown lawyers. *They* came to the cause with the subjects of discussion prepared and digested ; with a voluminous mass of papers, and with notes to aid their memory : he was called to answer, without preparation, to numerous circumstances of persons, places, conversations, and dates, which ran through the space of the three last years. The evidence against him consisted partly of letters, but principally of confessions extorted from the other prisoners, by the pain of

<sup>31</sup> Howell's State Trials, i. 957—1042. Camden, 245—254.



the rack, or the hope of life<sup>32</sup>. When he objected to such testimony, he was told that the deponents had sworn to the truth of their answers, and that his bare denial was of no weight in opposition to their oaths. He then demanded that they should be confronted with him; and appealed to the protection granted to prisoners by the statute of Edward VI.; but it was replied, that that statute "had been found too hard and dangerous for the prince, and therefore had been repealed." When he again repeated his denial of treason, a message was delivered from the queen, that she had received full confirmation of the charge from a foreign ambassador: but that, as it would be imprudent to disclose it in public, the peers might learn the particulars from their colleagues of the council in private. They retired; the new evidence was laid before them in the absence of the accused: an hour was spent in consultation, and an unanimous verdict of guilty was returned. As soon as judgment had been pronounced, the duke with a firm voice and undaunted countenance replied: "This, my lords, is the judgment of a traitor: but I shall die as true a man to the queen, as any liveth. I will not desire you to petition for my life: you have put me

<sup>32</sup> At the trial the confessions were represented as made voluntarily. Yet sir Thomas Smyth, in a letter of Sept. 17, says, "I suppose we have gotten so mych at this time as is lyke to be had; yet to-morrow we do intend to bryng a couple of them to the rack, not in any hope to get any thyng worthy that payne or feare, but because it is so earnestly commandid unto us;" and, Sept. 20, "of Banister with the rack; of Barker, with the extreme feare of it, we suppose to have gotten all." Murdin, 95. 101. To prevail on the bishop of Ross to confess, he was promised that his depositions should not be employed against any man; they were required merely to satisfy the queen's own mind; but it was added, that if he refused, he should be most

certainly executed. Anderson, iii. 199, 200. 202. Just before the trial, the master of the requests came and required him to be present at the proceedings; he refused, saying, "I never conferred with the duke myself in any of these matters, but only by his servants, nor yet heard him speak one word at any time against his duty to his prince or country: and if I shall be forced to be present, I will publicly profess before the whole nobility, that he never opened his mouth maliciously or traitorously against the queen or the realm." Ibid. 229, 230. This design was therefore abandoned: but great use was made of the confessions of the bishop, contrary to the previous promise.

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“ out of your company, and I trust shortly to be in better company in heaven. I only beg that the queen’s majesty will be good to my orphan children, and take orders for the payment of my debts. God doth know how true a heart I bare to her and my country, whatsoever has been this day objected to me. Fare ye well, my lords<sup>33</sup>.”

Queen refuses  
to sign the  
warrant.

Feb. 11.

In the Tower the duke confessed his undutiful conduct to the queen ; but still persisted in his denial of treason<sup>34</sup>. On a Saturday Elizabeth signed the warrant for his execution on the following Monday. Late, however, on the Sunday evening, Burleigh received an order to attend the queen, and found her in great perturbation of mind. She agreed with him that the guilt of the duke was great ; that he deserved to die ; but then he was the chief of the English nobility ; he was allied to her by blood ; she could not reconcile herself to his execution ; her own happiness required that he should be spared<sup>35</sup>. The warrant was revoked ; but the ministers continued to assail her with exaggerated accounts of the danger to be apprehended from her forbearance : the preachers called for vengeance in the name of that nation and religion, which the duke would have enslaved and overthrown ; and some of her greatest confidants repeatedly urged her by letter to free herself from one, who, if he were forgiven, would probably repay her clemency with ingratitude. Still she hesitated : she again signed the warrant, and again, unable to sleep through anxiety, recalled it at two o’clock in the

Apr. 9.

<sup>33</sup> State Trials, i. 1032.

<sup>34</sup> Murdin, 166. 168. The queen urged him to accuse others. This he refused. In his answer he observed that, if he had been confronted with “ the shameless Scot, and “ Italianified Englishman (the bishop of Ross “ and Barker) something might have been elicited to prove his innocence, and discover

“ unknown danger : that for himself he was “ conscious of nothing more than he had already confessed, and that he trusted that “ the queen would not command him to do “ that (accuse others) which would do her “ no service, and yet heap infamy on him.” Murdin, 170.

<sup>35</sup> Digges, 165.

morning<sup>36</sup>. Leicester ventured to predict, that the life of the duke would yet be saved<sup>37</sup>.

But the death of Norfolk was chiefly desired, as a prelude to the death of a more illustrious victim. The queen was told that she must lay the axe "at the root of the evil:" that till the Scottish queen was consigned to the grave, neither her crown nor her life could be in security. To these suggestions she listened with caution and uneasiness. Could she put to death the bird (such was her expression) that, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, had fled to her feet for protection? Her honour and conscience forbade it. To subdue her repugnance, the crafty Burleigh had recourse to his last expedient, the aid of parliament: the two houses obsequiously pursued the path pointed out by the secretary; and Elizabeth, to silence their murmurs, submitted to grant one part of their petition. She sacrificed the duke of Norfolk, that she might atone for her irresolution respecting the queen of Scots.

The commons, having resolved that the life of that unfortunate nobleman was incompatible with the safety of the queen, communicated their opinion to the lords, and then resolved to present a petition to the throne, in strong and fanatical language. But in this stage the proceedings were interrupted by a hint from one of the ministers<sup>38</sup>. The queen had been induced to sign a third time the fatal warrant: it was not revoked: and five months after his condemnation the duke was led to the

Executed at  
the petition of  
parliament.

May 16.  
May 21.

May 28.

May 31.

June 2.

<sup>36</sup> Murdin, 177. The note she wrote to Burleigh, who had lately been made lord treasurer, shews the agitation of her mind. "The causes that move me to this are not to be expressed, least an irrevocable deed be in the mean while committed. If they will needs a warrant (to suspend the execution) let this suffice, all written with my own hand." Hearne's Sylloge, 182.

<sup>37</sup> Digges, 203. The duke in his letters affects to believe Leicester and Burleigh his friends. Leicester seems to have been so: but Burleigh urged his execution. Digges, 165, 166. Murdin, 212. "Your own father was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin." Raleigh to sir Robert Cecil. Ibid. 811.

<sup>38</sup> D'Ewes's Journals, 206. 214. 220.



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scaffold, attended by Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and Fox the martyrologist, formerly his tutor. He betrayed no symptoms of terror : and in his speech to the spectators, in which he was repeatedly interrupted by the officers, asserted his innocence of treason, and his profession of the reformed faith. His head was struck off at a single blow. The people retired, compassionating his fate, and questioning his guilt<sup>39</sup>.

Queen refuses  
to put Mary  
to death.

The death of the queen of Scots was next sought with equal obstinacy. To influence the minds of the members, care had been taken to circulate among them papers of different descriptions, but all tending to the same end : the slanderous publication of Buchanan, printed copies of the supposed letters, and the manuscript opinions of divines, who demonstrated from Scripture that it was a duty, of civilians, who proved from the imperial code that it was lawful, and of an unknown casuist, who argued that "it stood not only with justice but with the honour and "safety of Elizabeth," to send the Scottish queen to the scaffold<sup>40</sup>. Both houses resolved to proceed against her by bill of attainder : the queen forbade it : they disobeyed ; and she repeated the prohibition<sup>41</sup>. Foiled in this attempt, the ministers

May 19.

May 23.

May 28.

<sup>39</sup> Strype, App. 27. Camden, 255. "I never had conference but once with one Rodolph, and yet never against the queen's majesty, God is my judge, although many lewd offers and motions were made to me. For it is well known I had to do with him, by reason I was bound to him by recognition for a great sum of money." State Trials, i. 1032.

<sup>40</sup> The political writings of the age were generally seasoned with a due proportion of religious cant. An instance has been preserved by D'Ewes, in his journals of this parliament. A writing, supposed to have had great influence on the house of commons, proves, by five arguments, supported with texts of scripture, that Elizabeth is bound in con-

science to put Mary to death : 1°. because the queen of Scots is guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason and blasphemy ; 2°. because she is an idolater, and leads others to idolatry ; 3°. because she was delivered into the hands of Elizabeth by God's providence, for the purpose of punishment ; 4°. because rulers are obliged to execute justice impartially ; 5°. because it is their duty to preserve the public tranquillity. See it in D'Ewes, p. 207—212.

<sup>41</sup> D'Ewes, 200. 207—224. Burleigh thus expresses his disappointment. "There is in the highest person such slowness in the offer of surety, and such stay in resolution, as it seemeth God is not pleased the surety should proceed. Shame doth as much trou-

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adopted another course: they introduced a bill, which by rendering Mary incapable of the succession, secured them from the danger of her resentment, if she should survive the present sovereign. They were, however, opposed by a powerful but invisible counsellor, suspected, though not known, to be the earl of Leicester. The queen interdicted all reference to the inheritance of the crown, and seeing, that in defiance of the message, the bill had passed both houses, she prorogued the parliament<sup>42</sup>. For her own satisfaction, however, she appointed commissioners to lay her complaints before the Scottish queen, who replied that, if she had consented to marry the duke, it had been without any hostile meaning towards her good sister; that her correspondence with Rudolphi had been strictly confined to pecuniary transactions, and that from foreign powers she had never solicited any thing more than aid for her faithful subjects in Scotland<sup>43</sup>.

June 25.

June 30.

Whatever Elizabeth might think of these answers, the execution of the duke, and the proceedings in parliament, disheartened the friends of Mary in England, while, at the same time, her interest as rapidly declined in her native country. Lennox, the regent, had taken by surprise the castle of Dunbarton, a fortress hitherto esteemed impregnable, and found among the prisoners the archbishop of St. Andrew's, whom he hastily consigned to

Whose party  
dwindles  
away in Scot-  
land.

1571.  
April 2.

April 6.

"ble me as the rest, that all persons shall be-  
"hold our follies, imputing these lacks and  
"errors, to some of us that are accounted in-  
"ward counsellors, where indeed the fault is  
"not: and yet they must be suffered, and be  
"so imputed, for saving the honour of the  
"highest." May 21. Digges, 203.

<sup>42</sup> See the journals of both houses. In neither of them is any mention of the contents of the bill passed against Mary; but we learn from Burleigh, that it was "a law to make

"her unable and unworthy of succession to  
"the crown." He adds, "some here have,  
"as it seemeth, abused their favour about her  
"majesty to make herself her most enemy.  
"God amend them! I will not write to you,  
"who are suspected. I am sorry for them,  
"and so would you too, if you thought the  
"suspicion to be true." Ibid: 219.

<sup>43</sup> The complaints or charges are in Mur-  
din, 218; the answers in Camden, 260.

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Sept. 4.

the gallows, not so much through enmity to the queen, as through hatred of the rival house of Hamilton. The loss of Dunbarton was followed by the submission of most of Mary's adherents; Lennox, in a parliament at Edinburgh, attainted Maitland as privy to the murder of his son, and three of the Hamiltons for their opposition to the authority of the king: and had assembled a second parliament in Stirling; when, unexpectedly, at a very early hour in the morning, Huntley, Claude Hamilton, and Scot of Buccleugh, appeared with four hundred horse before the gate of the town. "Remember the archbishop," was the word given to the soldiers. In a few minutes all the lords were in the hands of the assailants. Lennox paid the forfeit of his life; the others were rescued by the timely arrival of the earl of Marr, whom, in reward of his services, they invested with the regency. His prudence and vigour rendered him a formidable antagonist: Elizabeth declared openly her intention to support him with the whole power of her crown; and the avowed adherents of Mary dwindled away to a handful of brave and resolute men, who, under Kirkaldy, kept for her the castle of Edinburgh, and a band of Highlanders, who, commanded by sir Adam Gordon, maintained the ascendancy of her cause in the mountains<sup>44</sup>.

Sept. 6.

Oct. 23.

Execution of  
the earl of  
Northumber-  
land

To add to the sorrows of the captive queen, the executions of the duke of Norfolk in England, and of the archbishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, were followed by that of her chivalrous and devoted adherent, the earl of Northumberland. Morton, who, during his exile in England, had received many favours from the earl, pretended to be his friend: a negociation was opened between the countess and William Douglas, the keeper of the prisoner: and two thousand pounds, the stipulated price for his ransom, was

<sup>44</sup> Robertson, App. 2. N<sup>o</sup>. iv. Bannatyne, 227. 240.  
120. 154. 256. Act Parl. iii. 58. Camden,



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deposited at Antwerp. Whether it was paid or not, is unknown : but Morton treated, at the same time, with the English government, and accepted from Elizabeth an equal, perhaps a larger, sum. After a confinement of two years and a half, the earl was liberated from the castle of Lochleven, and conveyed on board a vessel to proceed, he was told, towards Flanders. To his surprise, he soon found himself in the harbour of Berwick ; was conducted thence to York, and beheaded without a trial, in virtue of an act of attainder. On the scaffold he refused the aid of the clergyman, professed himself a catholic, and declared that he had satisfactorily answered every charge against him, in his letter to the council <sup>45</sup>.

1572.  
June.

Aug. 22.

The English cabinet, amid the alarms with which it was continually perplexed, rested with much confidence on the treaty lately concluded with France. To cultivate the friendship between the two crowns, Elizabeth had been advised to listen to a new proposal of marriage, not with her first suitor, the duke of Anjou, but with his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. The former was the leader of the catholic party : the latter was thought to incline to the tenets of protestantism. There were, indeed, two almost insuperable objections ; the disparity of age, for the duke was twenty-one years younger than the queen ; and the want of attraction in a face which had severely suffered from the small-pox. Still Elizabeth, with her usual irresolution, entertained the project : and her ministers, supported by the French protestants, urged its acceptance <sup>46</sup>. But their hopes were unexpectedly checked by an event which struck with astonishment all the nations of Europe, and which cannot be con-

Negociation  
of marriage  
with Alençon.1572.  
Jan. 17.

<sup>45</sup> See the letters of the countess in Murdin, 186—193. Bridgwater's Concertatio, 46—49. Camden, 269. The interrogatories

are in Murdin, 219; the earl's answers do not appear.

<sup>46</sup> Digges, 164, 195, 220, 229, 232.

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templated without horror at the present day. The reader has already seen that the ambition of the French princes had marshalled, in hostile array, the professors of the old and new doctrines against each other. In the contests which followed, the influence of religious animosity was added to those passions which ordinarily embitter domestic warfare. The most solemn compacts were often broken; outrages the most barbarous were reciprocally perpetrated without remorse: murder was retaliated with murder, massacre with massacre. The king, by the last edict of pacification, had, indeed, sheathed the swords of the two parties: but he had not obliterated the sense of former wrongs, nor appeased the desire of revenge, which still rankled in their breasts. They continued to view each other with aversion and distrust, watchful to anticipate the designs which they attributed to their opponents, and eager, at the first provocation, real or supposed, to free themselves from their enemies.

Massacre of  
the protest-  
ants at Paris.

The young king of Navarre was the nominal, the admiral Coligni, the real leader of the huguenots. He ruled among them as an independent sovereign; and, what chiefly alarmed his opponents, seemed to obtain gradually the ascendancy over the mind of Charles. He had come to Paris to assist at the marriage of the king of Navarre; and was wounded in two places, by an assassin as he passed through the streets. The public voice attributed the attempt to the duke of Guise, in revenge of the murder of his father at the siege of Orleans: it had proceeded, in reality, (and was so suspected by Coligni himself), from Catharine, the queen mother. The wounds were not dangerous: but the huguenot chieftains crowded to his hotel: their threats of vengeance terrified the queen: and in a secret council, the king was persuaded to anticipate the bloody and traitorous designs attributed to the friends of the admiral. The next morn-

Aug. 22.

Aug. 23.

Aug. 24.

ing, by the royal order, the hotel was forced : Coligni and his principal counsellors perished : the populace joined in the work of blood ; and every huguenot, or suspected huguenot, who fell in their way, was murdered. Several hours elapsed before order could be restored in the capital : in the provinces the governors, though instructed to prevent similar excesses, had not always the power or the will to check the fury of the people, and the massacre of Paris was imitated in several towns, principally those in which the passions of the inhabitants were inflamed by the recollection of the barbarities, exercised amongst them by the huguenots during the late wars <sup>47</sup>.

This bloody tragedy had been planned and executed in Paris, with so much expedition, that its authors had not determined on what ground to justify or palliate their conduct. In the letters written the same evening to the governors of the provinces, and to the ambassadors in foreign courts, it was attributed to the ancient quarrel and insatiate hatred which existed between the princes of Lorraine and the house of Coligni <sup>48</sup>. But, as the duke of Guise refused to take the infamy on himself, the king was obliged to acknowledge in parliament, that he had signed the order for the death of the admiral, and sent in consequence to his ambassadors, new and more detailed instructions. In a long audience, La Motte Fenelon assured Elizabeth, that Charles had conceived no idea of such an event before the preceding evening, when he learned, with alarm and astonishment, that the confidential advisers of the admiral had formed a plan to revenge the attempt made on his life by surprising the Louvre,

The apology  
made by  
Charles.

<sup>47</sup> See note (T).

<sup>48</sup> Digges, 264. Ceulx de la maison de Guise, et les aultres seigneurs et gentils hommes, qui leur adherent, ayant scu certainement, que les amis dudit admiral vouloient

poursuivre sur eulx la vengeance de ceste blessure pour les soupçonner, à ceste cause et occasion se sont si fort esmus ceste nuit passé, &c. Letter to Joyeuse, apud Caveirac, xxxii.



CHAP.  
VI.

making prisoners of the king and the royal family, and putting to death the duke of Guise, and the leaders of the catholics : that the plot was revealed to one of the council, whose conscience revolted from such a crime : that his deposition was confirmed in the mind of the king, by the violent and undutiful expressions uttered by Coligni in the royal presence : that, having but the interval of a few hours to deliberate, he had hastily given permission to the duke of Guise and his friends, to execute justice on his and their enemies : and that if, from the excited passions of the populace, some innocent persons had perished with the guilty, it had been done contrary to his intention, and had given him the most heartfelt sorrow. The insinuating eloquence of Fenelon made an impression on the mind of Elizabeth : she ordered her ambassador to thank Charles for the communication ; trusted that he would be able to satisfy the world of the uprightness of his intention ; and recommended to his protection the persons and worship of the French protestants. To the last point Catharine shrewdly replied, that her son could not follow a better example than that of his good sister the queen of England : that, like her, he would force no man's conscience ; but like her, he would prohibit in his dominions, the exercise of every other worship besides that which he practised himself<sup>49</sup>.

Elizabeth offers to deliver up Mary.

The news of this sanguinary transaction, exaggerated as it was by the imagination of the narrators, and the arts of politicians, excited throughout England one general feeling of horror. It served to confirm, in the minds of the protestants, the reports, so industriously spread, of a catholic conspiracy for their destruction ; and it gave additional weight to the arguments of Burleigh and the other enemies of the queen of Scots. They admonished Elizabeth to provide for her own security : the

<sup>49</sup> Digges, 244. 246.

French protestants had been massacred ; her deposition or murder would follow. If she tendered her own life, the weal of the realm, or the interest of religion, let her disappoint the malice of her enemies, by putting to death her rival, and their ally, Mary Stuart. The queen did not reject their advice : but that she might escape the infamy of dipping her hands in the blood of her nearest relative, and presumptive heir, Killegrew was dispatched to Edinburgh, ostensibly to hasten the accord between the regent and Mary's adherents in the castle, in reality " upon singular " trust, and a matter of farr greter moment, wherin all secresy " and circumspection was to be used." That matter was to procure the death of the Scottish queen by the hands of her own subjects. But he was warned not to commit his sovereign, as if the proposal came from her. He was to assure himself of the real disposition of the regent, of the earl of Morton, and the other lords ; to earn the confidence of those whom he found most apt ; to lament before them, that Mary was not where she might be justly executed for her crimes ; and to work on their hopes and fears, till he should draw from them some expression, which might lead him to suggest the object of his mission, but as of himself, and merely as a passing thought. If it were entertained, he was authorized to negociate a treaty on the following basis ; that Elizabeth should deliver Mary to the king's lords, " to receave that she had deserved ther by ordre of justice : " and that they should deliver their children, or nearest kinsmen, to Elizabeth, as securities, " that no further perill should ensue by hir " escapyng, or setting hyr up agen : for otherwise to have hir " and to keep hir was over all other things the most dangerous<sup>50</sup>."

<sup>50</sup> See his secret instructions in Murdin, 224. It is observable, that Killegrew was dispatched Sept. 7, (Lodge, ii. 75), and that these secret instructions were sent after him, as they are dated three days later.

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But the regent  
dies.

Such was the delicate and important trust confided to the prudence and fidelity of Killegrew. If we may believe him, his heart revolted from the commission ; though his fear of the royal displeasure compelled him to accept it. But the regent Marr was not of a character to pander to the jealousies or resentments of the English queen. His object was to heal the wounds of his unhappy country, and to rally all true Scotsmen round the standard of his royal pupil, on the ground that, if Mary should ever recover her liberty, the mother and son might easily reconcile their respective interests. With this view he had sent back to England Randolph, the late envoy, whose policy it had been to perpetuate dissension by tampering at the same time with the two opposite parties ; and he now concluded, with the queen's lords, a private treaty for the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. While arrangements were making for its publication and execution, he visited the earl of Morton at Dalkeith. Here he felt himself suddenly indisposed ; rode immediately to Stirling, and in a few days expired. His friends attributed his death to poison<sup>51</sup>.

Oct. 8.

Morton suc-  
ceeds.

At the election of the next regent, Killegrew employed the English interest in favour of Morton, the most determined enemy of Mary, and the tried friend of the English ministers<sup>52</sup>.

Nov. 9.

The moment he was chosen, he pursued a very different policy from that of his predecessor. Having prevailed, through the persuasion of Elizabeth, on the Hamiltons and Gordons to acknowledge his authority, he demanded the unconditional surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. Kirkaldy, Hume, and Maitland, the

1573.  
Feb. 23.

<sup>51</sup> Bannatyne, 411.

<sup>52</sup> Curante in primis Elizabetha suffectus erat. Camden, 278. In what manner Killegrew executed his commission with Morton, we know not : but it appears that as late as Jan. 11, 1573, the project was not aban-

doned. In the instructions to the earl of Worcester, dated that day, he is provided with an answer, if the king of France should apply either in behalf of her *life* or her freedom. Digges, 321.



CHAP.  
VI.

Apr. 25.

And reduces  
the castle of  
Edinburgh.

June 9.

Aug. 3.

lords who held it, refused to place themselves at the mercy of their enemy : and Drury, marshal of Berwick, arrived in the port of Leith with an English army, and a battering train, to enforce submission. It was in vain that the besieged by a messenger, and Mary by her ambassador, solicited aid in men and money from the French king. Charles replied, that circumstances compelled him to refuse the request. Should he grant it, Elizabeth would immediately send a fleet to the relief of La Rochelle<sup>53</sup>.

After a siege of thirty-four days the castle was surrendered to Drury and the queen of England, on condition that the fate of the prisoners should be at her disposal. She ordered both to be delivered to the regent<sup>54</sup>; and in a few days Maitland died of poison : whether it was administered to him by order of Morton, as the queen of Scots asserts<sup>55</sup>, or had been taken by himself to elude the malice of his enemies. His gallant associate Kirkaldy suffered soon afterwards the punishment of a traitor<sup>56</sup>. The latter was esteemed the best soldier, the former the most able statesman, in Scotland : but both, according to the fashion of the age, had repeatedly veered from one party to the other, without regard to honesty or loyalty ; and Maitland had been justly attainted by parliament as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Melville, 119, 120. Murdin, 244. 246—254.

<sup>54</sup> Lodge, ii. 106. Camden, 282.

<sup>55</sup> Mary's letter in Blackwood, apud Jebb, ii. 268.

<sup>56</sup> One hundred persons of the family of Kirkaldy, to save the life of their chieftain, offered to Morton £20,000 Scots, an annuity of 3000 marks, and their services as his retainers for life. Camden, 282.

<sup>57</sup> Maitland after his attainder, complained in a letter to the laird of Carmichael, that

the sentence had been procured by Morton, "for a crime, whereof," says the ex-secretary, "he knows in his conscience, that I was as innocent as himself." Morton replies, "That I know him innocent in my conscience as myself! The contrary thereof is true. For I was and am innocent thereof: but I could not affirm the same of him, considering what I understand of that matter of his own confession, of before, to my self." Dalzell, 474—480. 'The truth is, both were guilty.

CHAP.  
VI.Siege of La  
Rochelle.

Feb. 25.

The late massacre in France had caused many of the protestants to cross the eastern frontier into Germany and Switzerland: others, from the western coast, had sought an asylum in England; while the inhabitants of Poitou and the neighbouring provinces poured with their ministers into La Rochelle. The place, strong by nature, was still more strengthened by art. The enthusiasm of the townsmen taught them to despise the efforts of the besiegers under the duke of Anjou; but their chief reliance was on the fleet, which the count of Montgomery had collected in the harbours of Plymouth and Falmouth, and on the promises of aid which that nobleman had received from the English council. Charles indulged a hope that he might deprive them of this resource. He observed, that Elizabeth had always spoken of the late transaction in milder terms than her advisers: she had recently sent the earl of Worcester to present a font of gold, and to answer, as her proxy, at the christening of his daughter; and she was highly exasperated by the insolence of the insurgents, whose cruisers had attempted to intercept that nobleman, and had actually captured some of his retinue<sup>58</sup>. At the solicitation of Gondi, the French envoy, she promised that no money should be advanced in England for the aid of the Rochellois: but when he demanded the dispersion of the fleet at Plymouth, he received for answer, that Englishmen had a right to traffic where they pleased; and that if they abused that right for other purposes, they might be treated as pirates by the prince, whom they had offended. This evasion, suggested by the ministers, proved the connexion between them and the insurgents.

Apr. 19.

Montgomery sailed; was terrified at the sight of the French fleet, moored under the protection of forts and batteries; and

<sup>58</sup> Camden, 275.

after a useless cruise of a few days returned to England. His failure made the queen repent, that she had not acceded to the request of Gondi. She acquainted Montgomery with her displeasure, that he had presumed to unfurl the English flag; and for some time refused him permission to anchor in any of her ports. The English adventurers, who had accompanied him, immediately dispersed<sup>59</sup>.

Rochelle was saved, by the election of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Poland. His labours to effect a pacification proved successful; but the huguenots, still jealous of the designs of the court, formed a new confederacy at Milliau, in Rovergne, by which they bound themselves to each other by the most solemn engagements, appointed counsellors and commanders, determined the quota of men and money to be raised in each district, and established an independent republic in the very heart of France<sup>60</sup>. At the same time another association of catholic noblemen, called the malcontents and politicians, was effected by the chiefs of the house of Montmorenci, whose object it was to remove their rival, the duke of Guise, from court, and to weaken the authority of the queen-mother in the royal councils. The two parties acted in concert; and another civil war commenced. In all these transactions the English ambassador bore, as usual, an important, though clandestine part. He advised and engaged the duke of Alençon to put himself at the head of the malcontents<sup>61</sup>. But the project was detected by the court; and the duke, with the king of Navarre, was so narrowly watched, that no less than four attempts to effect their enlargement, failed of success<sup>62</sup>.

League of the  
French pro-  
testants.  
July.

Dec. 16.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 276. Daniel, x. 517.

<sup>60</sup> Davila, 366.

<sup>61</sup> The queen is reminded "that the duk  
" of Alanzon was brought to be awtor of

" troubles in his own countrye, by her majes-

" tie's means." Murdin, 338.

<sup>62</sup> Murdin, 775. Camden, 289, 290. Daniel,  
x. 539.



CHAP.  
VI.Succession of  
Henry III.

1574.

May 30.

1575.

Feb.

Sept. 15.

1576.  
Mar. 30.

May 14.

League of the  
French catho-  
lics.

The unexpected death of Charles IX. recalled the king of Poland to France. Henry III., from the share which, as duke of Anjou, he had borne in the massacre, was an object of hatred to the protestants: a conspiracy to murder him in his carriage, was detected: and the duke of Alençon, whom the event would have raised to the throne, confessed that he had been privy, though he had not consented, to the treasonable attempt. He was pardoned, but detained in free custody. Some months later, having escaped from the court, he raised the standard of revolt: and Elizabeth, though she renewed the treaty of Blois, (a treaty offensive and defensive between the two crowns), advanced a considerable sum, to raise an army of German protestants for his service. It was not long before the king of Navarre also eluded the vigilance of his guards: and the two princes jointly solicited the queen of England to declare publicly in their favour. The question of war was seriously debated in the English cabinet; but the friends of peace formed the majority; and Elizabeth offered herself as mediatrix between the king of France and his revolted subjects. Her efforts were seconded by the duke, who had grown jealous of the superior influence of the king of Navarre: and a treaty was concluded, by which the public exercise of the reformed worship was permitted, with a few restrictions; an assembly of the states was promised for the future regulation of the kingdom; and Alençon obtained the appanage which had been enjoyed by his elder brother, and from that period assumed the title of duke of Anjou<sup>63</sup>.

The French catholics, however, resolved to profit from the example of their opponents. In imitation of the confederacy formed at Milliau, a league was devised, the subscribers of

<sup>63</sup> Davila, 393. Lodge, ii. 135. 142. Murdin, 288, 289. 776. 778. Camden, 303

which bound themselves to maintain the ascendancy of the ancient faith, and to protect, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, the catholic worship, the clergy, and the churches, against the hostile attempts of their enemies<sup>64</sup>. To Henry, each of these associations appeared an encroachment on the royal prerogative : but his situation left him only a choice between the two. He placed his name at the head of the catholic league : the majority of the deputies to the assembly of the states followed the example of their sovereign ; and, at their petition, most of the privileges granted to the protestants by the last edict were annulled. Another religious war ensued : it was terminated, as usual, by a short-lived peace ; and the protestants ultimately recovered the chief of those concessions which had been revoked.

1577.  
Feb.

Sept.

But it is now time that the reader should cast his eyes over the northern frontier of France, and survey the convulsed state of the Netherlands. The reader will recollect the seizure by Elizabeth of the money destined for the pay of the army under the duke of Alva. That unfriendly measure had been productive of more important consequences, than its advisers could have dared to expect. The Spanish soldiers, without pay, lived at free quarters on the inhabitants. The duke, to raise money, required the imposition of new taxes ; and, on the refusal of the states, he published an edict, imposing them by his own authority as representative of the king. This arbitrary act, subversive of the most valuable rights of the nation, filled up, in the estimation of the Flemish people, the measure of their grievances. They closed their shops : the usual transactions of trade were interrupted : the markets remained empty ; and in the most populous towns a general gloom prevailed, indicative of the

Discontent in  
the Nether-  
lands.

1570.

<sup>64</sup> See it in Daniel, xi. 62.

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VI.

discontent of the inhabitants, and ominous of subsequent calamities<sup>65</sup>.

Origin of Belgian independence.

1572.  
Feb. 21.  
March.

A number of small vessels had been successively equipped by the Belgian malcontents, to cruise against the trade of Spain. Their commanders received commissions from the prince of Orange, and obeyed the immediate orders of the count of La Marque, who had fixed his head quarters at Dover, and thence directed the operations of the fleet. At length Elizabeth, either at the remonstrance of Philip, or in connivance with La Marque, ordered that officer to quit her dominions<sup>66</sup>. He sailed to the island of Horn, surprised the fortress of Brille, and planted on its walls the standard of Belgian independence. His success encouraged the inhabitants of Flushing to expel the Spanish garrison, and to solicit aid both from the French protestants and the English council. The former sent them a large body of men; the latter supplied them with £10,000, and permitted Thomas Morgan to take with him three hundred volunteers, who were soon followed by nine companies of foot, under sir Humphrey Gilbert. Encouraged by the presence of these foreigners, many of the towns in Holland and Zealand threw off the Spanish yoke<sup>67</sup>.

Prince of Orange made Stadtholder.

1572.  
Sept.  
Oct.

This insurrection, and the advice of the admiral Coligni, during the pacification in France, induced the prince of Orange to make another attempt to drive the Spaniards out of the Netherlands. His brother Louis had, with the aid of the French huguenots, surprised and garrisoned Mons, the capital of Hainault. Alva sat down before it with his army: and the prince led twenty thousand Frenchmen and Germans to raise the siege. Mons, however, surrendered: but Orange succeeded in pene-

<sup>65</sup> Bentivoglio, 92. Strada, l. vii. anno 1570.

<sup>66</sup> Murdin, 210.

<sup>67</sup> Bentivoglio, 102. 106.



trating as far as Enchuysen, where he was received with applause by the inhabitants of Holland and Zealand, and appointed stadtholder of the two provinces<sup>68</sup>.

The reader will have observed much inconsistency in the transactions of the English government with the kings of France and Spain. It arose from the different opinions entertained by the queen, and the majority of her counsellors. *Their* chief object was the ascendancy of the protestant cause in the catholic kingdoms. For this purpose they maintained a constant correspondence with the chiefs of the protestant insurgents, and sought to render them independent of their respective sovereigns, both in the Netherlands and France. But Elizabeth was a sovereign herself: though she approved of their views, she deemed it a duty to uphold the rights and prerogatives of thrones, and feared that the precedent of successful rebellion might one day be retorted against herself. Hence each vicissitude of fortune experienced by the insurgents abroad, produced a change of measures in the queen's council at home. Sometimes she was induced to sacrifice her feelings to the representations of her ministers: often she compelled the ministers to submit to her will in opposition to their own judgment.

From the moment that the prince of Orange assumed the government of Holland and Zealand, Elizabeth began to view his designs with jealousy and distrust. She was aware that his private interests, and his intimate connexion with the huguenots, would induce him to seek aid from France; she believed that Henry III. would grasp at the opportunity of an expedition into the Netherlands, as an expedient to establish tranquillity within his own dominions: and she dreaded the annexation of the seventeen provinces to France, as pregnant with danger to

Reconciliation between Elizabeth and Alva.

<sup>68</sup> Id. 110—124. Strada, l. vii.

CHAP.  
VI.1572.  
Nov. 24.

the commerce and independence of England. Indications were given of a partiality to the cause of Spain : the English forces were recalled from Flushing<sup>69</sup>, and Guavez, the envoy of Alva, was admitted to treat with the lord treasurer. These ministers soon came to a conclusion. Having declared that the ancient friendship between the two crowns, though it had been for a time impaired, had never been broken, they agreed that the commerce between England and the Netherlands should be restored, that Elizabeth should satisfy the Italian bankers, the original owners of the money, which had been intercepted ; and that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to determine, within two years, the demands of those, who had suffered by the arrests of merchandise in each country<sup>70</sup>.

1573.  
May 1.

By this time Alva had been recalled, and was succeeded by Requesens, commendator of Castile, who, though he possessed not the martial abilities of his predecessor, inflicted severe injuries on the insurgents, and sought by condescension to soothe the discontent of the people. He cultivated with assiduity the friendship of Elizabeth ; and, while at her request he expelled the English exiles from the provinces, and dissolved the seminary established by the English catholics at Douay, he obtained from her an order for the arrest of all armed vessels belonging to the insurgents in her dominions, and for their future exclusion from the English ports<sup>71</sup>.

She refuses  
the offer of  
the states.

Oct. 18.

The queen had now adopted a new line of policy. She had hitherto consented to foment, at present she laboured to compose, the differences between Philip and his revolted subjects : and the king, at her solicitation, agreed to an armistice, prepa-

<sup>69</sup> It would appear that Flushing was as unhealthy then as of late years. " All our men " be come from Flushing, either before, or at, " or since their returning, the most part all

" sick." Digges, 299.

<sup>70</sup> Murdin, 773, 774. Camden, 272.

<sup>71</sup> Camden, 295, 296.

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VI.1576.  
Jan.

ratory to an intended negociation<sup>72</sup>. But the prince of Orange persisted in rejecting both her advice and her remonstrances, till the revival of the civil wars in France extinguished the hope of aid from that country, and convinced him that the friendship of Elizabeth was his last and best resource. Three deputies were accordingly sent to England, not to announce his willingness to an accommodation with Philip, but to offer the sovereignty, and, if that were refused, the protectorship of Holland and Zealand to the queen, as the representative of their ancient princes by her descent from Philippa of Hainault, the consort of Edward III. At first the offer flattered her pride and ambition : soon, however, her resolution began to waver. Could she sanction this transfer of allegiance from one prince to another without injury to her reputation, or danger to herself? She asked the advice of her counsellors, and the diversity of their opinions added to her perplexity. It was observed that she grew taciturn and peevish : the amusements of the court were suspended ; and day after day was employed in secret consultation. The result was a communication to the deputies, that the queen could not in honour or conscience accept their offer, but that she would employ her best services to reconcile them with their sovereign<sup>73</sup>.

But at last  
consents to  
give them aid.

Feb. 11.

Nov. 8.

Requesens soon afterwards died, and the government devolved on the council of state. No provision had been made for the payment of the troops : they mutinied, lived at free quarters on the natives, and by the sack of Antwerp compelled the states to provide for their own security. The representatives of the seventeen provinces, with the exception of Luxemburgh, concluded a confederacy, by which they bound themselves to concur in expelling all foreign soldiers, to prevent any innovations in religion, either in the fifteen catholic or two reformed pro-

<sup>72</sup> Murdin, 289. 777.<sup>73</sup> Camden, 297—299. Murdin, 78. Lodge, ii. 136.



CHAP.  
VI.

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1577.  
Feb. 18.

vinces, and to restore to its pristine vigour the constitution enjoyed by their fathers. Within a few months a new governor arrived, John of Austria, the illegitimate son of the late emperor Charles V. That young prince came to the Netherlands encircled with the laurels, which he had gained from the Turks in the great battle of Lepanto: but the jealousy of the states compelled him to submit to the conditions which they dictated, and for a while he consented to hold the title, though he possessed little of the authority of governor. To revenge a real or pretended conspiracy against his life, he suddenly took possession of the citadel of Namur: and the states, by the persuasion of the prince of Orange, immediately prepared for war. Elizabeth dispatched ambassadors to both parties; she sought to preserve peace: but evidently preferred the cause of the royalists, till she received from the prince of Orange the important information, that the real object of don John was not so much the subjugation of the Netherlands as of England: that he intended to transport his army from the Belgian ports; to marry, at least by proxy, the queen of Scots: and in her name, and with the aid of her friends, to contend on English ground for the English crown. This intelligence was not entirely devoid of foundation. Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V., had solicited the king of Spain to unite with him in an attempt to liberate the Scottish queen, and to restore the catholic worship in England. Philip refused to act openly, but had no objection to supply money, and to connive at the co-operation of his brother don John. It was then agreed that the pontiff should collect an army of six thousand disciplined troops, under the pretence of aiding the knights of Malta: that Sanders and others should pass from the Low Countries into England, to form a party previously to the invasion; that on the arrival of the expedition on the English coast, it should

be joined by don John with his army, and that the first object of this combined force, should be to obtain possession of Mary, and to effect her marriage with the Spanish prince<sup>74</sup>. But this project existed only on paper : don John, who, to satisfy the states, had deprived himself of his army, possessed at first no footing in the Netherlands besides the fortress of Namur, and afterwards, from his incessant hostilities with the insurgents, was too actively employed at home, to think of an invasion of England. The intelligence, however, served to awaken all those jealousies which had been lulled asleep. Elizabeth was beset with apprehensions from the intrigues of the Scottish queen in England, the restoration of the Spanish authority in the Netherlands, and the ambition both of the French monarch, and of his brother the duke of Anjou. Her fears induced her again to espouse the cause of the insurgents. A loan for their use was negociated in London ; an army of Germans, which under the duke Casimir was marching to their assistance, was taken into English pay ; and at last an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded with them at Brussels. To excuse these hostile proceedings to others, perhaps to herself, the queen assured the Spanish monarch, that she had no other object in view but his interest and her own security ; to preserve the Netherlands from French invasion, and herself from the hostility of his brother ; that she had exacted from the Belgians a promise to persevere in their allegiance to the Spanish crown, and that she was determined to turn her arms against them, if they should ever violate that promise.

Sept. 21.

Dec. 22.

<sup>74</sup> Becchetti, xii. 220, 221. Strada, l. viii. anno 1576. "E quando cio non si potesse ottenere, si facesse opera di creare e gridare re pubblicamente il fratello del conté di Vinc-ton, uomo di fede sincera, ed accetto a quei popoli." Maffei, Annali di Gregorio XIII.

l. v. No. 26. See also Bomplani, Hist. Pontificatus Gregorii XIII. p. 236. Of this design to marry the brother of the marquess of Winchester to Mary, and to proclaim them king and queen, I have found no notice in our historians.

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VI.

Philip, mastering his feelings, affected to believe her protestations, and expressed a hope, that through her mediation, peace might yet be restored<sup>75</sup>.

The states  
make an offer  
to the duke of  
Anjou.  
1578.  
Jan. 31.

Don John, on the arrival of the celebrated Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, with an army of Spaniards, resumed offensive operations, and by the decisive victory of Gemblours, spread consternation through every province of the union. The states applied for immediate aid to the German princes, the queen of England, and the duke of Anjou. That turbulent prince received the deputies with pleasure, and agreed to lead an army into the Netherlands, on condition that certain places in Hainault and Artois, should be delivered into his hands, and that all his conquests on the south bank of the Meuse should form an independent state for himself. Casimir passed the Rhine with a force of Germans, which, with the aid of English gold, he had raised to some thousands above the stipulated number: but the majority of his followers were protestants; and the native protestants, finding themselves become more powerful by the accession of the strangers, indulged in the fanaticism of the age; and, in numerous instances, abolished the catholic worship, and inflicted the severest privations on their catholic countrymen. The Walloons were the first to complain. They had only exchanged the tyranny of the Spaniards for that of their associates and foreigners. Why should they not return to the obedience of their lawful sovereign, and obtain from him the restoration of their privileges, and the protection of their religion? Don John profited by these sentiments, and recovered their allegiance. When Casimir approached the Spanish lines, he dared not attempt to force them: and when Anjou appeared

<sup>75</sup> Camden, 3 11—315. Murdin, 290, 291. 779, 780.



CHAP.  
VI.

Oct. 7.

at the head of ten thousand men, the Walloons, who had previously engaged to receive him, opposed his advance. He took, indeed, Binch by assault, and prevailed on Maubeuge to open its gates. But this was the termination of his campaign. Probably he found himself unable to persevere in his career: but he ascribed his forbearance to his deference to the queen of England, to whose hand he still aspired, and whose jealousy of the designs of the French court, induced her to object to the presence of a French army in the Netherlands<sup>76</sup>.

During the summer he had, by several messengers, sounded the disposition of the queen, who returned encouraging, yet indeterminate, answers. The duke now sent Simier, a nobleman versed in intrigue, and excelling in the accomplishments of a court. Though Elizabeth expressed her displeasure at his arrival, he soon overcame her dislike. His manners, his wit, and his gallantry, made an irresistible impression. He was admitted to her company three or four days in the week; and it was observed that she never appeared so cheerful and happy as when he was present<sup>77</sup>. Her counsellors imagined that she revealed to him secrets of state; and the tongue of slander whispered some suspicion of the innocence of their meetings<sup>78</sup>. This, however, is certain, that Simier wooed successfully for his master. He first persuaded Elizabeth, that it was beneath her dignity to take for her husband Leicester, a man who owed whatever he possessed to her bounty: and then gave her the important information, that her favourite had recently married without her knowledge,

He sends Simier with proposals of marriage to the queen.

1579.  
Feb. 13.

<sup>76</sup> Strada, l. ix, x, xi. Bentivoglio, 246—253. Murdin, 317.

<sup>77</sup> Murdin, 318. He was "amatoriis levitatibus, facetiis, et aulicis illecebris exquisitus eruditus." Camden, 322.

<sup>78</sup> "Vous aviez non seulement engagé votre honneur avecques un estrangier nom-

"mé Simier, l'alant trouver de nuit en la chambre, d'une dame, on vous le baisiez et usiez avec luy de diverses paivaultés des-honnestes: mais aussi luy reveilliez les segretz du royaume, trahissant vos propres conseils." Mary's account to Elizabeth of the conversation of lady Shrewsbury. Murdin, 559.

CHAP.  
VI.

Apr. 4.

June 16.

Sept.

Oct. 2

Oct. 7.

the widow of the late earl of Essex. Leicester let fall some hints of vengeance: but the irritated queen ordered him to be confined at Greenwich, and severely prohibited any kind of insult to the French envoy<sup>79</sup>. Simier next urged the suit of Anjou. The queen listened to him with apparent satisfaction; though at the same time she declared her determination never to marry a man, whom she had not seen. It was in vain that the clergy ventured to condemn the intended match from the pulpit: they were silenced by authority<sup>80</sup>; a preparatory treaty was negociated and concluded; and the duke himself, travelling in disguise, without previous notice arrived at Greenwich. Elizabeth was surprised and gratified: his youth, gaiety, and attention, atoned for the scars with which the small-pox had furrowed his countenance: and after a courtship of a few days, he departed with the most flattering expectations of success. At the royal command, the lords of the council assembled: they deliberated the greater part of the week: but unable to agree, they waited on their sovereign, requesting to be made acquainted with her inclination, and promising, whatever it might be, to further it to the best of their power<sup>81</sup>. The love-sick queen burst into tears. She had expected, she said, that they would have unanimously petitioned her to marry; but she was simple, indeed, to confide so delicate a matter to such counsellors; they might depart, and come again, when her mind should be more composed. That afternoon and the next day, she vented, in

<sup>79</sup> Camden, 322. 329.<sup>80</sup> Lodge, ii. 212. Bets were laid in London, two to one that the duke did not come, three to one that the queen would not marry him. Ibid. 217.<sup>81</sup> Sussex, Burleigh, and Hunsdon urged the marriage. Leicester and Hatton joined them at first, but went over to their opponents,

Bromley, Mildmay, and Sadler. The chief arguments of the latter were the danger to religion from a catholic husband, the offence of God, if he were allowed to have mass, even in private, the danger to the queen's life if, at that age, she should have issue, and the inutilty of the marriage, if she had not. Murdin, 321—336. Sadler, ii. 570.

bitter and vituperative language, her displeasure against the supposed adversaries of the marriage: the council hastened to commence a negotiation with Simier: and a preliminary treaty was, after some hesitation, concluded<sup>82</sup>.

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VI.

The treaty is  
concluded,  
Nov. 24.

But the cele-  
bration of the  
marriage post-  
poned.

In less than two months, the queen had changed her mind. Nothing less could be expected from the fickleness of her disposition: but she laid the blame on the new troubles which had arisen in France. The protestants had again taken up arms: the civil war raged in most of the provinces; and the duke of Anjou saw himself deprived of his resources for the projected conquest of Flanders. By his endeavours, tranquillity was once more restored in France; and the queen again expressed her readiness to receive his addresses. A splendid embassy arrived: the articles concluded with Simier were put in the form of a treaty between England and France; and it was fixed that the marriage should be contracted within six weeks; but with a provision, that either party should be at liberty to recede, if certain matters should not be accorded within the stipulated time, to their mutual satisfaction. The events which followed, afforded the queen new pretexts for delay<sup>83</sup>.

1581.  
Apr. 24.

June 11.

By the death of don John, the government of the Netherlands had devolved on the prince of Parma<sup>84</sup>; and his continued suc-

Anjou accepts  
the sovereignty  
of the pro-  
vinces.  
1578. Oct. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Murdin, 337. Digges, 350.

<sup>83</sup> Digges, 349, 350. Camden, 372, 373.

<sup>84</sup> In September, Egremont Ratcliff, and another English gentleman of the name of Gray, were executed in the market-place of Namur. Ratcliffe was brother to the earl of Sussex, and had been attainted for his share in the northern rebellion. He lived for some years abroad, on the bounty of the king of Spain, ventured back into England, in 1576, and was thrown into the Tower. On what terms he obtained permission to return to Flanders in 1577, we are ignorant. But there are several letters from him in Strype,

in which he offers to expose himself to any danger, in the queen's service, on condition of pardon. Strype, ii. 495—498. His escape from the death which threatened him, excited suspicion: a letter from Paris, accused him of treason: and being tortured with his companion Gray, he confessed that Walsingham had obtained for him a pardon, on condition that he would murder don Juan. "El Reclif dixo, que estando preso en la torre de Londres el señor de Walsingham le persuadio con grandes promesas que matase a don Juan." Herrera, ii. 187. Little credit is due to the confessions of prisoners on



CHAP.  
VI.1581.  
July 27.

Sept. 29.

cess had urged the states to the most decisive measures. After a long conflict between terror and duty, they assented to the suggestion of the prince of Orange; and having, by a public instrument, declared that Philip had forfeited his right to the sovereignty of the country, elected in his place Francis of Valois, duke of Anjou. St. Aldegonde was dispatched with the intelligence to that prince, and returned with two instruments; one public, by which he notified his acceptance of the office: the other private, by which he engaged to transfer to the prince of Orange, the two provinces of Holland and Zealand, to be held in fee by him and his descendants. In Belgium the event was celebrated with public rejoicings; though the fanaticism of the protestant soldiers, who plundered the churches of their catholic allies, irritated the religious feelings of the people. In France, the standard of the duke was surrounded by adventurers of both creeds, anxious to deserve, by their services, the notice of the presumptive heir to the crown. At the head of sixteen thousand men he crossed the frontiers: the prince of Parma raised the siege of Cambray, and the Belgians hailed the duke as the saviour of their country<sup>85</sup>.

Though the queen had made Anjou a present of 100,000 crowns, in support of his pretensions to the sovereignty of Flanders, she discovered in his success a new objection to the celebration of their marriage. Such a proceeding, at that moment, would necessarily involve her in a war with the king of Spain: the late accession to the power of that monarch, by the annexation of Portugal to his former dominions, had rendered him the terror of all the neighbouring princes: and she therefore proposed to her

the rack: but the foreign writers say that he confirmed the truth of this confession on the scaffold, before he was beheaded; while the English assert that "both declared themselves

"innocent of that wherewith they were charged." Sadler, ii. 217. See Camden, 321, and Strada, x. anno 1578.

<sup>85</sup> Bentivoglio, ii. 28. 33, 34. Cabrera, 1123.

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VI.He is con-  
tracted to  
Elizabeth.

Sept. 13.

Nov.

Nov. 17.

Nov. 22.

brother, the most christian king, in lieu of a marriage with Anjou, a league offensive and defensive for their mutual protection<sup>86</sup>.

The French monarch gave repeatedly the same answer to the English envoys : that he was ready to sign a league offensive and defensive against Spain, whenever Elizabeth should fulfil her promise of marriage to his brother. That prince, having placed his army in winter quarters, hastened, at her request, to England. She received him with every demonstration of the most ardent attachment. She gave him a promise, written with her own hand, (exacting at the same time a similar promise from him) to look upon his enemies as her own ; to assist him in all cases in which he should require it, and not to treat with the king of Spain without his consent<sup>87</sup>. Soon after she had celebrated the anniversary of her accession, in the presence of the foreign ambassadors, and of the English nobility, she placed a ring on his finger, saying, that by that ceremony she pledged herself to become his wife ; and commanded the bishop of Lincoln, the earls of Sussex, Bedford, and Leicester, and Hatton and Walsingham, to subscribe a written paper, regulating the rites to be observed, and the form of contract to be pronounced by both parties at the celebration of the marriage<sup>88</sup>. Every doubt was expelled from

quered the whole kingdom, with the exception of the small island of Tercera, which still acknowledged don Antonio. That prince had come to England, and solicited the aid of Elizabeth. Cabrera, 1001—1016. 1025.

<sup>87</sup> There were two promises, one more general than the other. Elizabeth acknowledges in them, that for attachment and constancy, the duke was the most deserving of all her suitors, " de tous ceux, qui nous ont recherchée et poursuivie d'amour." *Memoires du duc de Nevers*, i. 545. This narrative was written at the time by one of his suite.

<sup>88</sup> Daniel says, that when he wrote, the original was preserved in the library of M. Foucault. Daniel, xi. 151. In the *Memoires* de

<sup>86</sup> Digges, 351. 354. 409. Camden, 374. By her allusion to the increased power of Philip, the queen meant his recent subjugation of Portugal. At the death of Henry, cardinal archbishop of Evora, and king of Portugal, the right of succession was in the princes of the house of Braganza, as representatives of Edward, the youngest brother of the deceased monarch ; but the crown was given, in a popular meeting at Santarem, to don Antonio, commendator of Prato, the natural son of don Louis, one of the other brothers. There appeared, however, another and more powerful claimant, Philip of Spain, the male heir of his mother, an elder sister. In the space of fifty-eight days Philip con-

**CHAP.** the minds of the spectators : Castelnau hastened to inform the  
**VI.** king of France; St. Aldegond sent an express with the intelligence  
 to the states ; and the union of the queen and the duke, as if it  
 had already been solemnized, was celebrated at Brussels with  
 fire-works, discharges of artillery, and the usual demonstrations  
 of joy.

Though Leicester, Walsingham, and Hatton, at the royal command, had put their signatures to the paper, they had previously, but secretly, arranged a new plan of opposition. When Elizabeth retired to her apartment in the evening, she was assailed by the tears and sighs of her female attendants. On their knees they conjured her to pause, before she precipitated herself into the gulf of evils, which was open before her. They exaggerated the dangers to which women at her years were exposed in child-bed ; hinted at the probability that a young husband would forsake an aged wife for a more youthful mistress : represented to her the objections of her subjects to the controul of a foreigner : and prayed her not to sully her fair fame, as a protestant princess, by marrying a popish husband.

She recalls her  
 consent.

The duke, in the morning, received a message from the queen, and hastened to pay his respects to his supposed bride. He found her pale, and in tears. Two more such nights as the last, she told him, would consign her to the grave. She had passed it in the deepest anguish of mind ; in a constant conflict between her inclination and her duty. He must not think that her affection for him was diminished. He still possessed her heart : but the prejudices of her people opposed an insuperable bar to their union. She had, after a long struggle, determined to sa-

Nevers, we are told, that the particulars were agreed on the 11th of June ; and that, as soon as the ceremony of marriage was performed, each was to retire, the queen to at-

tend at the reformed, the duke at the catholic service, and then to meet again at the door. Nevers, i. 568.



crifice her own happiness to the tranquillity and the welfare of the kingdom.

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When Anjou would have replied, Hatton, who was present, came to the aid of his mistress. He enumerated the common objections to the marriage; but insisted chiefly on the disparity of age. The queen was in her forty-ninth year. What probability was there that she should have issue: and without the prospect of issue, what reasonable object could she have in marriage? Besides, the contract was conditional: it remained to be seen whether the king of France would ratify the terms on which it had been concluded. With the answer of the duke we are not acquainted: but he returned to his apartment pensive and irritated, and throwing from him the ring, exclaimed, that the women of England were as changeable and capricious as the waves which encircled their island<sup>89</sup>.

The news of the espousals had equally alarmed the zealots of both religions. In France it was pronounced from the pulpit, that the marriage of the presumptive heir to the monarchy with an heretical princess portended nothing less than the speedy downfall of the church. In England the preachers compared their countrymen with the Jews, who demanded a king, and soon had reason to condemn their own folly. But that which chiefly irritated the queen, was the bold and inflammatory language of a libel written by Stubbs, of Lincoln's Inn. It accused the ministers of ingratitude to their country, the queen of degeneracy from her former virtue; charged the French nation in general, and the duke of Anjou in particular, with the most odious vices; and described the marriage as an impious and sacrilegious union between a daughter of God and a son of the devil. Elizabeth, by proclamation, cleared the character of Anjou and his minister

Punishes li-  
bellers against  
him.

<sup>89</sup> For these particulars, see Camden, 375, 376. Novers, i. 552. 554. Daniel, xi. 150, 151.

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VI.

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Simier, and ordered the libellous pamphlet to be burnt by the public executioner. The author, publisher, and printer, were condemned in the court of the King's Bench to lose their right hands, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The last was pardoned: the other two, having petitioned in vain for mercy, suffered their punishment in the market-place of Westminster. Stubbs, the moment his right hand was lopt off, uncovered his head with the left, and waving his cap, exclaimed, "Long live the queen<sup>90</sup>!"

Reluctantly  
allows him to  
depart.

The duke of Anjou had now demanded leave to depart. But the amorous queen could not bear the idea of separation. She requested him to remain, assured him of her intention to marry him hereafter, sent messengers to renew the negociation in Paris, loaded him with caresses in public as well as in private<sup>91</sup>, and invented daily new plans of amusement to reconcile him to her capricious delays<sup>92</sup>. Thus three months rolled away. The godly were scandalized; the ministers dreaded the result; and the states of Belgium impatiently demanded the presence of their new sovereign: but Elizabeth was still irresolute: and the time came, when it was necessary that the lovers should part. Having vented her passion on the Belgian commissioners, she accompanied the duke as far as Canterbury. There she

1542.  
Feb. 8.

<sup>90</sup> Camden, 378. *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 143. 149. 153. 158.

<sup>91</sup> Her conduct gave rise to the most scandalous tales. The French author of the memoir tells us, that they spent their time together, and that she proved her affection to him by "baisers, privautés, caresses et mignardises ordinaires entre amans." Nevers, 555. The countess of Shrewsbury speaks still more plainly: "qu'il vous avoit esté trouver une nuit à la porte de vostre chambre, ou vous l'aviez rencontré avec vostre seule chemise" et manteau de nuit; et que par après vous l'aviez laissé entrer, et qu'il demeura avec-

"ques vous pres de troys heures." Murdin, 558. From this passage, the imagination of Whitaker has woven a strange and improbable tale, ii. 516.

<sup>92</sup> On new year's day the duke exerted himself much at a tournament. The moment it was over, the queen ran to him, saluted him repeatedly in public, and led him by the hand to his bed-chamber, that he might repose himself. The next morning, she visited him again before he arose. He had taken the following verse for his device.

*Serviet æternum, dulcis quem torquet Eliza.* Nevers, 555—557.

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VI.

exacted a promise that he would revisit her in the space of a month; took leave of him in tears; and, hastily retracing her steps, refused to reside at Whitehall, lest the place should obtrude on her mind the recollection of the happy hours which she had spent in his company<sup>93</sup>.

For greater distinction, Elizabeth had ordered the earl of Leicester, with six lords, as many knights, and a numerous train of gentlemen, to accompany the duke, not only to the sea side, but as far as the city of Brussels. There he was solemnly invested with the ducal mantle as duke of Brabant: and afterwards crowned at Ghent as earl of Flanders. During the summer, aided by England and France, he opposed, with chequered success, the attempts of the prince of Parma: but observing that the states were jealous of his followers, and that the real authority was possessed not by himself, but by the prince of Orange, he conceived the idea of giving the law to his inferiors, by seizing on the same day, most of the principal towns in the country. The attempt failed in almost every instance: many thousands of his followers were slain; and he escaped, disheartened and ashamed, into France. His death, after a long indisposition, whether it were caused by poison, or intemperance, or disappointment, freed the queen from a passion, which probably would have led her into a repetition of her amorous follies<sup>94</sup>.

His subsequent conduct and death.

Feb. 19.

Aug. 20.

1583.  
Jan. 17.

June 1.

1584.  
June 10.

<sup>93</sup> "The departure was mournfull betwixt her highness and Monsure: she lothe to let him gove, and he as lothe to depart. Her majestie wyll not cum to White Haule, because the places shall not give cause of remembrance to hir, of him with whom she so unwillingli parted. Monsure promised his returne in March." Lord Talbot, Feb. 12. Lodge, ii. 260. The same is asserted by the author of the French Memoir. Nevers, 559. 565.

<sup>94</sup> So much was she still attached to him, that on May 7th, Stafford, the ambassador, was obliged to excuse himself for having informed her of the danger of the duke. She would not believe it, but accused Stafford of wishing his death. So severe was the reprimand, that he did not dare to inform her of the event, when it actually happened. "I had thought to have written to her majestye, but I darst not presume for feare of ministring cawse of greefe." Mur-



CHAP.  
VI.State of Ire-  
land.1560.  
Jan. 11.

Before I conclude this chapter, I must call the attention of the reader to the state of Ireland, where, at the accession of Elizabeth, the reins of government were held by the earl of Sussex. In the last reign he had called a parliament to establish, in this he called another to abolish, the catholic worship. It was enacted, that the Irish should be reformed after the model of the English church: but both the nobility and the people abhorred the change; and the new statutes were carried into execution in those places only where they could be enforced at the point of the bayonet<sup>95</sup>.

Among the aboriginal Irish, the man who chiefly excited the jealousy of the government, was Shane O’Nial, the eldest among the legitimate children of the earl of Tyrone. Henry VIII. had granted the succession to Matthew, a bastard son; but Shane claimed the chieftainry of Ulster, as his right, and the natives honoured and obeyed him as the O’Nial. Through the suggestion of Sussex he consented to visit Elizabeth, and to lay his pretensions before her. At the English court he appeared in the dress of his country, attended by his guard, who were armed with their battle axes, and arrayed in linen vests dyed with saffron. The queen was pleased; and, though she did not confirm his claim, dismissed him with promises of favour. Sometimes he rendered the most useful services to the English government; at other times he revenged severely the real or imaginary injuries which he received. He was of a turbulent, but generous disposition; proud of his name and importance, and most feelingly alive to every species of insult. At last he broke—perhaps was driven—into acts of open rebellion: repeated losses compelled him to seek refuge among the Scots of Ulster,

din, 397. 406. The writers who attribute to policy her negotiation with Anjou, cannot have consulted the original documents.

<sup>95</sup> Irish St. 2 Eliz. 1, 2, 3.

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VI.1568.  
July.

equally enemies to the natives and the English ; and the Irish chief was basely assassinated by his new friends, at the instigation of Piers, an English officer. By act of parliament, the name, with the dignity of O'Nial, was extinguished for ever : to assume it was made high treason ; and the lands of Shane and of all his adherents, comprising one half of Ulster, were vested in the crown, with some trifling exceptions, in favour of a few loyalists<sup>96</sup>.

But the reduction of Ulster did not secure peace in Ireland. The turbulence of the native chieftains, whether of Irish or English origin, precipitated them continually into local wars ; and their attachment to the catholic faith alienated them from a government, by which their religion was proscribed. In every province insurrections broke out ; but were every where suppressed, sometimes with greater, sometimes with less difficulty. The general punishment was the forfeiture of the lands of the delinquents ; but it was found to be more easy to pronounce than to enforce such punishment. On this account sir Thomas Smith, the secretary, suggested to the queen a new plan, to colonize the forfeited districts with English settlers, who having an interest in the soil, would be willing to oppose the natives without expense to the crown.

Fruitless attempt to colonize it with Englishmen.

The experiment was made : grants were made to the bastard son of the projector and to other adventurers : and the consequence was that the districts of which they took possession,

1572.

<sup>96</sup> Camden, 153—156. Rym. xv. 676. Irish St. 11 Eliz. Sess. 3. 1. I may here notice the irregular manner in which the Irish parliaments were summoned. In the last, only ten counties out of twenty, were called upon to return representatives : in this, on complaint

being made, the judges were consulted, and several representatives sent by boroughs not incorporated, and some officers, who had returned themselves, were ejected. See Leland, ii. 225. 242.

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VI.

Adventures of  
the earl of Essex.

1573.

were reduced to the state of a wilderness by endless and destructive wars between the new settlers and the native inhabitants<sup>97</sup>. The failure, however, was attributed, not to any defect in the system, but to the limited scale on which it had been tried. Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, offered to subdue and colonize with 1200 men the district of Clanhuboy in the province of Ulster. By a contract between him and Elizabeth it was agreed, that each should furnish an equal share of the expense; and that the colony should be equally divided between them, as soon as it had been planted with 2000 settlers. Essex was dazzled with the splendid prospect before him: and his enemies at court stimulated him with predictions of success, though they had no other view than to remove him from the presence of the queen. When he had mortgaged his estates, and proceeded in the enterprise till it would be ruinous to retrace his steps, they began to throw every impediment in his way. The summer was almost past, before he could reach Ireland. There Fitzwilliams, the lord deputy, objected to his powers: the natives, under Phelim O'Nial, opposed a formidable resistance<sup>98</sup>; and it was discovered that the provisions furnished by the queen were unsound, and her troops ill-provided with arms. He maintained himself with difficulty during the winter; but the lords Dacre and Rich, most of the gentlemen, and many of the common soldiers, with or without permission, returned to England. In the spring the enterprise was abandoned; and the earl consented to aid the deputy in suppressing the insurgents in different parts of the island. It would be tedious to follow

<sup>97</sup> Camden, 271.

<sup>98</sup> Id. 286—288. The Irish annals assert, that the next year, 1573, Essex assassinated

Phelim O'Nial at a banquet, to which the native chief had been invited. Leland, ii. 257.



this adventurous nobleman through his remaining career. He proposed plans which were approved and then rejected : he obtained leave to return home, and was sent back to Ireland, with the empty title of earl marshal ; and at length, after a succession of disappointments, he died at Dublin, of a dysentery, probably caused by anxiety of mind. By the public, however, his death was attributed to poison, supposed to have been administered to him by the procurement of Leicester<sup>99</sup>. This new plan of colonization was viewed with horror by the natives both of Irish and of English extraction. In the expulsion of the adherents of O'Nial they saw, or thought they saw, the fate, which was reserved for themselves : and many chieftains either in person

<sup>99</sup> See an interesting account of his death in Hearne's Camden, Præf. lxxxix. Great pains were taken to prove to the queen and council, that he died a natural death. (See Camden, 308, 309, and the Sydney papers, i. 88.) I may here add that, if the earls of Essex and Leicester were enemies, the countess of Essex and Leicester were friends. The latter, after the death or murder of his first wife, had cohabited with Douglas, the widow of lord Sheffield. If we may believe her, they had been privately married : certain it is, that she bore him a son, whose fortunes will claim the attention of the reader in the following volume. At what time Leicester abandoned her for Lettice, countess of Essex, we know not : but there is too much reason to think that it was during the life of the earl her husband. After his death they were secretly married, and to justify this union, Leicester maintained, that his alleged marriage with lady Sheffield, was the fiction of a disappointed woman. Sir Francis Knollys, the father of Lettice, was pacified ; but fearful that his daughter might hereafter be treated in the same manner as lady Sheffield, he insisted that the ceremony should be repeated in his presence. For some time it

was kept secret ; but the reader has seen that it was revealed by Simier to Elizabeth, who from that moment professed herself an enemy to the woman that dared to become a rival for the heart of her favourite. Even the young earl of Essex, in the height of his power, pleaded for his mother in vain. He obtained indeed, more than once, permission to introduce her to Elizabeth in the privy gallery : but whenever notice was sent to the queen, she always excused herself from leaving her room. At length, on the 27th of Feb. 1598, two-and-twenty years after the marriage, Elizabeth promised to meet her at dinner at the house of her brother, sir William Knollys. Great preparations were made ; the countess took with her a jewel of the value of £300 to present to her majesty : the coach drove to the door of the palace for the queen : yet she did not appear. Essex went to entreat her privately. She positively refused. The next day, however, the favourite brought them together : the countess kissed the queen's hand and breast, and Elizabeth kissed her in return. But this was all : her solicitations for a second interview were ineffectual. See the Sydney Papers, ii. 92, 93. 95. Camden, 308, 309.

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or by messengers implored the aid of the catholic powers for the preservation of their property and of their religion. The kings of France and Spain were occupied with concerns of more immediate interest ; but Gregory XIII., who had succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, lent a willing ear to their complaints and solicitations. In the bull of his predecessor, Ireland had not been named : but the omission was now supplied ; and Gregory signed, though he did not publish, a new bull, by which Elizabeth was declared to have forfeited the crown of Ireland no less than that of England<sup>100</sup>. Among those, who offered to carry it into execution, were Thomas Stukely and James Fitzmaurice. Stukely was an English adventurer, without honour or conscience, who had sold his services at the same time to the queen and to the pope, and who alternately abused the confidence and betrayed the secrets of each. Having obtained from the pontiff a ship of war, six hundred disciplined soldiers, and three thousand stand of arms, he sailed from Civita Vecchia to join Fitzmaurice at Lisbon ; but immediately offered his services to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and perished in the company of that prince at the battle of Alcazar against Abdalmelech, king of Fez and Morocco<sup>101</sup>. Fitzmaurice was an Irishman, the brother of the earl of Desmond, and an inveterate enemy to the English government. In his first attempt he suffered shipwreck on the coast of Galicia ; by the aid of the papal ambassador he procured other vessels, and sailing from Portugal took possession of the port of Smerwick, near Kerry. He had brought with him no more than eighty Spanish soldiers, a few Irish and English exiles, and the celebrated Dr. Sanders in

1578.

1579.

<sup>100</sup> Becchetti, xii. 221.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. 222. Camden, 323, 327.

the capacity of papal legate. But he trusted to the popularity of his name, the resources of his family, and the influence of a bull, which granted to his followers all the privileges usually enjoyed by the crusaders. His hopes were however disappointed. The Irish, taught by preceding failures, listened with coldness to his solicitations: he fell in a private quarrel with one of his kinsmen; and the invaders, to save themselves from destruction, sought an asylum among the retainers of the earl of Desmond. Though that nobleman made loud professions of loyalty, his conduct provoked suspicion: he was proclaimed a traitor, and his domains were plundered by the English. At the moment when his fortunes appeared desperate, a ray of hope appeared. Lord Grey de Wilton, the new deputy, was defeated in the vale of Glendalough; and San Giuseppe, an Italian officer, in the pay of the pontiff, arrived at Smerwick from Portugal, with seven hundred men, a large sum of money, and five thousand stand of arms. But the new comers had scarcely erected a fort, when they were besieged by the lord deputy on land, and blockaded on the sea side by admiral Winter. San Giuseppe, in opposition to the advice of the officers, proposed to surrender; the soldiers joined in the opinion of their commander, and the gates were thrown open to the besiegers. By the English it has been asserted, that no conditions were granted; by the foreigners that they had capitulated for their lives. Sir Walter Raleigh entered the fort, received their arms, and then ordered them to be massacred in cold blood. This disastrous event extinguished the last hope of Desmond: yet he contrived to elude the diligence of his pursuers, and for three years dragged on a miserable existence among the glens and forests. At last a small party of his enemies, attracted by a glimmering light, entered a hut,

1580.

1583.



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in which they found a venerable old man without attendants, lying on the hearth before the fire. He had only time to exclaim, "I am the earl of Desmond," when Kelly of Moriarty struck off his head, which was conveyed, a grateful present, to Elizabeth, and by her order fixed on London-bridge<sup>102</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> Becchetti, 222, 223. Wilk. con. iv. 260. Camden, 334—344. 406.

## CHAP. VII.

## E L I Z A B E T H.

PERSECUTION OF THE PURITANS—THE CATHOLICS—AND THE ANA-  
 BAPTISTS—REVOLUTIONS IN SCOTLAND—MORTON IS EXECUTED  
 FOR THE MURDER OF DARNLEY—PLOTS FOR THE LIBERATION  
 OF MARY STUART—EXECUTION OF ARDEN, AND THROCKMOR-  
 TON—PENAL ENACTMENTS—HISTORY OF PARRY—HIS EXECU-  
 TION—FLIGHT AND CONDEMNATION OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL  
 —TRAGICAL DEATH OF THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

**I**N the preceding chapters, the reader has witnessed the con-  
 duct of the English queen, as the ally of the insurgent re-  
 ligionists in France and the Netherlands. But, if for political  
 objects she deemed it advisable to countenance their attempts  
 against the authority of their sovereigns, she still retained the  
 most rooted antipathy to their discipline and doctrine: and, in  
 proportion as their brethren, the English puritans, laboured to

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establish the reform of Geneva at home, she employed all the power of the crown to check their zeal, and to punish their disobedience. Year after year the most menacing proclamations were issued : first one, then another diocese was “ purged :” and the deprived ministers clamorously complained of the hardness of their fate, of the severity of the commissioners, and of the extortions practised in the ecclesiastical courts.

Persecution of  
the puritans.

I. Had the queen, however, confined herself to the deprivation of the nonconformists, she might perhaps have justified her conduct by the principle, that those who refuse to adopt the discipline, cannot expect to be employed as the ministers of the established church. But her orthodoxy, or that of her advisers, proceeded further. All her subjects were required to submit to the superior judgment of their sovereign, and to practise that religious worship which she practised. Every other form of service, whether it were that of Geneva in its evangelical purity, or the mass with its supposed idolatry, was strictly forbidden ; and both the catholic and the puritan were liable to the severest penalties, if they presumed to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. It must appear singular, that so intolerant a system should be enforced by men, who loudly condemned the proceedings of the last reign : in its defence they alleged an argument founded on the distinction between internal and external worship. The queen, they said, “ would not dive “ into consciences.” Internally, her subjects might believe, might worship, as they pleased. All that she required was external conformity to the law. *That* she had a right to exact. If any man refused, the fault was his own : he suffered not for conscience sake, but for his obstinacy, and his disobedience. That this miserable sophism should satisfy the judgment of those who employed it, can hardly be credited : yet it was ostenta-



tiously brought forward in proclamations ; and was confidently urged by the English agents in their communications to foreign courts<sup>1</sup>.

The puritans had many friends in the house of commons, who powerfully advocated their cause, and in every session covered the table with bills for a further reformation : but the queen as often checked their zeal, sometimes reprimanding them personally, sometimes forbidding the house to proceed, and sometimes ordering the bills themselves to be surrendered into her hands. She found a willing and able coadjutor in the archbishop, who defended, with vigour, the interests of the church, over which he presided ; and who, though he had occasionally to lament the caprice of his sovereign, kept her, by his counsels and perseverance, true to the cause of the hierarchy. For a while the dissidents cherished the hope of ultimate success : but their patience was gradually exhausted ; and disappointment urged the zealots among them to expressions of rancour, and acts of violence, which their brethren of more sober judgment condemned. Pamphlets, abounding in the most scurrilous language, were published : and Burchet, a student of the Middle Temple, in a fit of religious frenzy, murdered Hawkins, an officer, in the open street. He had mistaken his victim for Hatton, the new favourite ; and boasted aloud that he had slain the champion of papistry, and the enemy of the gospel<sup>2</sup>. The blood of Hawkins

1573.  
Oct.1574.  
June.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, i. 582. Even Walsingham, though he says, that the queen thinks consciences are not to be forced but won, adds, that " as a prince of great wisdom and magnanimity, she would suffer but the exercise of one religion." Cabala, 407.

<sup>2</sup> Burchet was at first tried for heresy, and escaped the stake by abjuring the opinions attributed to him. The queen then determined to execute him by martial law ; the warrant

was even made out, but was recalled at the remonstrance of some of the council. However, Burchet relieved her from her trouble ; for, taking his keeper Longworth to be Hatton, he knocked out the man's brains with a fire-brand ; and was, in consequence, condemned and executed for murder. It is evident that he was insane. Camden, 284. Stow, 677.

CHAP.  
VII.1575.  
May 17.

Grindal.

1577.  
May 7.

1580.

Whitgift.  
1583.  
July 6.

alarmed the archbishop: an attempt was made to prove the existence of a conspiracy against his life; and three divines of ultra-reforming principles were apprehended. But the council, after mature deliberation, pronounced the documents forgeries, and discharged the prisoners<sup>3</sup>. The death of archbishop Parker was followed by the promotion of Grindal, a prelate, from whose previous indulgence, and secret leaning to the Genevan theology, the puritans promised themselves forbearance, if not protection. But the queen, in a short time, suspected the orthodoxy of the new metropolitan. He had always approved of certain meetings, called prophesyings, in which the neighbouring clergymen assembled to discuss religious subjects. The queen condemned them as nurseries of disobedience and sectarianism. When she ordered their suppression, Grindal remonstrated. Her pride, or her jealousy, was offended: she suspended him from the exercise of his authority: a threat of deprivation was added: and more than two years elapsed before he was restored at his humble petition, and after a sincere acknowledgment of his offence. He could not, however, recover her favour: in a short time he received a royal order to resign his see: and if he was spared the mortification, it was only by his death, which had been hastened through anxiety of mind, and the enmity of his sovereign<sup>4</sup>. He was succeeded by a prelate of a more stern and orthodox character, archbishop Whitgift, whose pen had already proved him an able champion of the establishment, and whose vigilance and intrepidity in his new office, exposed the secret attempts, and defeated the open attacks of its adversaries. As a

<sup>3</sup> Collier, 547.

<sup>4</sup> Strype's Grindal, 231. 272. 277. 286. Lansdown MSS. xxxvii. 18. xxxviii. 69. Camden assures us, that the real cause of his disgrace was his condemnation of the unlaw-

ful marriage of Giulio, the celebrated physician of Leicester, who from that moment laboured to effect his ruin. Grindal was the founder of the school at St. Bees, in Cumberland. Camden, 403.

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test of orthodoxy, he proposed three articles, which asserted that the queen was the supreme head of the church, that the ordinal and book of common prayer contained nothing contrary to the word of God, and that the thirty-nine articles were to be admitted as agreeable to the holy scriptures. To these the puritans opposed others: but the archbishop suspended the clergymen who refused to subscribe; and, in defiance of the clamour of his enemies, and of the intrigues of their friends in the council, prevented every projected change in the constitution, or the discipline of the church<sup>5</sup>.

To restrain the violence of the dissident writers, an act had been recently passed, making it felony "to write, print, or set forth, any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, containing any matter to the defamation of the queen's majesty, or the encouraging of insurrection or rebellion within the realm." That a polemical treatise against parts of the book of common prayer, should come within the operation of this statute, will excite surprise: but it was held that such a tract, by endeavouring to subvert the constitution of the church, and the supremacy of the queen, tended to the encouragement of rebellion, and the defamation of the sovereign. Thacker and Copping, two non-conforming ministers, and Wilsford, their lay disciple, were indicted and convicted under the statute. Wilsford saved his life by taking the oath of supremacy: the others refused, and died martyrs to their religious principles<sup>6</sup>.

Execution of  
Thacker and  
Copping.

June 4.

June 6.

II. But the sufferings of the puritans bore no comparison with those of the catholics. The puritans were considered as brethren, whose transgressions sprung from an exuberance of zeal;

Persecution  
of the catho-  
lics.<sup>5</sup> Camden, 404.<sup>6</sup> These men were Brownists, a class of ultra-puritans, who, looking upon the church

of England as an unchristian church, refused to communicate with it. Neal, c. vi. Strype, iii. 186.



CHAP.  
VII.1563.  
Sept. 24.

Nov. 4.

Penalties to  
which they  
were subject.

the catholics as idolators, whose worship could not be tolerated by the true servants of the Almighty : the poverty of the former offered no reward ; the wealth of the latter presented an alluring bait to the orthodoxy of their persecutors. As early as the year 1563, the attention of the emperor Ferdinand had been called to the sufferings of the English catholics. In different letters he recommended to the queen the practice of toleration, solicited her indulgence in favour of the deprived bishops, and exhorted her to grant one church at least in each populous town for the exercise of the catholic worship. To the first of these requests, she replied, that by screening the prelates from the penalties to which they were liable by law, she had already fulfilled his wish : to the other, that such a concession was contrary to her conscience : “ it was a thing evil in itself, and unprofitable to those “ for whom it was required<sup>7</sup>.”

Many of the more zealous or more timid among the catholics sought, with their families, an asylum beyond the sea. Their lands and property were immediately seized by the crown, and given, or sold at low prices, to the followers of the court<sup>8</sup>. Those who remained might be divided into two classes. Some, to escape the penalties, attended occasionally at the established

<sup>7</sup> Strype, i. 370. Pollini, 353. The penalties to which the queen alluded, were those incurred by the refusal of the oath of supremacy. She had forbidden it to be tendered to the deprived prelates. Horn, however, the new bishop of Winchester, summoned Bonner to take it ; but Bonner pleaded that Horn was no bishop in law, and therefore had no authority. He argued that Horn had been consecrated according to the ordinal of Edward VI. which had been abolished under queen Mary, and had never since been established by act of parliament. On the contrary, the act of the 25th of Henry VIII. had been revived in the first of Elizabeth ; and

according to that act bishops must be consecrated after the catholic form. It was difficult in law to resist this plea ; and, therefore, in the parliament of 1566, it was enacted, that all consecrations according to the ordinal of Edward VI. should be accounted valid ; but, at the same time, that all tenders of the oath of supremacy hitherto made by bishops so ordained, should be void and of no effect. Strype, i. 340. 493. Strype's Parker, 61.

<sup>8</sup> In Strype (ii. App. 102,) may be seen a list of fugitives, comprehending sixty-eight names, certified for this purpose into the exchequer.

service ; and endeavoured to elude the charge of hypocrisy, by maintaining, from the words of the queen's proclamation, that such attendance was with them nothing more than the discharge of a civil duty, an expression of their obedience to the letter of the law. But this evasion did not satisfy more timorous consciences. The greater number abstained from a worship which they disapproved ; and were, in consequence, compelled to pass their lives in alarm and solicitude. They lay at the mercy of their neighbours and enemies : they were daily watched by the pursuivants : they were liable at any hour to be hurried before the courts of high commission, to be interrogated upon oath, how often they had been at church, and when, or where, they had received the sacrament ; to be condemned, as recusants, to fines and imprisonment, or as persons reconciled, to forfeiture and confinement for life<sup>9</sup>. Their terrors were renewed every year by proclamations, calling upon the magistrates, the bishops, and the ecclesiastical commissioners, to redouble their vigilance, and enforce the laws respecting religion. Private houses were searched to discover priests, or persons assisting at mass. The foreign ambassadors complained of the violation of their privileges, by the intrusion of the pursuivants into their chapels<sup>10</sup> : and even Elizabeth herself, to give the example, occasionally condescended to commit to prison the recusants, who were denounced to her in the course of her progresses<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Among those imprisoned and fined, were Hastings lord Loughborough, sir Edward Waldegrave, sir Thomas Fitzherbert, sir Edward Stanley, sir John Southworth, the ladies Waldegrave, Wharton, Carew, Brooks, Morley, Jarmin, Brown, Guilford, &c. Strype, i. 233. 327. ii. 110. 255. 263. 408. 416. 495. Strype's Grindal, 138. 151, 152. In Haynes, is a singular letter to the council from the bishops of London and Ely ; who, having

examined the persons taken at mass at lady Carew's, suggested that the priest should be tortured, to make him confess the names of those who had attended on other occasions. Haynes, 365.

<sup>10</sup> Strype, i. 327. ii. 212. 410.

<sup>11</sup> " Her majestie hath served God with  
" great zeale and comfortable examples ; for  
" by her counsaile too notorious papists,  
" younge Rookewoode, and one Downes, a

CHAP.  
VII.Establishment  
of seminaries.

1568.

Queen Mary's priests, as the ancient non-conforming clergy were called, had continued for years to exercise their functions in private houses, at considerable risk to themselves and to their patrons. But death annually thinned their numbers; the deprived bishops were prevented from ordaining others to succeed in their places; and it was confidently expected, that in the course of a short time, the catholic priesthood, and with it the exercise of the catholic worship, would become extinct in the kingdom<sup>12</sup>. If both were perpetuated, it was owing to the foresight of William Allen, a clergyman, of an ancient family in Lancashire, and formerly principal of St. Mary's hall in Oxford. To him it occurred, that colleges might be opened abroad, in lieu of those which had been closed to the catholics at home. His plan was approved by his friends: several foreign noblemen and ecclesiastical bodies offered their contributions; and Allen established himself in the university of Douay. At first he had only six companions: the number was multiplied by the accession of many among the exiles, and of still more from the English universities; and in a short time the new college contained no fewer than one hundred and fifty members, many of them eminent scholars, all animated with zeal for the propagation of that religion, on account of which they had abandoned their own country, and sought an asylum in a foreign clime. Their object was

"gentleman, were both comytted, th' one to  
"the town preson at Norwyche, the other to  
"the countrie preson there, for obstynate pa-  
"pistrie: and vii. more gent<sup>s</sup>. of worship  
"were comytted to several houses in Nor-  
"wych as presoners; too of the Lovells, an-  
"other Downes, one Beningfild, one Pary,  
"and two others not worthe memory, for  
"baddness of belyffe." The queen lodged  
at Rookewoode's house, at Euston: and,  
thanking him for the lodging, gave him her  
hand to kisse. "But my lord chamberlayn (the

"earl of Sussex,) noblye and gravely, under-  
"standing that he was excommunicated for  
"papistrie, cawled him before him: demand-  
"ed of him how he durst presume to attempt  
"her reall presence, he, unfytt to accompany  
"any Chrystyan person: forthwith sayd he  
"was fyttter for a payre of stocks; command-  
"ed him out of the coort, and at Norwych  
"he was comytted." Lodge, ii. 186. Aug.  
30, 1578.

<sup>12</sup> Allen's reply to Burleigh's "execution  
"of justice," c. iii.



to study theology, to receive orders, and to return to England. Thus a constant succession was maintained; and in the course of the first five years, Dr. Allen sent almost one hundred missionaries into the kingdom<sup>13</sup>.

The success of this establishment disconcerted the lords of the council. They applied to Requesens, the governor of the Netherlands, and in return for the exclusion of the insurgent navy from the English ports, obtained from him the dissolution of the college. But the princes of the house of Guise offered the fugitives their protection; and Allen established himself in the city of Rheims, under the archbishop, the cardinal of Lorraine. The English ambassador remonstrated in vain: the king of France refused to interfere; and the council determined, as a last resource, to arrest the zeal of the missionaries by the terror of capital punishment. The first victim was Cuthbert Maine, a priest in Cornwall, charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, denied the supremacy of the queen, and said mass in the house of Mr. Tregian. Of these heinous offences, no satisfactory evidence was adduced, but the court informed the jury, that where proof could not be procured, its place might be supplied by strong presumptions. This was, indeed, a very questionable doctrine: but the council determined that the sentence should be carried into execution, for a warning to the catholic priesthood; and Maine suffered, at Launceston, the barbarous death of a traitor. Even Tregian, in whose house he had been taken, was condemned in a præmunire: the

Execution of  
Maine.1575.  
Mar. 27.1577.  
Sept. 29.

Nov. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Camden (347) has given an account of the seminarists, which appears to be taken from the declamatory invectives of the crown lawyers, during the trials of the missionaries. They universally denied these charges; which were victoriously answered by Dr. Allen, in

a tract, intitled, "Apology and True Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the Two English Colleges," &c. See extracts from it in Mr. Butler's valuable "Memoirs of the English Catholics," i. 211.

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queen took possession of his large estate ; and the unfortunate gentleman languished till death in a prison <sup>14</sup>.

The fate of Maine and Tregian acted as a stimulus to the industry of those who professed themselves the adversaries of popery. A more active search was made after recusants ; every jail in the kingdom numbered among its inmates prisoners for religion : and on one occasion no fewer than twenty catholics of family and fortune perished of an infectious disease in the castle of York <sup>15</sup>. Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a layman, who by force of torture, or through captious interrogations, had been led to a denial of the queen's supremacy, were drawn, hanged, and quartered.

1578.  
Feb. 3.  
  
Feb. 7.  
  
Arrival of Per-  
sons and Cam-  
pian.

The experience of ages has proved, that such severities cannot damp the ardour of religious zeal. Missionaries now poured into the kingdom. Gregory XIII. established an additional seminary in Rome <sup>16</sup> ; and Mercurianus, the general of the Je-

1579.  
Apr. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Bridgewater, 34. 50. 319 ; and the old editions of the State Trials. The bull was merely a copy of the last jubilee, which, he said, he had bought through curiosity in a bookseller's shop.

<sup>15</sup> Bridgewater, 38. 298. From the accumulation of filth and want of ventilation, such diseases were common in the prisons of this period. A similar fate befel the catholics in Newgate, in July, 1580. (Strype, iii. App. 151.) But the most singular instance occurred at Oxford, on July 6, 1577, at the trial of Jenks, a catholic bookseller. Suddenly the two judges, the sheriff, the undersheriff, four magistrates, most of the jurors, and many of the spectators, were seized with a most violent pain in the head and stomach, which was succeeded by delirium ; and in the course of thirty hours ended in death. This disease was not extirpated till the 12th of August ; and, what is most remarkable, it was confined to the male sex, and in general to persons in respectable situations in life. See Camden, 316. Lodge, ii. 160. Wood, i. 294. Bridge-

water, 37.

<sup>16</sup> The hospital of Santo Spirito, erected in 1198, stands on the very site of the ancient Saxon school, or hospital for Saxon pilgrims, which was totally destroyed in the celebrated conflagration of the Borgo in 847. In its place was afterwards established an hospital for travellers and infirm persons of the English nation in Trastevere, near the church of St. Grisogono ; and a few years later, another in the city of Rome, in the Via di Monserrato, called the hospital of the Holy Trinity and St. Thomas. In 1464, these two establishments were united under the same warden : and in 1579, Gregory XIII. opened them to the English exiles, who had resorted to Rome, to study in the university. On the 23d of April 1579, he dissolved the hospitals, and in their place erected a college, giving to it the revenue of the former establishments, about 1400 crowns per annum, and adding a yearly pension of 3000 crowns, till its income from other sources should reach to that amount.

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suits, assented to the request of Allen, that the members of his order might share in the dangers and the glory of the mission. For this purpose he selected Robert Persons and Edward Campian, two Englishmen of distinguished merit and ability. Their arrival awakened the suspicion of the queen and of the council: it was believed, or at least pretended, that they had come with the same traitorous object as Sanders, who in the preceding year had animated the insurgents in Ireland to oppose the authority of the sovereign: and the pursuivants were stimulated with promises and threats to seek out and apprehend the two missionaries. At the same time the queen, by proclamation, commanded every man, whose children, relations, or wards, had gone beyond the sea for education, to make a return of their names to the ordinary, and to recal them within four months; and warned all persons whomsoever, that if they knew or heard of any Jesuit or seminarist in the kingdom, and either presumed to harbour him, or did not reveal where he was concealed, they should be prosecuted and punished as abettors of treason<sup>17</sup>.

1580.  
June 22.

July 15.

When the parliament assembled, the ministers called on the two houses for laws of greater severity, to defeat the devices of the pope, who had sent Jesuits into the realm, to preach a corrupt doctrine, and to sow under the cover of that doctrine the seeds of sedition<sup>18</sup>. Every measure which they proposed, was readily adopted. It was enacted, 1<sup>o</sup>. that all persons, possessing, or pretending to possess or to exercise the power of absolving, or of withdrawing others from the established religion, or suffering themselves to be so withdrawn, should, together with their pro-

New penal  
enactments.  
1581.  
Jan. 26.

Mar. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Camden, 348. Sanders, 384. At this time a letter was sent to sir Henry Sydney, president of Wales, reprehending him for his tardiness in executing the commission against the catholics, and informing him that "his doings were narrowly observed." Sydney papers, i. 276.

<sup>18</sup> D'Ewes, 286.



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curers and counsellors, suffer the penalties of high treason : 2°. that the punishment for saying mass should be increased to the payment of 200 marks, and one year's imprisonment ; of hearing mass to 100 marks, and imprisonment for the same period : 3°. that the fine for absence from church should be fixed at 20 pounds per month, (which was adjudged to mean a lunar month), and that, if the absence were prolonged to an entire year, the recusant should be obliged to find two securities for his good behaviour in £200. each : and 4°. that, to prevent the concealment of priests as tutors or schoolmasters in private families, every person acting in such capacity without the approbation of the ordinary, should be liable to a year's imprisonment, and the person who employed him, to a fine of ten pounds per month <sup>19</sup>. It is plain, that if these provisions had been fully executed, the profession of the catholic creed must, in a few years, have been entirely extinguished.

Letter and  
challenge of  
Campian.

Persons and Campian, before they separated, had, in answer to the queen's proclamation, explained in writing the motives which induced them to visit their native country. Each confided his own paper to the care of a friend, with an injunction not to make it public, unless the writer were apprehended and thrown into prison. But the zeal of Pound did not allow him to obey. He betrayed his trust ; and published the paper of Campian under the title of a letter to the lords of the council. In it the missionary asserted, that he was come solely to exercise the spiritual functions of the priesthood, and had been strictly forbidden to meddle with worldly concerns or affairs of state ; requested permission to dispute on religion before the queen, the council, and the two universities ; and declared that all the Jesuits in the world had made a holy league to brave every dan-

<sup>19</sup> St. 23 Eliz. c. 1.

ger, suffer every kind of torment, and shed their blood, if it were necessary, for the restoration and propagation of the catholic faith. The bold tone of this letter gave considerable offence, which was greatly increased by the publication of another tract from the pen of the same writer, enumerating ten reasons, on which he founded his hope of victory in the proposed dispute before the universities<sup>20</sup>.

For nearly a year Campian eluded the pursuit of his enemies ; but during that time the catholics had been exposed to severities, of which they had previously no conception. The names of all the recusants in each parish, amounting to about fifty thousand, had been returned to the council : the magistrates were repeatedly blamed for their want of activity and success ; and the prisons in every county were filled with persons suspected as priests, or harbourers of priests, or delinquents against one or other of the penal laws. No man could enjoy security even in the privacy of his own house ; where he was liable at all hours, but generally in the night, to be visited by a magistrate at the head of an armed mob. At a signal given, the doors were burst open ; and the pursuivants, in separate divisions, hastened to the different apartments, examined the beds, tore the tapestry and wainscotting from the walls, forced open the closets, drawers and coffers, and made every search, which their ingenuity could suggest, to discover either a priest, or books, chalices, or vestments, appropriated to the catholic worship. To resist, or to remonstrate, was only to provoke additional aggression. All the inmates were interrogated : their persons were searched, under the pretext that superstitious arti-

Sufferings of  
the lay catho-  
lics.

<sup>20</sup> Both the letter to the council, and the tract addressed to the universities, may be seen in Bridgewater, i. 2. 5—19. An incorrect and mutilated copy was published by Strype, iii. App. 13. Bartoli has given an abstract of the letter of Persons, p. 13. Other letters of the two missionaries may be found in Bridgewater, p. 3. and in Strype, though with an erroneous date and address, Vol. iii. App. 151.

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July 17.

July 22.

Campian is  
taken and tor-  
tured.

Aug. 19.

Oct. 31.

cles might be concealed among their clothes; and there are instances on record of females of rank, whose reason and lives were endangered from the brutality of the officers <sup>21</sup>. At length Campian was taken at Lyfford in Berkshire, and conveyed in procession to the Tower: Persons continued for some months to brave the danger which menaced him: but at length, at the urgent request of his friends, both for their security and his own, he retired beyond the sea.

The use of the torture was common to most of the European nations: in England, during the reign of Elizabeth, it was employed with the most wanton barbarity <sup>22</sup>. The catholic prisoner was hardly lodged in the Tower, before he was placed on the rack; and, if he were supposed to be a priest, was interrogated why he had come to England, where he resided, whom he had reconciled, what he had learned from the confession of others, and in what places his colleagues were concealed <sup>23</sup>. The second time that Campian suffered the torture, he made disclosures which he deemed of no importance, but which report exaggerated and misrepresented. His brethren were scandalized; and, for their satisfaction, he protested in a letter to a friend, that though he had mentioned the names of certain gentlemen, in whose houses he had been received, yet "he had never discovered any secrets " there declared, nor ever would, come rack, come rope <sup>24</sup>." This

<sup>21</sup> By such means lady Nevil was frightened to death in Holborn, and Mrs. Vavasor lost her reason in York. See Bridgewater, 34. 55. 289. 299. 319. Bartoli, 118—121.

<sup>22</sup> See numerous instances in Bridgewater, 56. 176. 179. 191. 196, 222. &c. and note (U) at the end of the volume.

<sup>23</sup> Bridgewater, 27. 197. 296.

<sup>24</sup> "We have gotten from Campian knowledge of all his peregrination in England—Yorkshire, Lancashire, Denbigh, Northampton, Warwick, Bedford, Buckingham, &c. We have sent for his hosts in all

"countreys." Letter in Digges, Aug. 10, p. 1581. The confession itself may be seen in Strype, iii. 578. He asserted on the scaffold, that it had been drawn from him by the assurance of the commissioners given upon oath, that his harbourers should not be molested. (Bridgewater, 65.) They were, however, summoned before the council, as we have seen; and some of them were imprisoned and severely fined. Strype, iii. 126. Digges, 390. In his letter to Pound, he expressed his sorrow for his weakness and credulity. Howell's State Trials, 1060.



letter was intercepted; and the "secrets" were interpreted to allude to some mysterious conspiracy against the queen. Campian was twice more stretched on the rack: he was kept on that engine of torture, till it was thought that he had expired: but he always persisted in the assertion, that the secrets to which he had alluded, regarded not matters of state, but the private sins of individuals, which they had confided to him in confession, and which he was forbidden to reveal, by all laws both human and divine<sup>25</sup>.

Elizabeth herself had been desirous to see this celebrated man. By her order he was secretly brought one evening from the Tower, and introduced to her at the house of the earl of Leicester, in the presence of that nobleman, of the earl of Bedford, and of the two secretaries. She asked him, if he acknowledged her for queen. He replied, not only for queen, but for his lawful queen. She then inquired, if he believed that the pope could excommunicate her lawfully. He answered that he was not a sufficient umpire to decide in a controversy between her majesty and the pope. It was a question which divided the best divines in christendom. In his own opinion, if the pope were to excommunicate her, it might be insufficient, as he might err. By his ordinary power he could not excommunicate princes. Whether he could by that power, which he sometimes exercised in extraordinary emergencies, was a difficult and doubtful question, to which some persons had answered in the affirmative<sup>26</sup>.

Is secretly introduced to the queen.

At length Campian, twelve other priests and one layman, col-

Arraigned with twelve others.

<sup>25</sup> Howell, *ibid.* Between the torturings he had been several times called to dispute on religion, sometimes publicly in the chapel, and sometimes in private. Camden says, that he hardly supported his reputation (*expectationem excitatam ægre sustinuit*, 349); the catholic writers boast of his success, and appeal to the conversions by which the confer-

ences were followed. Bartoli, 167. 183.

<sup>26</sup> Bartoli, 160. Howell's *State Trials*, 1062. It appears, from numerous instances, that in the language of the age, deposition was supposed to be included in the meaning of the word "excommunication," when applied to the queen.

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Nov. 12.

lected from different prisons, were arraigned in two separate bodies. They had come prepared to profess their religious belief; to their astonishment they were indicted for a conspiracy to murder the queen, to overthrow the church and state, and to withdraw the subjects from the allegiance due to the sovereign. Even the particulars were specified; the places, Rome and Rheims; the time, the months of March and April in the preceding year: and their very journey from Rheims to England, supposed to have been begun on the 8th of May last. It is not difficult to account for the surprise of the prisoners. Several among them had not been out of England for many years: several had never visited Rheims or Rome in their lives: some had not even seen each other before they met at the bar. They declared, that whatever might be pretended, their religion was their only offence: and, in proof of the assertion, remarked that liberty had been previously offered to each individual among them, provided he would conform to the established church.

And condemned.  
ed.

Nov. 20.

The report of their trial must convince every reasonable man of their innocence. Campian, with his usual ability and eloquence, vindicated the missionaries from the charge of disloyalty, and shewed that not an atom of evidence had been adduced to connect himself and his companions with any attempt against the life, or the safety of the queen. But the public mind had been prepared to believe in the existence of the conspiracy by a succession of arrests, sermons, and proclamations: the absence of proof was amply supplied by the invectives, the conjectures, and the declamation of the lawyers for the crown: and the jury, after an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners. Before judgment, was pronounced, Lancaster, a protestant barrister, rose and made oath, that Colleton, one of the number, had consulted him in his chambers in

London on the very day on which he was charged with having conspired at Rheims. Colleton was remanded; the others were adjudged to suffer the death of traitors<sup>27</sup>.

An attempt was, however, made to save the lives of the prisoners. Some of the council objected that, to put to death so many catholic priests at a time when the duke of Anjou was in London, would be to offer an insult to the prince whom the queen had chosen for her husband: but Burleigh contended that it was necessary to allay the apprehensions of the protestants. Let some at least pay the penalty of their treason. It would prove to the world, that the queen was ready to sacrifice her dearest inclinations to the safety of her religion. His opinion prevailed<sup>28</sup>. Campian, Sherwin, and Briant were selected for execution; and suffered the punishment of traitors, asserting their innocence, and praying with their last breath for the queen as their legitimate sovereign. The other nine, who were permitted to remain several months under the sentence of death, were repeatedly examined by commissioners, and required to declare their opinions respecting the deposing power of the pontiff, and what part they would take, in case of an attempt to put the papal bull in execution<sup>29</sup>. Bosgrave a jesuit, Rishton a priest, and Orton a layman, gave satisfactory answers; they saved their lives, but could not recover their liberty. The other seven replied: that their opinions had nothing to do with the crime for which they had been unjustly condemned: that they were incompetent to determine

He and most  
of his com-  
panions suffer.

Dec. 1.

<sup>27</sup> State Trials, 1049. 1072. Bridgewater, 219. 304—307.

<sup>28</sup> Camden, 379. Bartoli, 209.

<sup>29</sup> On the 1st of April, the queen, to silence the murmurs of the public, issued a proclamation, declaring that Campian and his fellow prisoners had been justly put to death; and stating, in proof of their treasonable intentions, the queries which had been put to him

and his companions, and the answers which they had returned. Both may be seen in Howell's State Trials, i. 1078, and in Mr. Butler's Memoirs of the British Catholics, i. 200. App. 360. I may observe, that the answers attributed to Campian are very different from those, which at his trial he asserted that he had given.



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VII.

May 28.

May 30.

the controversy between the pope and their sovereign : that they believed as the catholic church believed, and would on all occasions behave as catholic priests ought to behave. These answers were deemed evasive : and they all suffered at Tyburn, protesting, as their companions had already done, that they were innocent of treason, and dutiful subjects to their sovereign.

That the conspiracy with which these men were charged, was a fiction, cannot be doubted. They had come to England under a prohibition to take any part in secular concerns, and with the sole view of exercising the spiritual functions of the priesthood. This they deemed a sacred duty, and for this they generously risked their liberty and their lives. Even their principal accuser afterwards vindicated their innocence ; and, in excuse of his own falsehood, alleged the terror that seized him, when he was led to the foot of the rack, and saw himself surrounded with the instruments of torture<sup>30</sup>. At the same time it must be owned, that the answers which six of them gave to the queries, were far from satisfactory. Their hesitation to deny the deposing power (a power then indeed maintained by the greater number of divines in catholic kingdoms) rendered their loyalty very pro-

<sup>30</sup> Nichols was a protestant, who going abroad, abjured his religion to gain admission into the seminaries, and being ejected for misconduct, returned to England. He was immediately arrested, and conformed. His conversion was much talked of. He was described as a jesuit, and preacher to the pope ; and the bishops were compelled by the council to subscribe £50. per annum, for his maintenance, till he could be provided for in the church. (Strype's Grindal, 262.) He made many discoveries, and published a book replete with calumnies against the pontiff and the seminarists. Yet he was not produced at the trial ; soon afterwards he recalled his charges against the missionaries, and crossed

the sea to France. At Rouen he was thrown into prison, whence he wrote several letters to Dr. Allen, and confessed, that all he had said or done, proceeded from the fear of the rack. " It is not," he says, " I assure you, a pleasant thing to be stretched on the rack till " the body becomes almost two feet longer " than nature made it." If we may believe him, Stubbs supplied the materials of his book, and Wilkinson added the marginal notes. Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, inserted in his confession, names that he had never heard, and suppressed some, and altered others of his answers. See his letters in Bridgewater, 230—234. Also Bartoli, 119. 137, 138.

blematical, in case of an attempt to enforce the bull by any foreign power. It furnished sufficient reason to watch their conduct with an eye of jealousy, to require security for their good behaviour on the appearance of danger; but could not justify their execution for an imaginary offence. Men are not to be put to death now, because it is barely possible that in one particular contingency they may prove traitors hereafter. The proper remedy would have been to offer liberty of conscience to all catholics, who would abjure the temporal pretensions of the pontiff. But this was an effort of liberality not to be expected in an intolerant age, and from the advocates of a principle, which naturally led to persecution: that the catholic worship was idolatry; and that even to connive at idolatry was a damnable crime, which could not fail to draw down the severest judgments of heaven, both on the nation and on the queen<sup>31</sup>.

III. There was nothing in the creeds of the puritans or of the catholics which, according to law, could subject them to the pains of heresy; but the anabaptists were still doomed to suffer at the stake under Elizabeth, as their predecessors had suffered under her father and brother. They formed a numerous sect in the maritime provinces of the Netherlands; and under the cover of the Dutch church in London, occasionally introduced themselves into England. On three different occasions, the queen, by proclamation, ordered all persons, whether foreigners or natives, who had embraced the opinions of the anabaptists, to leave the kingdom within twenty days, under pain of forfeiture, imprisonment, and other penalties. At the suggestion of Grindal, bishop of London, domiciliary visits were made through all

Persecution  
of the anabap-  
tists.

<sup>31</sup> See this history, iv. 264. note, and v. 190. In Strype, ii. App. 33, 34. are two curious theological discussions of the question, whether a protestant prince could tolerate the mass in his dominions. See note (V).

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VII.1575.  
May 10.

July 5.

July 22.

1579.  
May 20.

1589.

the parishes of the metropolis : and every householder was compelled to return a list of the strangers who lodged with him, their occupations, characters, and religious principles<sup>32</sup>. In 1575 twenty-seven persons were apprehended at their devotions, in a house near Aldgate : and the queen issued a commission to the bishops of London and Rochester, the master of the rolls, and two magistrates, to proceed against them as suspected of heresy. On examination it was found, that they rejected the baptism of infants, denied that Christ assumed flesh of the virgin, and taught that no christian ought to take an oath, or to accept the office of a magistrate. Some were dismissed with a reprimand ; five, on their repentance, were adjudged to bear faggots, and to recant at St. Paul's cross ; and one woman and ten men were condemned to the flames : of whom the woman saved her life by abjuring her errors ; the men, instead of being burnt at the stake, were sent out of the kingdom<sup>33</sup>. But neither argument nor terror could subdue the obstinacy of Peters and Turwert, who persisted in maintaining the truth of their doctrines. The queen, calling to mind, " that she was head of the " church, that it was her duty to extirpate error, and that " heretics ought to be cut off from the flock of Christ, that they " may not corrupt others<sup>34</sup>;" signed a warrant to the sheriffs : and the two unfortunate men perished in the flames of Smithfield, amidst an immense concourse of spectators. Four years afterwards, for the profession of similar opinions, Matthew Hammond, a ploughwright, who had been pronounced an obstinate heretic by the bishop of Norwich, was burnt in the ditch of that city : and in the same place, but after an interval of ten years, was also consumed Francis Kett, a member of one of the universities, who had been convicted of uttering blasphemies against

<sup>32</sup> Strype's Grindal, 122—124.<sup>33</sup> Stow, 678.<sup>34</sup> Rymer, xv. 740, 741.



the divinity of Christ<sup>35</sup>. He was, I believe, the last who suffered at the stake for heterodox opinions.

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VII.

It is now time to return to the unfortunate Mary Stuart. For several years her adversary Morton, under the powerful shield of Elizabeth, had reigned in Scotland without control; while the captive queen felt all the horrors of a protracted and rigorous imprisonment. The number of her attendants was diminished, the allowance of her table reduced; no stranger could obtain access to her presence without the royal permission, which was often refused, even to the French ambassador; and almost the whole of her correspondence was intercepted and detained by the agents of the English ministers<sup>36</sup>. Her ignorance of the passing events, in which she might be deeply interested, the anxiety of her mind, the refusal to allow her the enjoyment of air and exercise, all contributed to impair her health: and Elizabeth, though she graciously accepted from her captive, presents of needle-work and of Parisian dresses, invariably eluded or rejected every petition for a mitigation of the rigour of her confinement<sup>37</sup>.

Sufferings of  
Mary Stuart.

But if Mary suffered, her royal oppressor was not free from uneasiness. She had now convinced herself, that her own safety was irreconcilable with the deliverance or the escape of the Scottish queen: and the fear of the latter event proved to her an exhaustless source of apprehension, of jealousy, and of torment. Among the nobility there was no one in whom she reposed greater confidence than the earl of Shrewsbury. Yet she mistrusted even him. She had been formerly warned of the "alluring graces" of Mary<sup>38</sup>: and she feared that he might be seduced from her service by the attractions of her rival. He

Disquietude  
of Elizabeth.

<sup>35</sup> Stow, 679. 685. Collier, ii. 569.

<sup>36</sup> Lodge, ii. 65. 68. 72. 77. 81. 114. 120. 128. 139.

<sup>37</sup> Lodge, ii. 87. 121. 129.

<sup>38</sup> Haynes, 511. She "doubted lest her  
"fayre speche shuld dysseave him." Lodge,  
ii. 156.

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was frequently reprimanded for his supposed negligence: at her recommendation, he was compelled to take into his household persons whom he knew to be spies on his conduct; and while he guarded Mary Stuart, he was himself surrounded with guards, the secret agents of the queen, in the neighbourhood of his residence<sup>39</sup>.

But, what will probably appear still more extraordinary, Burleigh himself, the sworn enemy of Mary, the author of most of her wrongs, and the adviser of her death, could not escape the jealousy of his mistress. On two occasions he had recourse to the waters of Buxton to relieve the gout. Elizabeth persuaded herself, that the real object of his journeys was to find occasion of intriguing secretly with Mary. She opened to him her suspicion; reprimanded him in a tone of extreme severity; and was long before she would give credit to his repeated denials of the charge<sup>40</sup>.

Revolutions  
in Scotland.

On the part of the Scottish adherents of the captive, the English queen was free from alarm, as long so Morton retained the regency. But his rapacity had excited the murmurs, and his submission to Elizabeth had wounded the pride, of the nation. The former prompted him to debase the coin, to multiply the forfeitures of real or pretended transgressors, and to appropriate to his own benefit the property of the church: the latter induced him to humble himself to the lieutenant of the queen of England, in satisfaction for some unintentional offence, arising out of an affray on the borders. At length a convention of the nobility was called; James, who had reached only his thirteenth year,

<sup>39</sup> Lodge, ii. 83. 85. 116. 163. 275. When his daughter-in-law was confined, he christened the child himself, that he might not be accused of introducing strangers, if he had sent for a clergyman, 128.

<sup>40</sup> Lodge, ii. 131, 132. To illustrate the system of espionage which prevailed at this period, Burleigh, though in reality prime

minister, having occasion to write a confidential letter to the earl of Shrewsbury on some domestic arrangements, was compelled to keep it by him an entire week, before he found a messenger to whom he dared to trust it, through the danger of its being intercepted and sent to the queen. 134.

at their request, assumed the government : and Morton received an order to resign his authority. He obeyed with apparent cheerfulness : but in three months his intrigues with the family of Erskine introduced him into the castle of Stirling, gave him possession of the royal person, and enabled him, as head of the council, to exercise again the power which he had so recently lost. The two parties met with hostile intentions in the field : they were reconciled by the intervention of the English ambassador ; and Athol, the chief author of his late disgrace, after an entertainment at Morton's table, died in a few days of poison. Secure of the ascendancy, he now gave the reins to his avarice and resentment ; and the chiefs of the Hamiltons, who reposed in security under the protection of the treaty of Perth, were compelled to save their lives by a speedy flight into England. At this moment, however, appeared an unexpected rival, to awaken his jealousy. Esmé Stuart, lord of Aubigni, arrived from France : his youth and accomplishments captivated James ; and the favourite was created first earl, then duke, of Lennox, and loaded with honours and appointments. He insinuated to the king, that it was the object of Morton to convey him into England ; and he sent to France for evidence to prove that the late regent had been an accomplice in the murder of Darnley. Morton, on his side, published that Lennox was in reality an agent of the duke of Guise ; that the object of his mission was to effect a change of the national religion, to marry James to some foreign princess, and to persuade him to resign the sceptre into the hands of his mother. The English cabinet, alarmed for the safety, or believing the representations of their friend, sent an ambassador to require the banishment of Lennox : but he returned without an audience, because he refused to deliver his message to the king in presence of the council. A Scottish am-

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1578.  
Mar. 12.

July 16.

Aug. 14.

1579.  
June.

James asserts  
his independ-  
ence.  
Oct.

1580.



CHAP.  
VII.

Arrests Morton for the murder of his father.

Dec. 31.

1581.  
Jan. 18.

bassador, sent to apologize for this conduct, met with similar treatment, and was remanded with a sharp expostulation, and supercilious admonition, from Burleigh<sup>41</sup>.

Morton still attended the Scottish council. But one morning, Stuart, son of lord Ochiltree, falling on his knees, charged him in the royal presence with the murder of the king's father. On his denial he was confined, first in his own house, afterwards in the castle of Dunbarton. Elizabeth hastened to serve her ally. Randolph, the celebrated sower of sedition and treason, was dispatched to Edinburgh. He solicited the life of Morton from the king, the council, and from the estates: he described it as a favour which the queen deserved in return for the numerous benefits that she had conferred upon the nation: he attributed the charge to the jealousy of a rival: and he produced documents to prove, that Lennox had associated with foreign princes to procure the invasion of England. He received for answer that his documents were forgeries; and that the king was bound in honour to let the trial proceed. Elizabeth ordered a body of English troops to march to the borders<sup>42</sup>; and Randolph exhorted the earls of Angus and Marr, and the other lords in the English interest, to unsheath the sword in his defence. Nor was he the only person employed to plead in favour of Morton, and to denounce the pernicious plans of Lennox. The prince of Orange commissioned William Melville, the king of Navarre Bothwell and Wemyss, to support the representations of the English agent. But James was inexorable. He summoned all his subjects to arms in defence of their country; the earl of Angus was ordered to retire beyond the Spey; and Marr to sur-

<sup>41</sup> Camden, 364.

<sup>42</sup> "2000 foot, 500 horse for relief of *hir* *partie* in Scotland, and (if) need be." Wal-

singham to sir Henry Sydney, Feb. 28, 1581. The reader will notice "*hir partie*." Sydney papers, i. 286.

render the castle of Stirling. Stuart, the accuser, was created earl of Arran : and Randolph, who had, in two former missions, been sent out of the country, now fled to preserve his life <sup>43</sup>. The queen, unable to raise up a formidable party in Scotland, and ashamed to make war for the sole purpose of preventing the course of public justice, recalled her forces.

May 1.

Morton is con-  
victed, and  
executed.  
June 1.

The proofs against Morton consisted of parole and written evidence. It was shewn by the first, that he had held a consultation respecting the murder of Darnley at Whittingham ; that when it was perpetrated, his cousin and confidential friend Archibald Douglas and his servant Binning, were actually employed ; and that queen Mary, when she surrendered at Carberry hill, told him to his face, that he was one of the assassins. The written evidence was his own bond of manrent, or bond to save Bothwell from the punishment of murder, produced by sir James Balfour, and a paper purporting to be the declaration of Bothwell himself on his death-bed in Denmark <sup>44</sup>. He was found guilty by the unanimous verdict of his peers : but the

<sup>43</sup> See his letter to the chancellor in Strype, ii. App. 138. He says of Morton : " Nay, " I cannot myself wish him any favour, if " that be true that is said of him, and con- " fessed by them in whom he had no small " trust." It appears he was accused not only of the death of Darnley, but of poisoning the earl of Athol, and of intending to imprison the king, and to kill Argyle, Lennox, and Montrose. *Ibid*.

<sup>44</sup> Consult Camden, 368, Arnot, Criminal Trials, 388, and Foster's letter in Chalmers, ii. 97. From the last, it appears that a declaration of Bothwell, was produced at the trial. Bothwell died in 1576. A report prevailed, that on his death-bed he had solemnly declared Mary innocent of the murder, and named his real accomplices. She made attempts to procure a copy of this testament, as it was called: one was believed to have been sent by the king of Denmark to Elizabeth, who sup-

pressed it: another was supposed to have made its way into the Scottish court. That published by Keith deserves no credit. From internal evidence it is nothing more than a memorandum made by some nameless person, at least five years after the death of Bothwell, of what had been reported by a Danish merchant soon after his death. Keith, App. 142—145. Camden asserts that the earl often, both during his life, and at his death, declared upon oath the innocence of Mary : " et vivens et moriens reginam minime con- " sciam fuisse, religiosa asseveratione sæpe- " numero contestatus est." *Camd.* 143. But Laing is positive, that king James inserted this passage, and that it was not originally written by Camden, Laing, ii. 52. His assertion is merely conjecture ; but if the fact were so, might not James have learned it, during his residence in Denmark ?

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punishment of treason was commuted by the king into decapitation. In his prison he confessed to the ministers who attended him (but at the same time refused to sign the confession), that he had been twice solicited by Bothwell, twice by Archibald Douglas, to take an active part in the projected murder: that he had declined it, because though Bothwell alleged the consent of the queen, he could produce no written proof of that consent; but that he was guilty of having concealed, through fear, his knowledge of the conspiracy, and of having given to Bothwell, first the bond of manrent, and afterwards another bond to promote his marriage with the queen. On the scaffold he threw himself on his face, and by sobs and groans, and violent contortions of the body, manifested the agitation and anguish of his mind. What impression the sight made on the spectators, we know not; but the ministers who attended him assure us, that these things "were evident signs of the inward "and mighty working of the spirit of God<sup>45</sup>." Binning suffered the next day; Archibald Douglas, whom he had appointed a lord of session, found an asylum in England.

New deliberations respecting Mary.

Ever since the arrival of Lennox, Elizabeth had watched with additional jealousy the conduct of the Scottish queen: after the fall of Morton, she thought it necessary to come to a final de-

"He lay on grieve upon his face befor the place of executione, his bodie making grit rebounding with sychis and sobbes, quhilk are evident signes of the inward and myghtie working of the speirt of God." See the whole confession, and the sequel in Bannatyne's journal, 494—517. It has been contended, that in this confession, published by the ministers, much was omitted, out of tenderness to characters then living, or for political purposes. Mary indeed, in a letter to Elizabeth, roundly asserts, that from the deposition of Morton, and from the depositions of those confronted with

him, it was plain that all her misfortunes, during her residence in Scotland, were caused by the suggestions and promises of the agents of the English queen: "à dire, faire, entreprendre et executer ce que durant mes troubles est advenu audit pays." Jebb, ii. 266. Camden, 387. Camden also informs us, that according to Morton's real confession, he refused to act in the murder without a note from the queen; and Bothwell replied, that such a note could not be procured, because the murder must be perpetrated without her knowledge. Camden, 143.



termination respecting the fate of her captive. Was Mary, as had been formerly devised, to be prosecuted and attainted for practices against the life and dignity of the English queen: or, was she to be liberated from prison, on conditions calculated to secure Elizabeth from the dangers which she feared? The lords of the council assembled; and three days were spent in deliberation. But whatever had been the previous wish of the queen, she soon began to waver; she made objections to every proposal; and at last had recourse to the expedient, so familiar to weak minds, of freeing herself from present perplexity, by postponing her resolution to a later period<sup>46</sup>. When that period arrived, the same indecision prevailed; Mary was harassed with additional questions, and fresh demands. The partisans of Elizabeth again acquired the ascendancy in Scotland; and new events furnished new reasons for perpetuating the captivity of the Scottish queen.

Sept.

To the catholics of England, the late revolution in Scotland had opened a cheering, though fallacious, prospect. Groaning under the pressure of penal statutes, and despairing of relief from the reigning sovereign, they naturally looked forward to the prince, who in all probability would, within the space of a few years, suc-

Intrigues in  
favour of  
Mary.

<sup>46</sup> Burleigh's letter to Walsingham is so characteristic of the queen's irresolute temper, that I shall make no apology for transcribing it. "The council has come to no conclusion, being as variable as the weather: for her majesty would come to no determination on any one point: so they left off talking for weariness, and the queen postponed all till some future time. They were long deliberating to what place the Scottish queen should be brought, where she and her cause might be heard. The Tower was rejected. The council then unanimously recommended Hertford castle; which the queen consented to for one whole day;

"and then changed her mind, saying it was too near London: then Fotheringay was mentioned, which she said was too far off: then successively Grafton, Woodstock, Northampton, Coventry and Huntingdon: all of which were rejected, either for want of strength, or conveniency. The parliament will probably be dissolved, and a new one summoned for the 10th of October: but the queen wishes the hearing of the Scottish queen's cause to be finished before that day, but nothing to be done till her removal be determined on." Sept. 10, 1581, apud Chalmers, i. 383, from the paper office.

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1581.  
July.  
1582.  
Mar.

ceed to the English throne. By the known hostility of Morton, they had been hitherto deterred from presenting themselves to the notice of the Scottish king: the opposite policy of D'Aubigni encouraged them to assure him of their attachment to the claim of the house of Stuart; to solicit his protection in favour of their brethren, whom persecution might occasionally drive into Scotland; and to express a hope that, when providence should place the sceptre in his hands, he would extend the benefit of religious toleration to the best friends of his mother and of himself. Persons, the jesuit, carried his views much further. He argued, that though the prince had been educated by the disciples of Knox, his conversion to the worship of his fathers was not improbable. He was only in his fifteenth year. Who could presume to foresee what impression might hereafter be made on his mind, by gratitude and interest, by affection for his mother, and by his own reading and reflection? With these hopes he dispatched, first, Waytes, an English clergyman, afterwards Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, to the court at Holyrood house. They were received with kindness by the king, the duke of Lennox, the earls of Huntley, Eglinton, and Caithness, and by the barons Seton, Ogilby, Gray, and Ferniherst; and both returned to Persons with flattering, though perhaps insincere, promises of the royal favour. James was willing to connive at the silent introduction of the catholic missionaries, to receive one into his court as his tutor in the Italian language, and to take under his protection such religious refugees, as should bring with them a recommendation from his mother. He also talked of the filial affection which he felt towards that unfortunate princess, of his sense of the many wrongs which she had suffered, and of his readiness to co-operate in any plan for her deliverance from captivity; but unfortunately (so he pretended) his enemies

had deprived him of the means : he was a king without a revenue ; and poverty would, at last, compel him, unless he was relieved by the bounty of the catholic princes, to submit to the pleasure of Elizabeth.

With this answer Persons and Creighton hastened to Paris, where they were met by the duke of Guise, Castelli, the papal nuncio, Tassis, the Spanish ambassador, Beton, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Mary's resident in the French court, Matthieu, the provincial of the French jesuits, and Dr. Allen, the president of the seminary at Rheims. After a long and secret consultation, the general opinion was, that Mary and James ought to be associated on the Scottish throne, as joint king and queen ; that to consolidate their interests, an agreement between them, consisting of several articles <sup>47</sup>, should be signed ; and that the pope and the king of Spain should be solicited to relieve the present pecuniary wants of the young king. It is probable that other projects, with which we are unacquainted, were also formed. Whatever they were, they afterwards obtained the assent of the Scottish cabinet : Persons hastened to Valladolid, where he obtained from Philip a present of 12,000 crowns for James ; and Creighton to Rome, where the pope promised to pay the expenses of his body guard, for twelve months, amounting to one-third of the former sum <sup>48</sup>.

When this plan of association was communicated to Mary, she not only gave her own consent, but earnestly solicited that of her son. It was her wish, she said, to give him, according to law, what he now held only by force ; to make him of an usur-

May.

June 18.

<sup>47</sup> The purport of the articles was to relieve all Scotsmen from any fear of punishment for past offences, and to secure to them their present rights and possessions—" d'asseurer les rebelles de toute impunité de leurs offences du passé, et de remettre toutes choses en

" repos pour l'advenir sans aucune innovation de chose quelconque." Lettre de Marie, Jebb, ii. 274.

<sup>48</sup> See the letters of Persons in More, 113. 121. Bartoli, 242. 244, and the supplication of the Scottish malcontents in Melville, 130.



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per, as he now was, a legitimate king in the estimation of other sovereigns. By Lennox and Arran the measure was approved ; but if the former supported it with all his influence, the latter secretly opposed every obstacle in his power. At the first proposal James was alarmed ; but when he was assured that Mary would leave to him the sole exercise of the sovereign authority within the realm, he signified his assent. The captive queen fondly attributed it to the affection of the son for his mother ; the result shewed that it had been drawn from him by considerations of personal interest <sup>49</sup>.

The raid of  
Ruthven.

Neither the visits of Waytes and Creighton to Edinburgh, nor the consultation in Paris, had escaped the prying curiosity of the English agents : and all the projects of Persons were extinguished in their very birth, by the promptitude and policy of Elizabeth's cabinet. Under its auspices, a new revolution was organized in Scotland <sup>50</sup>. The earl of Gowrie invited James to his castle of Ruthven ; secured the person of the unsuspecting prince ; and assumed with his associates the exercise of the royal authority. Of the former ministers, the earl of Arran was thrown into prison ; and the duke of Lennox sought an asylum in France, where he died of poison, or of a broken heart <sup>51</sup>. The Scottish lords of the English faction ruled again without control : and the preachers from the pulpit pointed the resentment of their hearers against the men, who had sought to restore an idolatrous worship, and to replace an adulteress and assassin on the throne.

Aug. 23.

<sup>49</sup> Cotton MSS. Cal. B. iv, 35.

<sup>50</sup> In proof of it, Mary, in her letter to Elizabeth, appeals to the charges " données " a vos derniers deputez envoyez en Escosse, " et ce que lesdits deputez y ont seditieusement practiqué avec bonne et suffisante solicitation du comte mon bon voisin à York."

(Huntingdon.) Jebb, ii. 270.

<sup>51</sup> He was said, probably on very slight grounds, to have been poisoned in his passage through England. See a letter from Mary in Jebb, ii. 537. Mary's agent in Scotland asserts, that the real cause of his exile was his approval of the plan of association : " il ne

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VII.Letter from  
Mary to Eli-  
zabeth.

Nov. 8.

For several weeks the Scottish queen was kept in close confinement, that this unexpected event, so fatal to her hopes, might be concealed from her knowledge. When the communication was at last made, it alarmed her maternal tenderness; she read in her own history the fate which awaited her son; and from the bed, to which she was confined by sickness, wrote to Elizabeth a long but most eloquent and affecting remonstrance. Having requested the queen to accompany her in imagination to the throne of the Almighty, their common judge, she enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered from her English sister, while she reigned in Scotland, on her flight into England, after her innocence had been proved in the conferences at York and Westminster, and now, last of all, in the captivity of her son. But what injury had she offered to Elizabeth to justify such conduct? Let the charge be made; and if she did not refute it, she was willing to suffer the punishment. She knew her real and her only crime. It was that she was the nearest relation, the next heir to the queen. But her enemies had little reason to be alarmed. They had brought her to the brink of the grave, and she thought little now of any other kingdom than the kingdom of God. In this situation, therefore, she recommended the interests of her son to the protection of her good sister, and earnestly begged for her own liberation from prison. But if she must remain a captive, she trusted that at least the queen would grant her a catholic clergyman to prepare her soul for death, and two additional female servants to attend on her during her sickness<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> "fust jamais chassé pour aultre occasion, que d'avoir pourchassé ladite association." Murdin, 549.

<sup>52</sup> This letter is abridged by Camden (p. 387), but published entire, by Jebb, ii. 266. A translation may be seen in Whitaker (iii. 583), and in Chalmers (i. 485.). It does not,

however, give the real sense of this passage:

"La verité estant apparue des impostures, qu'on semoit de moy, par la conference a laquelle je me soubmis;" which undoubtedly means, that her innocence was proved by the conference.

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VII.

Whether this energetic appeal made any impression on the heart of Elizabeth, we know not; it procured no additional indulgence to the royal captive.

Walsingham  
sent to Scot-  
land.

For some time the queen and Henry of France had stood in mutual awe of each other. *She* feared that he might be provoked to espouse the cause of Mary; *he*, that at the first offence she would lend her powerful aid to the French huguenots. On this account, as long as James suffered himself to be guided by the duke of Lennox, Henry appeared indifferent to the affairs of Scotland; but now that the Scottish king was in the hands of the English faction, La Motte Fenelon was dispatched to Edinburgh, that he might aid the young prince to regain his liberty, advise him to call around him the other noblemen and the deputies of the burghs; and suggest the necessity of effecting as quickly as possible the association of his mother with himself on the throne. At the same time, Bowes and Davidson, the English agents, were instructed to oppose Fenelon; to urge his immediate dismissal; and to represent to the king the danger of the measures recommended by the French envoys<sup>53</sup> James acted with a dissimulation and vigour not to be expected from his years. Having summoned a convention at St. Andrews, he took possession of the castle: the number of his adherents intimidated the opposite faction: an offer of pardon to all who had been concerned, "in the raid of Ruthven," allayed their apprehensions; and the young king recovered with ease the exercise of the royal authority. Elizabeth by letter condemned, James defended, his conduct, and during the controversy, to the surprise of all men, Walsingham himself made his appearance at the Scottish court. There seemed no sufficient object to draw that aged statesman from his official situation,

1583.  
Jan. 13.

June 27.

Sept. 1.

<sup>53</sup> See the instructions in Murdin, 374. Camden, 395.



and to engage him in so long and laborious a journey. He read, however, to the Scottish king several lectures on the art of government; extolled clemency as more useful than rigour; and exhorted James to banish "the enemies of the religion," from his councils, and his society. But the chief occupation of the ambassador was to study the numbers and resources of the two parties; to spread distrust and dissension in the one, while he united and strengthened the other; to distribute with advantage the monies which he had brought with him from England, and to secure partisans with pensions, and promises. James had received him coldly, and listened to him with reserve: a paltry present at his departure proved how little the king valued his advice: and Elizabeth complained to Mary of the disrespect shewn to her ambassador, which she resented as shewn to herself<sup>54</sup>.

Sept. 15.

This new revolution in Scotland revived the hopes of the royal captive, and of her adherents in France. The duke of Guise, Castelli, the archbishop of Glasgow, Matthieu, and Morgan, held another meeting at Paris. The object of their present consultation was to devise a plan for the liberation of Mary: and it was proposed that the duke should land with an army in the south of England; that James with a Scottish force should enter the northern counties; and that the English friends of the house of Stuart should be summoned to the aid of the injured queen. This project was communicated to Mary through the French ambassador, to James through Holt, an English jesuit, confined in the castle of Edinburgh<sup>55</sup>. The king immediately expressed his assent: but his mother, aware that her keepers had orders

A new plan  
for the libera-  
tion of Mary.

<sup>54</sup> Camden, 396, 397. Melville, 135. Sadler, ii. 374. Jebb, ii. 535, 536.

<sup>55</sup> See Murdin, 496. With all the persons at this consultation the reader is acquainted, except Morgan. He was a gentleman of Wales, formerly secretary to Mary, and now

administrator with Charles Paget, brother to lord Paget, of her dower in France. The archbishop of Glasgow distrusted or disliked them both. From the former consultation they had been excluded. How Morgan came to be admitted to this, I know not.

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VII.

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Dec. 19.

to deprive her of life, if any attempt were made to carry her away by force, sought rather to obtain her liberty by concession and negociation. She acquainted Elizabeth with her design of transferring all her rights to her son; threw the blame of his late behaviour to Walsingham on the ministers, who abused his good nature and inexperience; repeated the offers which she had made the year before; and proposed a league of perpetual amity between the two crowns, to be concluded in Scotland, through the mediation of Castelnau the French ambassador. Elizabeth seemed to acquiesce: the English ministers submitted to the pleasure of their sovereign: and Castelnau predicted a favourable result. But it was the misfortune of Mary to depend on men, who were swayed by no other consideration than personal interest. Though Henry had authorized the ambassador to undertake the commission; though he furnished him with instructions, such as the Scottish queen had solicited; yet he privately admonished him to obstruct any treaty, which, by freeing Elizabeth from apprehension on the part of Scotland, might place her at liberty to support the protestants of France<sup>56</sup>. Castelnau deemed it prudent to relax his exertions; the Scots of the English faction remonstrated to the queen: reports were circulated of the projected invasion; and Elizabeth was taught to believe, that the discharge of the captive must prove injurious to her honour and interests; to her honour, because her Scottish friends would infallibly be sacrificed to the resentment of Mary; to her interests, because the mother and son would probably devote themselves to the cause of Spain, the former by a marriage with Philip, the latter by a marriage with the daughter of that monarch. Elizabeth with her characteristic inconstancy,

<sup>56</sup> See his letter in Jebb, ii. 545.

changed her resolution, and the cup of promise was again, for the twentieth time, dashed from the lips of Mary Stuart<sup>57</sup>.

But the English queen herself experienced at this period considerable disquietude, from her knowledge of the design of the duke of Guise, combined with her ignorance of his associates and resources. She not only suspected the captive at Sheffield; she dreaded the disaffection of her subjects of the catholic communion. During the last two years the laws against them had been enforced with unexampled severity. The scaffolds were repeatedly drenched with the blood of priests, executed as traitors: in several counties the prisons were crowded with recusants, of ancient and noble families: and the newly created fines and forfeitures for religious offences had been exacted without mercy. In the event of invasion could she rely on the loyalty of men suffering under such oppression? Would they not imitate the protestants of Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, who had risen in arms against their catholic sovereigns? To discover the extent of the danger, and to guard against the designs of the disaffected, her chief dependence was on the industry and ingenuity of Walsingham, who, nurtured in intrigue himself, was the better qualified to detect and unravel the intrigues of others. Secret agents in his pay were spread over the continent. They resided in the most frequented ports, insinuated themselves into the councils of princes, and even studied as ecclesiastics in the English seminaries. Other spies at home, prompted by the prospect of reward, haunted the houses of the principal catholics. They represented themselves as confidential agents of Mary or of her partisans; delivered counterfeit letters, that they might receive answers; and sought, by every artifice, to discover

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Elizabeth  
alarmed by the  
report of con-  
spiracies  
against her.

<sup>57</sup> Jebb, ii. 532. 545.



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VII.That of Ar-  
den.

Oct. 30.

Nov.

Nov. 24.

Dec. 16.

Dec. 19.

Dec. 20.

the secret dispositions of men, or to allure them to the commission of crime. It became, according to the testimony of Camden, difficult for the most loyal and the most cautious to elude the snares which were laid for their destruction<sup>58</sup>. The first victim was Arden, a gentleman of an ancient family in Warwickshire, whose misfortune it was to have incurred the enmity of Leicester, by refusing to sell a portion of his estate for the accommodation of that powerful favourite. In the progress of the quarrel he had the imprudence to brave the resentment of his antagonist; he rejected the earl's livery, which was worn by the neighbouring gentlemen; he opposed him in all his pursuits in the county, and was accustomed to speak of him with contempt as an upstart, an adulterer, and a tyrant. Arden's daughter had married Somerville, a neighbouring catholic, subject to fits of insanity. In one of these he attacked, with a drawn sword, two men on the highway: and, at the same time, declared, so it was reported, that he would murder every protestant, and the queen as their head. Somerville was soon lodged in the Tower; and in a few days was followed by his father and mother-in-law, his wife, his sister, and Hall, a missionary priest. Arden and Hall were put to the torture: the former persisted in maintaining his innocence: from the latter was drawn a confession, that Arden had, in his hearing, wished the queen were in heaven. On this slender proof, conjoined with the previous conduct of Somerville, that gentleman, Hall, Arden, and Arden's wife, were convicted of a conspiracy to kill the queen. Somerville, on pretence of insanity, was removed to Newgate, and found, within two hours, strangled in his cell: Arden, the next day, suffered the punishment of a traitor. The justice of his execution was generally questioned: and the pardon granted to

<sup>58</sup> Camden, 411.

the others, strengthened the belief, that his blood was to be charged, not to his guilt, but to the vengeance of Leicester, who gave the lands of his victim to one of his own dependents<sup>59</sup>.

Of Paget and  
Throckmor-  
ton.

Nov. 17.

Dec. 18.  
1584.  
Jan. 1.

About the same time, if the information received by Walsingham was correct, Charles Paget, an exile, and brother to the lord Paget, ventured to land on the coast of Sussex, under the assumed name of Mope. Soon afterwards, a letter, written by Morgan, fell into the hands of the secretary. Francis and George, sons of sir John Throckmorton, whom the hostility of Leicester had, on some trifling pretext, removed from his office of chief justice of Chester, were immediately apprehended and sent to the Tower: the lord Paget and Charles Arundel fled beyond the sea<sup>60</sup>; and the earl of Northumberland with his son, and the earl of Arundel with his countess, uncle, and brother, were summoned and repeatedly examined before the council. These, if they did not convince, at least silenced, their adversaries. Paget and Arundel protested that they had fled, not through consciousness of guilt, but to elude the snares laid for them by the cunning and malice of Leicester<sup>61</sup>. Even the two Throckmortons persisted in the most solemn asseverations of their innocence. In the mean while, Stafford, the ambassador in France, had laboured, but in vain, to discover some trace of the projected invasion. Not a single soldier was levied: no preparation whatever had been made for the supposed invasion<sup>62</sup>. But if his report contributed to lull, an intercepted letter from the Scottish court to

<sup>59</sup> Camden, 405. Bridgewater, 317. Rish-ton's Diarium. Dugdale's Warwickshire, 681. About the same time, Jan. 11th, was executed Carter, a printer. He was charged with having printed a treatise on schism, in which the maids of honour were exhorted to kill the queen, as Judith had killed Holo-fernes. (Camden, 411.) I shall transcribe the passage in note (W) at the end of the

volume.

<sup>60</sup> Arundel had lent money to the queen of Scots. Murdin, 438.

<sup>61</sup> Camden, 411. Hardwick papers, i. 213.

<sup>62</sup> Hardwick papers, i. 197. Murdin, 389. 397. Stafford seems to think that they would not venture, lest an invasion should endanger the life of the Scottish queen, 385.

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Apr. 4.

Apr.

Mary, awakened the apprehensions of Elizabeth. The writer informed the royal captive that James approved the plan of the duke of Guise, was resolved to expose his own person in the attempt, had received a promise of 20,000 crowns to raise an army, and was desirous of knowing on what English noblemen and gentlemen he might rely for assistance<sup>63</sup>. It was probably owing to this letter that Francis Throckmorton was brought to trial. He had thrice suffered the rack without making any disclosure: when he was again led to that engine of torture, he confessed, that two catalogues, said to have been found in one of his trunks, had been written by him: that one contained the names of the chief ports, the other of the principal catholics, in England: that they were intended for the use of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, to further the enterprise of the duke of Guise: and that he had devised a plan with that minister to enable the catholics, at the moment of invasion, to levy troops in the name of the queen, then to declare against her, and, unless she would consent to tolerate the catholic worship, to attempt the subversion of the government<sup>64</sup>. With this confession in his hand, Burleigh accused the Spaniard of having violated his duty, and practised against the state. Mendoza replied, with warmth, that the charge was false and calumnious; that he was the person who had to complain of insidious and traitorous policy; and that Burleigh had intercepted the treasure, aided the rebels, and, by the means of pirates, plundered the subjects of his sovereign. The two ministers parted in anger; and the Spaniard, spontaneously, or by force, leaving the court, retired to Paris, where, for many years, he gratified his resentment, by lending the aid of his influence and abilities to those, who sought the ruin of Elizabeth<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> See it in Sadler's papers, ii. 375.<sup>64</sup> Somers' tracts, i. p. 214.<sup>65</sup> Consult Elizabeth's declaration in Strype, iii. 153. App. 43. Among other things,



June 10.

James over-  
comes his op-  
ponents.

Throckmorton, on his trial, pleaded, that his confession was insufficient to convict him; because, by the 13th of the queen, it was required, that the indictment should be laid within six months after the commission of the offence, and should also be proved by the oaths of two witnesses. The judges replied, that he was indicted, not on the 13th of the queen, but on the ancient statute of treasons, which neither required witnesses, nor limited the time of prosecution. Surprised at this answer, he exclaimed, that he had been deceived; that the whole of his confession was false; that it had been subscribed by him, to escape the torment of the rack, and under the impression that it could not affect his life. After condemnation he once more confessed his guilt, and on the scaffold again revoked his confession, calling God to witness, that as it had been extorted from him, in the first instance, by the fear of torture, so it had been drawn from him in the second by the hope of pardon. The government thought proper to publish a tract in justification of his punishment. The proofs which it furnishes, might then be deemed sufficient: in the present day they would be rejected with contempt from any court of justice<sup>66</sup>.

While the ministers thus punished a doubtful conspiracy at home, they were actively employed in fomenting a real conspiracy abroad. Alarmed by the connexion of James with the duke of Guise, by his professions of attachment to his mother, and by his marked disregard of the admonitions of Elizabeth, they earnestly sought to restore and to recruit the English faction

Mendoza charged a certain counsellor (Leicester) with having engaged the brother of a certain earl (Sussex), in a plot to murder don John of Austria. Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Camden, 413. Throckmorton was racked for the first time, on the 23d of Nov. and then

twice on the 2d of December. Several other catholic gentlemen, Shelley, Pierpoint, Brunmelholme, Layton, &c. were, at this time, thrown into the Tower, probably on similar charges, or suspicions. See Rishton's Diary at the end of Sanders.

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VII.1584.  
Mar. 2.

Apr. 13.

Apr. 18.

May 4.

Sept. 20.

Negociation  
for the free-  
dom of Mary.

Oct. 17.

in Scotland. The intrigues of Walsingham were supported by the gold of the queen<sup>67</sup>: the preachers appealed from their pulpits to the piety or the fanaticism of their hearers; and the chiefs began to arm their retainers, when the king, who felt his throne tremble under him, commanded, by proclamation, all persons concerned in the "raid of Ruthven," to quit the realm. Gowrie promised obedience, but loitered, under different pretexts, in the town of Dundee: his accomplices, the earls of Angus and Marr, appeared at the head of a body of insurgents. *He*, after a stubborn conflict, was made prisoner: *they*, though they had surprised the town and the castle of Stirling, abandoned both at the approach of the royal army. Elizabeth had resolved to aid her friends with an English force: but its advance was retarded by a strong remonstrance from the French ambassador; and the design was laid aside at the arrival of intelligence that Gowrie had been executed as a traitor, and that his associates had sought an asylum in England. While Walsingham secretly provided for their support, the queen interceded in their favour: but James, under the direction of Arran, a bold, though rapacious minister, rejected her prayer; and the Scottish parliament, having pronounced them rebels, confiscated their property<sup>68</sup>.

The cause of Mary had never worn so favourable an appearance, as it did at the present moment. The English faction in Scotland was extinct: her son was believed to be at her devotion; Elizabeth, anxious to be freed from apprehension, earnestly sought an agreement: and even Walsingham, now that his other plans had failed, expressed his approbation of the terms offered

<sup>67</sup> "Ses mauvaises subjects paisez par la bonne royne d'Angleterre, cherchent de jour en autre l'occasion d'avoir sa personne entre leurs traiteuses mains." Intercepted

letter to Mary, in Sadler, ii. 375.

<sup>68</sup> Jebb, ii. 548. 553. Sadler, ii. 395. 399. 405. Camden, 408.

by the queen of Scots<sup>69</sup>. James had named the master of Marr, one of his favourites, to proceed to the English court; and permission had been obtained that Nau, the French secretary of Mary, should meet him as her agent. Little doubt was entertained that these ministers, through the mediation of the French ambassador, would successfully conclude the treaty so often begun, and so often interrupted. But there always happened something to disappoint the expectations of the unfortunate queen. Creighton, the Scottish jesuit, and Abdy, a Scottish priest, both on their way to their native country, had been captured by a Dutch cruiser; and, though Scotland was not at war with any other power, were conducted as prisoners to England. In the Tower, and in presence of the rack, Creighton disclosed all the particulars of the projected invasion which had so long alarmed Elizabeth<sup>70</sup>. The enemies of Mary improved the opportunity to agitate her mind with new and unfounded apprehensions; and a plan of association was composed, the subscribers of which bound themselves to pursue, unto death, not only every person who should attempt, but also every person in favour of whom any other should attempt, the life of the queen. The latter clause was evidently directed against Mary Stuart; and, while it affected to make the life of one queen security for that of the other, placed the former without resource at the mercy of her enemies; who might, at any moment, plead a pretended plot in justification of her murder. When the bond of association was read to her,

Sept. 16.

Oct. 31.

<sup>69</sup> "Wherwith I see no cawse but that her majestie should rest satysfied." Sadler, ii. 420.

<sup>70</sup> Creighton had torn his papers, and thrown them into the sea, but the fragments were collected, and among them, a paper written in Italian, about two years before, shewing how England might be successfully invaded. Sadler, ii. 401. (I suspect a paper in Strype is

a translation of it. Strype, iii. 414.) In his confession he detailed all the particulars of the consultation at Paris; but added, that the invasion was postponed till the troubles in the Low Countries should be ended. Sadler, *ibid*. This conduct of Creighton furnished Morgan with a specious ground of complaint against Persons and his friends. Murdin, 496.



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she heard it as her death-warrant: but, recovering herself, she offered to add her signature to the list of subscribers, as far as it were applicable to herself. This offer was not accepted: but copies were dispersed through the kingdom, and were signed by every man who had any thing to fear from the displeasure, or any thing to hope from the favour, of his sovereign<sup>71</sup>.

Rendered useless by the per-  
dity of Gray.

It was owing perhaps to the peculiar circumstances in which the king of Scotland had been placed from his infancy, or to the education which he had received from his tutors, that he felt none of those generous sentiments, which usually glow with so much ardour in the bosom of youth. At the early age of sixteen he was become a perfect master in the art of dissimulation, and knew no other motives of conduct but personal gratification and personal interest. He had long negociated with Mary, his cousin of Guise, the king of Spain, and the pontiff. To all these he professed a strong partiality for the catholic worship; a desire to be lawfully associated on the throne with his mother; and a resolution to risk his life in order to procure her liberty. By these protestations he obtained, the only thing he sought, repeated presents in money: but his sincerity at last was doubted: their liberality became checked, and he determined to play a similar game with the English queen. Gray, master of Marr, his new ambassador, was ordered not to join the secretary of Mary, but to negociate apart. Gray professed the catholic creed, and always held himself out as the devoted servant of Mary. He had been sent to Paris with a recommendation to her friends from Holt, and had there been admitted into the confidence of Persons and the archbishop of Glasgow, from whom he learned all their intrigues and plans for the liberation of the Scottish

<sup>71</sup> Sadler, ii. 430, 431. Camden, 418.

queen. On his introduction to the English court, he was received coldly by Elizabeth, and still more coldly by her ministers. But his conduct soon removed their prejudices against him. He assisted at the established service; he quarreled with Nau; he betrayed to Elizabeth the secrets, which had been intrusted to his fidelity at Paris. When by these arts he had gained the royal favour, he suggested, as the means of "knitting a closer amity," a marriage between the English queen and his sovereign, and demanded for the latter an annual pension, with a declaration that he was the second person in the realm. He could not expect to succeed in all these proposals: but he obtained his principal object, a supply of money, with a promise of more, in proportion to the subsequent services of James <sup>72</sup>.

But though Elizabeth could find money to purchase the friendship of the king, and the services of his favourite, her exchequer was said to be empty; and want or the fear of want compelled her to make an appeal to the benevolence of her subjects. A new parliament (the last, by successive prorogations, had continued during the space of eleven years) was summoned to meet in the autumn. The more important transactions of the session may be arranged under four distinct heads. 1<sup>o</sup>. A liberal aid was granted of six shillings in the pound, by the clergy, to be paid in three years, and of one subsidy and two fifteenths by the temporality. 2<sup>o</sup>. For the greater safety of the queen, it was proposed, that in case of invasion, or rebellion, or any attempt to injure the royal person, the individual by whom or *for* whom the attempt was made, should forfeit all right to the succession, and should be pursued to death by all the queen's subjects. This

Association  
against the  
enemies of  
Elizabeth  
confirmed by  
statute.

<sup>72</sup> Fontenay's account to Mary, in Murdin, the year 1584. See also Sadler, ii. 420. 460. 548. 557. Though classed by the editor Camden, 421. See note (X) at the end. among the documents of 1586, it belongs to

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bill was plainly the counterpart of the association; and was liable to the same objections. Why should Mary be made to answer, with the loss of her rights and of her life, for the conduct of men, whom she had not the power to control, and of whose designs she might probably be ignorant? Elizabeth felt the injustice of the measure: and a royal message was received, suggesting several important amendments. By the act, as it ultimately stood, the associators were restrained from pursuing to the death, any person, who had not previously been pronounced, by a court of twenty-four commissioners, privy to the treason; Mary and her issue were rendered incapable of the succession, only in the case of the queen suffering a violent death; and the words of the association already subscribed, were ordered to be explained according to the provisions of the present statute<sup>73</sup>. 3<sup>o</sup>. The puritan members among the commons, though less bold than their predecessors, did not remain silent. Since the last session the deprivations of non-conforming ministers had been multiplied under the direction of archbishop Whitgift: the queen had appointed a new ecclesiastical commission with additional and more formidable powers; and the sufferers ceased not to harass both the parliament and convocation with long and eloquent petitions for redress. Motions on religious subjects occupied much of the time of the lower house: and bills were introduced to enforce the observance of the sabbath, to repress idleness, incontinence and adultery, to abolish the administration of the oath *ex officio*, to regulate proceedings in the bishops' courts, to do away plurality of benefices, and to reform the discipline and morals of the clergy. But the queen still considered every attempt to legislate on ecclesiastical matters, as an invasion of her prerogative. By the influence of the court, most of

Motions for  
further reformation.

<sup>73</sup> St. 27 Eliz. c. 1.



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these bills were rejected on the first reading: and of those which passed the commons, some were thrown out by the lords; and of the others, though they struggled through the house in defiance of the ministers, not one could obtain the royal assent. 4<sup>o</sup>. The catholics, though hardly a month had been suffered to pass, in which the scaffolds did not stream with their blood <sup>74</sup>, were doomed to suffer additional severities. The conspiracies, whether real or pretended, of Arden and Throckmorton, had thrown the nation into a ferment; both the zealots and the alarmists called for measures of precaution and vengeance; and their wishes were amply gratified by a statute, which enacted, that, if any clergyman born in the queen's dominions, and ordained by authority of the bishop of Rome, were found within the realm after the expiration of forty days, he should be adjudged guilty of high treason; that all persons aiding or receiving him should be liable to the penalties of felony; that whosoever knew of his being in the kingdom, and did not discover him within twelve days, should be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure; that all students in the seminaries, who did not return within six months after proclamation to that effect, should be punished as traitors; that persons supplying them with money in any manner should incur a præmunire; that parents sending their children abroad without licence, should forfeit for every such offence one hundred pounds; and that the children so sent to seminaries, should be disabled from inheriting the property of their parents <sup>75</sup>.

On the third reading of this bill, Dr. Parry, a Welshman and a civilian, rose in his place, and described it "as a measure savouring of treasons, full of blood, danger and despair, to

Penal statutes  
against catho-  
lics.

Opposed by  
Parry.  
Dec. 17.

<sup>74</sup> During the three last years five-and- twenty had suffered. Challoner, 69. 163. <sup>75</sup> Camden, 432. St. 27 Eliz. c. 2.

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VII.1585.  
Feb. 1.History of  
Parry.

1570.

1577.

1580.

1582.

“English subjects, and pregnant with fines and forfeitures, which  
“would go to enrich, not the queen, but private individuals.”  
The boldness of this speech, at a time when no other member  
dared to open his mouth, excited universal astonishment; but  
the sequel made the conduct of Parry appear still more strange  
and mysterious. By the house he was given in custody to the  
sergeant: the next day he obtained his liberty at the command  
of the queen, who stated that he had explained his motives partly  
to her satisfaction: and yet, within six weeks afterwards, he  
was conducted a prisoner to the Tower, on a charge of high  
treason <sup>76</sup>.

Neither the rank nor abilities, the virtues nor vices, of Parry,  
could entitle him to the notice of posterity; but his real or sup-  
posed crime, or rather the use which was made of that crime,  
has rendered him a distinguished personage in the history of this  
reign. He was a protestant, born in Wales, of an ancient fa-  
mily, by his own account; of obscure parentage, if we may be-  
lieve others. From the service of the earl of Pembroke, he  
passed to that of the queen: and by the appointment of lord  
Burleigh resided several years in different parts of the conti-  
nent, to collect and transmit secret intelligence for the use of  
that minister. He returned to England, married a rich widow,  
spent her fortune, and to extricate himself from debt, broke into  
the apartment of his principal creditor, whom he attempted to  
murder, and wounded desperately in the affray. He was saved  
from the death which he had merited, probably by the influence  
of his patron, under whose auspices he resumed his former em-  
ployment of a spy. From the correspondence between them, it  
appears that both were equally discontented, he with the small-  
ness of his allowance, Burleigh with the unimportance of his

<sup>76</sup> D'Ewes's Journal, 340.

discoveries. Stimulated by the complaints of the latter, he sought to insinuate himself into the confidence of the catholic exiles, by pretending to become a convert to their creed, and with that view applied at Lyons to Creighton, with whom the reader is already acquainted. Being reconciled by that jesuit, he revealed to him his ardent wish to free the English catholics from the persecution which they suffered: for this purpose he would not hesitate to kill the queen with his own hand, if he could only persuade himself that it were lawful before God. Creighton assured him that it was not: Parry began to argue the point: but the Scot was positive; and the next day departed to his usual residence at Chamberry. From Lyons the impostor proceeded to Venice, and addressed himself to Palma, another jesuit, who refused to listen to his proposals, but conducted him to Campeggio, the papal minister. Parry pretended that he had secrets of great importance to communicate at Rome, but previously required from the pontiff a passport in the most ample form. Before it arrived, on the receipt of some intelligence which alarmed him, he fled out of Italy, returned to Paris, and was again reconciled. Here he revealed his pretended design of killing the queen to Morgan, by whom, if we may believe him, it was approved<sup>77</sup>; but again affecting to feel a scruple of conscience as to the lawfulness of the deed, he was advised to consult Persons and Allen. The first of these he refused to see; and when he was introduced to the latter, he had not the courage to put the question. He made the experiment, however, on

1583.  
Mar.

Oct

<sup>77</sup> Mary Stuart declared, that she did not believe Parry's accusation of Morgan. She thought him incapable of such a crime. Jebb, ii. 675. Parry, in his letter to the queen, observes, "that it will not be in his power to fasten this charge upon Morgan: the proof

"depending upon his yea and my nay, and "having no letter or cipher of his to charge "him." Strype, iii. App. 103. The ministers printed Parry's letter, but were careful to omit this passage; it was first published by Strype from the original.



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Jan. 1.

March.

May.

Aug. 2.

Sept. 3.

Waytes, and some other English priests, who all condemned the design : and being foiled in this attempt, procured from Morgan an introduction to the nuncio Raggazzoni, to whom he gave a letter for cardinal Como, the Roman secretary of state, and from whom he received a promise that the answer should be forwarded to him in England. Parry now returned, made to Elizabeth, in the presence of Burleigh and Walsingham, a pompous though obscure narrative of his services : maintained that he had been solicited by the pope to murder the queen ; and in a few weeks gave to her the answer of the cardinal Como, in testimony of his veracity. This, however, proved to be no more than a civil answer to a general offer of service : neither his letter nor that of the cardinal contained the remotest allusion to the murder<sup>78</sup> ; and to his surprise, when he demanded a pension from the queen, he was told that he had done nothing to deserve a reward. His wants increased ; he petitioned for the mastership of St. Catherine's hospital, and he harassed the council with requests, till necessity compelled him to return to his former habits, and to set on foot a new intrigue<sup>79</sup>. It was

<sup>78</sup> The letter of the cardinal furnished a pretence for the most violent declamation against the pope, as if he had been acquainted with the design to kill the queen, and had granted a pardon for it beforehand. The fact, however, is, that Parry in his letter never alluded to the design. He merely said, that he was returning to England, and hoped to atone for his past misdeeds by his subsequent services to the catholic church. Bartoli, 288. Discovery of Squyer's fiction, p. 4. The answer of the cardinal may be seen in Sadler, ii. 500. The indulgence mentioned in it was that, which was given to persons on their reconciliation, a remission of canonical censures incurred by former offences.

<sup>79</sup> This account of Parry is taken from his letters in Strype, ii. 593. 648. iii. 79. 82. 188. 252. 259. Holinshed, 1388. His confes-

sion, *ibid*, and State Trials, i. 1095. Bartoli, 286—289 ; and Camden, 427—430. It is a singular fact, that Burleigh placed so much confidence in Parry, that when his wife's nephew, Anthony Bacon, began his travels, the lord treasurer wrote to the young man, and advised him to contract and cultivate an intimate acquaintance with Parry, who was then at Paris. Leicester immediately informed the queen, that Bacon was the friend of an exile and traitor ; but Burleigh convinced her, that neither the religion nor the loyalty of his nephew would be shaken in the company of Parry. Birch, from the original letters, vol. i. p. 12, 13. As late as October 24th, 1583, we have a letter from Parry to Burleigh, giving him a good character of young Wm. Cecil and his tutor. Lausdown MSS. No. 39—43.

necessary to give this account of Parry, that from a previous acquaintance with his character, the reader might be better able to judge of the mysterious affair which followed.

Among the exiles in the pay of the English government, was Edmond Nevil, of the family of the earls of Westmoreland, who, as long as Persons resided at Rouen, had been employed to watch the motions of that enterprising jesuit. Nevil had lately obtained permission to come to England. He claimed the inheritance of the last lord Latymer; but met with a powerful antagonist in the eldest son of lord Burleigh, who was in actual possession of the estate. To this man Parry attached himself, and, while he described him to the queen as a dangerous and suspicious character, sought to drive him to despair, by persuading him that Burleigh was his mortal enemy. They soon grew intimate; they swore to be secret and true to each other; they talked of different projects, some for the delivery of the queen of Scots, others for the assassination of Elizabeth. It appears to have been a trial of skill between two experienced impostors, which should be able to entangle the other in the toils. Nevil succeeded. He denounced Parry: they were confronted; and the Welshman, after a faint denial, acknowledged that he had solicited Nevil to assassinate the queen.

His intrigue  
with Nevil.

August.

1585.  
Feb. 1.

In the Tower he made a long confession, and wrote several letters to Elizabeth and her ministers. To an ordinary reader they bear the marks of a distempered mind: though perhaps those to whom they were addressed, might, from their knowledge of his previous conduct, explain the contradictions with which they seem to abound. The sum of his confession was, that Morgan had urged him to murder the queen; that cardinal Como, in the name of the pontiff, had approved the project; that the sight of Elizabeth, and the consideration of her virtues, had induced him to repent: but that the perusal of a work by Dr.

He is execut-  
ed for treason.

Feb. 14.  
Feb. 18.

CHAP.  
VII.

Feb. 25.

Allen, had revived his traitorous resolution, and led him to propose the design to Nevil. At his trial, buoyed up with the hope of pardon, he pleaded guilty: his confession was read; and the chief justice prepared to pass sentence. At that moment, overcome with terror, he exclaimed that he was innocent; that his confession was a tissue of falsehoods extorted from him by threats and promises; that he had never harboured a thought, and that Como had never given any approbation, of the murder. His petition to withdraw his plea, was refused: judgment was pronounced; and the unhappy man exclaimed, that if he perished, his blood would lie heavy on the head of his sovereign.

On the scaffold, which was erected in the palace yard, he renewed the protestation of his innocence. Topcliffe, the noted pursuivant, objected the letter of the cardinal. "O, sir," replied Parry, "you clean mistake it. I deny any such matter to be in the letter: and I wish it might be truly examined and considered of." Being told to hasten, he repeated the Lord's prayer in Latin, with some other devotions; the cart was drawn away; and the executioner, catching him at the first swing, instantly cut the rope, and butchered him alive<sup>80</sup>.

It is a matter of doubt, whether Parry were guilty or not. The queen at first thought, that he had mentioned the project to Nevil, for the sole purpose of sounding his real disposition<sup>81</sup>:

<sup>80</sup> See the authentic account given to Burleigh in Strype, iii. 251. It adds: "when his heart was taken out he gave a great groan." —It has been supposed that Allen's book, to which he alluded in his confession, "justified and recommended the murder of heretical princes." This is a mistake. Allen wrote no such work. Parry referred to Allen's answer to Burleigh, concerning which, see note (V).

<sup>81</sup> I am inclined to think that Parry acted in this instance with her permission. 1°. He

had told her, that Nevil was "a dangerous and suspicious character:" 2°. On Parry's apprehension she insisted that the first question put to him should be this: Have you not proposed the murder of the queen to "a dangerous and suspicious character, in order to try him?" Camden, 427. 3°. He hinted as much on the scaffold: "this is my last farewell to you all. I die a true servant to queen Elizabeth. For any evil thought that I had to harm her, it never came into my mind. *She knoweth it: and her own*



she was afterwards induced to believe that he was a dissembler, who sold his services to both parties, and who would, had he not been prevented, have imbrued his hands in her blood. However that may be, no man can deny, that for his former crimes, his complex and suspicious intrigues, and his base attempts to inveigle others into conspiracies, that he might have the merit of betraying them, he amply deserved the death which he suffered.

The conviction of Parry, and still more the supposed approbation of his crime by the pontiff, were thought to justify the severity of the penal laws now in progress through the two houses. The catholics, before their doom was sealed by the royal assent, sought to propitiate the queen by a long and eloquent petition. In it they vindicated their loyalty and their religion from the odious doctrines, with which they had been charged. They declared, 1<sup>o</sup>. That all catholics, both laity and clergy, held her to be their sovereign, as well de jure as de facto: 2<sup>o</sup>. That they believed it to be sinful, for any person whomsoever, to lift up his hand against her, as God's anointed: 3<sup>o</sup>. That it was not in the power of priest or pope to give licence to any man to do, or attempt to do, that which was sinful: and 4<sup>o</sup>. That, if such an opinion were held by any one, they renounced him and his opinion as devilish and abominable, heretical and contrary to the catholic faith. Wherefore they prayed, that she would not consider them as disloyal subjects, merely because they abstained, through motives of conscience, from the established service; but would have a merciful consideration of their sufferings; and would refuse her assent to the law, which had for its

The catholics  
petition in  
vain.

"conscience can tell her so. I concealed it (his intrigue with Nevil) upon confidence of her majesty, to whom I had before bewrayed what I had been solicited to do." 4<sup>o</sup>. He ends his letter to the queen thus: "re-

member your unfortunate Parry, chiefly *"overthrown by your hand."* This, however, was suppressed by the ministers in the printed copies. Strype, iii. App. 103.

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object to banish all catholic priests out of the realm. 'This petition was communicated to the chief of the clergy and gentry, and was universally approved. When it was asked who would venture to present it to the queen, Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove in Sussex, took upon himself the risk, and was made to pay the penalty. The council, for his presumption, committed him to prison; where, after a confinement for several years, he died, the victim of his zeal to alleviate the sufferings of his brethren<sup>82</sup>.

Terrors of the  
Scottish  
queen.

The queen of Scots had passed the winter in the most cruel disquietude. From the moment that she saw the bond of association, it had been her conviction that she was condemned to death in the secret council of her adversaries. The ratification of that bond by act of parliament, the suspicions thrown out of her being an accomplice in the supposed treasons of Throckmorton and Parry, her removal from Sheffield to the old and ruinous castle of Tutbury, the intention of transferring the care of her person from the earl of Shrewsbury, whose honour had been her protection, to a keeper of inferior rank, sir Amyas Pawlet, the dependent of Leicester, contributed to agitate her mind with continual alarms. She was not, however, wanting to herself. By repeated letters, she sought to awaken the pity or affection of Elizabeth; she signed a bond of her own composition, by which she declared all persons who should attempt the life or dignity of her good sister, enemies whom she

1585.  
Jan. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Compare Strype, iii. 298, who supposes that the petition was presented to parliament, with Pattenson, p. 496, 497. When Shelley was brought before the council, he was required to reveal the names of those, who concurred with him in the petition. Aware of the object, he gave the names of such only,

as were known recusants. It was then objected that the petitioners ought to have refuted the arguments of Dr. Allen, in favour of the deposing power: and he was required to sign a paper, declaring that all, who held the deposing power, were traitors. This he refused. *Ibid.*

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would pursue unto the death<sup>83</sup>; she protested that she was completely ignorant of the designs attributed to Throckmorton and Parry; and she defied her enemies to produce any proof, which could in the slightest degree affect her innocence<sup>84</sup>.

The discovery of Gray's treachery had induced Mary to complain to her son of the conduct of his favourite. James returned a cold and disrespectful answer; reminding her, in the conclusion, that she had no right to interfere with his concerns; that she was only the queen-mother, and as such, though she enjoyed the royal title, possessed no authority within the realm of Scotland<sup>85</sup>. This letter opened the eyes of the captive to the hopelessness of her situation. Even the son, on whose affection she rested her fondest hopes, had deceived, had abandoned her. In the anguish of her mind, she formed the resolution of disowning him, if he persisted in his disobedience; of depriving him of every right which he might claim through her; and of transferring all her pretensions to a prince, who might be both willing and able to assert them<sup>86</sup>. But while she revolved these thoughts in her mind, an accident happened to awaken new alarms. A young man, a catholic recusant, and suspected to be a priest, had been brought a prisoner to Tutbury. He was confined in a room adjoining to her chamber, was carried several times by force, and before her eyes, to the service in the chapel, and, at the end of three weeks, was hanged before her window<sup>87</sup>. His fate she considered a prelude to her own: and, under this impression, she wrote to Elizabeth, begging, as a last favour, her liberty and life. She demanded nothing more: as to the con-

Her son abandons her cause.

Mar. 24.

Apr. 5.

Apr. 8.

<sup>83</sup> Murdin, 548.

<sup>84</sup> Jebb, ii. 569. 674.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. 573.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> See her letters in Jebb, ii. 580. 582. And another in Egerton's life of lord Eger-

ton, Paris, 1812, p. 4. "En ceste sinistre  
" oppinion, ne m'ha pas peu confirmé l'acci-  
" dent de ce presbistre qui, après avoir esté  
" tant tourmenté, fut trouve pendu sur la  
" muraille viz à viz devant mes fenestres."



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ditions, her good sister might name, and she would subscribe, them. She had now nothing to preserve for a son, who had abandoned her; and was therefore ready to make every sacrifice, besides that of her religion<sup>88</sup>. But the English queen, no longer afraid of the interposition of James, neglected the offers and prayers of her captive, and committed her person to the custody of sir Amyas Pawlet, the keeper, from whose austerity and fanaticism she anticipated nothing but severity, perhaps assassination.

Discontent of  
the earl of  
Arundel.

These terrors were not, however, confined to the queen of Scots; they were common to the whole body of the English catholics, whose lives and fortunes had been placed, by the late enactments, at the mercy of their adversaries, and who believed that one great object of the association was a general massacre of the most distinguished professors of the ancient creed. Some, to save themselves, entered into the household of the earl of Leicester, or of the other favourites of the queen: many, abandoning their families and possessions, retired beyond the seas, and risked their lives in the service of foreign powers. Of the others there were two, the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, whose rank and misfortunes claim more particularly the attention of the reader. 1<sup>o</sup>. Philip Howard was the eldest son of the last duke of Norfolk, by Mary Fitzallan, daughter to the earl of Arundel. At the age of eighteen he was introduced to Elizabeth, who received him graciously, and lavished on him marks of the royal favour. He soon mixed in all the gaieties, and indulged in all the vices of a licentious court. His wife was forsaken, was even renounced, for some other distinguished female<sup>89</sup>: and

<sup>88</sup> Jebb, ii. 582, see note (X).

<sup>89</sup> She was Anne, daughter to Thomas lord Dacre of the north. They were publicly married, as soon as she had completed her

twelfth year, and again privately, as soon as he had completed his fourteenth. There was probably something in these proceedings, on which he founded the pretended nullity of the

the earl, his maternal grandfather, and the lady Lumley, his aunt, to mark their disapprobation of his conduct, bequeathed to others a considerable part of their property. On the death of the former, he claimed, with the possession of the castle, the title of earl of Arundel: and his right, though he was not yet restored in blood<sup>90</sup>, was admitted by the council. But afterwards, whether it arose, as he himself conceived, from the misrepresentations of the men, who feared his resentment for the death of his father, or from the officious imprudence of the friends of Mary Stuart, who held him out as the hereditary head of their party, he rapidly declined in the favour of his sovereign: and it was soon evident, that he had become to the royal mind an object of distrust, if not of aversion. In these circumstances, Arundel retired from court to the society of his wife, to whom he endeavoured to atone for his past neglect by his subsequent attachment. The queen, however, did not suffer them to live long together. Two attempts to implicate him in charges of conspiracy had failed: but on the apprehension of Throckmorton, he received an order to confine himself to his house in the metropolis, and lady Arundel was committed to the custody of sir Thomas Shirley in Sussex. Yet no guilt could be traced to either of the prisoners: at the close of four months the earl recovered his liberty: a whole year elapsed before the countess obtained the same indulgence.

So many affronts made a deep impression on the mind of this unfortunate nobleman. His belief in the established creed

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1579.  
Feb. 24.

1583.

He attempts  
to leave the  
kingdom.

marriage. To what female at court he attached himself, we know not: but we are told by his biographer, that the queen was surrounded by women of the most dissolute character; and that for a married man to aspire to the royal favour, it was previously requisite that he should be on evil terms with his wife.

See the MS. life of Phillippe Howard, c. iii. in possession of his grace the duke of Norfolk.

<sup>90</sup> He took his seat in the house of lords, April 11th, 1580; and the bill restoring him in blood, received the royal assent, March 18th, 1581. Lords' Journals, ii. 13, 54.

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1584.

1585.  
April.

had been shaken at the conferences in the Tower : he persuaded himself that his present disgrace was a punishment for his reluctance to follow the dictates of his conscience ; and, sending for a missionary, he was reconciled to the catholic church. This was a step which could not fail to irritate the queen, and to give additional advantage to his enemies. The penal laws enacted in the next session of parliament, multiplied his fears : and, after a long conflict with himself, he determined to quit the kingdom. But before his departure, he wrote to Elizabeth a long and eloquent epistle, in which he enumerated the failure of all his attempts to gain her confidence, the ascendancy of his enemies in her council, the disgrace which he had suffered, the fate of his father and grandfather, who, though innocent, had perished as traitors, and the penalties to which he was exposed on the ground of his religion. He was come, he said, to the point “ in which he must consent either to the certain destruction of his body, or the manifest endangering of his soul : ” and he therefore trusted that, if to escape such evils, he should leave the realm without licence, she would not visit him with her displeasure, which he should esteem the bitterest of all his losses, the most severe of his misfortunes<sup>91</sup>. But Arundel knew not, that at the very time he was beset with the spies of the ministers, and that his own house abounded with traitors. Every step that he took, was immediately communicated to the council ; and, as soon as the vessel, which he had secretly hired to convey him to Flanders, sailed from the coast of Sussex, it was boarded by a ship of war, under the command of Kelloway, a pretended pirate. From Kelloway, the fugitive was received by sir George

<sup>91</sup> This letter is in Stow, 702—706. In one part he insinuates, that the persons, who enjoy her confidence, are atheists at heart.

This was often said of Raleigh ; but he did not belong to the council. Probably the earl may allude to Leicester and Walsingham.



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VII.

April 25.

Carey, the son of lord Hunsdon. The council committed him to the Tower: and his imprisonment was followed by that of his brother, the lord William Howard, and of his sister, the lady Margaret Sackville.

On his examination before the commissioners, the innocence of the earl disconcerted the malice of his adversaries<sup>92</sup>. He remained more than twelve months unnoticed in his prison; at length the charge of treason was converted into that of contempt, and he was accused in the star-chamber of having sought to leave the kingdom without licence, and of having corresponded with Allen, who had been declared the queen's enemy. He replied that in the first he was justified by necessity, because the laws of the country did not permit him to worship God according to his conscience: and that his correspondence with Allen was not on matters of state, but of religion. Both pleas were overruled; and he was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the queen. She made him feel the weight of her resentment. His confinement was rigorous beyond example; it lasted for life; and it was afterwards aggravated by a new trial and condemnation on a charge of high treason<sup>93</sup>.

Is taken and  
condemned in  
the star-cham-  
ber.

1586.  
May 17.

The apprehension of the earl of Arundel, was followed by the tragic death of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. From the moment that nobleman discovered his attachment to the

Death of the  
earl of Nor-  
thumberland.

<sup>92</sup> A letter was produced, purporting to have been written by him to Dix, his steward in Norfolk, in which he was made to say, that he should shortly return at the head of a powerful army. He was only allowed to read the two first lines, which were written in a hand not unlike his own. He pronounced it a forgery; and, though it was first shewn by Walsingham, there was so much mystery about the manner, in which it came into the hands of the secretary, that the majority of the

council ordered it to be withdrawn. Life of Phillippe Howard, c. ix.

<sup>93</sup> He was closely confined during thirteen months, before he could obtain permission that any of his servants might wait on him. Ibid, c. x. xi. His countess, after his imprisonment, bore him a son. But she was refused permission to visit him, and was otherwise treated with great cruelty. Her MS. life, c. vi.

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VII.1585.  
June 20.

June 23.

ancient faith, he had been surrounded with spies ; and during the last ten years had been forbidden to depart from the vicinity of the metropolis. The arrest of Throckmorton had caused that of William Shelley, an acquaintance of the earl : and from the confession, voluntary or extorted, of that gentleman, it was inferred that Percy had given his assent to the supposed conspiracy for which Throckmorton suffered <sup>94</sup>. He was sent to the Tower : but though he remained more than a year in close confinement, no preparation was made for his trial. On the 20th of June the lieutenant received an order to remove the earl's keeper, and to substitute in his place one Bailiff, a servant of sir Christopher Hatton : the same night the prisoner was found dead in his bed, having been shot through the heart with three slugs. A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of *felo de se* : and three days later the chancellor, the vice-chamberlain, the lord chief baron, the attorney and solicitor general, severally harangued the audience in the star-chamber, to prove that the earl had been guilty of treason, and that, conscious of his guilt, he had, to spare himself the ignominy of a public execution, and to preserve the honours and property of his family, committed self-murder <sup>95</sup>. Yet the

<sup>94</sup> He was the brother of Thomas the attainted earl. During the rebellion, he had levied forces for Elizabeth against his brother ; afterwards he offered to assist in a project for the liberation of the queen of Scots. But his services were refused, under the idea that he acted in collusion with Burleigh. (Murdin, 21. 119. Anderson, iii. 221.) The ministers, on the one hand, appeared to believe him in earnest, (Lodge, ii. 69,) condemning him in the star-chamber in a fine of 5000 marks ; and on the other to know that he was not, never exacting the fine, but granting him the earldom, which he claimed. *State Trials*, i. 1115. 1127.

<sup>95</sup> The earl had certainly allowed Charles Paget, one of the exiles, to meet lord Paget

at his house at Petworth, for the purpose, as they pretended, of making a settlement of the family estates. The chief evidence against him was Shelley, who pretended to have heard from Paget, that the earl had entered into a conspiracy with him for the invasion of the kingdom. Shelley may have said so : but the fact is denied by Paget in an intercepted letter to the queen of Scots : " That W. Shelley, " as they say, should confess that I had revealed some practices I had with the earl " to him, herein, as I shall answer at the day " of judgment, they say most untruly : for, " that I never had talk with the said Shelley, " in all my life, but such ordinary talk, as the " council might have heard, being indiffer- " ent." Murdin, 463.

change of his keeper, the great difficulty of conveying fire arms to a prisoner in the Tower, and even the solicitude of the court to convict him of suicide, served to confirm, in the minds of many, a suspicion that his enemies, unable to bring home the charge of treason, had removed him by assassination<sup>96</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> See the coroner's inquest in Stow, 706; the government account in Somers' Tracts, iii. 420. Howell's State Trials, 1111. Camden, 434. Bridgewater, 204. To prove the suicide, one Mullan was brought forward, who said that he had sold the dag or gun; and another prisoner Pantin, who asserted that he saw it delivered into the hand of the

earl by a servant called Price. But Price himself, though in custody, was not produced. State Trials, i. 1124, 1125. On the other hand, I observe that, in a letter from sir Walter Raleigh to sir Robert Cecil, in 1601, it is assumed as a fact known to them both, that the earl was murdered by the contrivance of Hatton. Murdin, 811.



## CHAP. VIII.

## ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH CONSENTS TO PROTECT THE BELGIAN INSURGENTS—  
CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH JAMES OF SCOTLAND—INTRIGUES  
OF MORGAN AND PAGET—BABINGTON'S PLOT—DETECTION AND  
EXECUTION OF THE CONSPIRATORS—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST  
MARY—HER TRIAL AT FOTHERINGAY—JUDGMENT AGAINST HER  
—PETITION OF PARLIAMENT—INTERCESSION OF THE KINGS OF  
FRANCE AND SCOTLAND—HER EXECUTION—THE DISSIMULATION  
OF ELIZABETH—WHO PUNISHES HER COUNSELLORS—AND AP-  
PEASES THE FRENCH AND SCOTTISH KINGS.

CHAP.  
VIII.

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**BY** the death of the duke of Anjou, the right of succession to the crown of France had devolved on Henri de Bourbon, king of Navarre. Thus by a singular coincidence it happened, that in France as well as in England, the presumptive heir was a person professing a religion different from that established by law: nor were the catholics in the one country more willing to see a protestant, than the protestants in the other to see a catholic sovereign on the throne. There was, however, this difference:

in England the right was claimed by a female and a captive, whose life lay at the mercy of her enemies: but in France the heir was a sovereign prince, in possession of liberty, and at the head of a numerous and powerful party. Mary Stuart might at any hour be removed out of the way: to prevent Henry from ascending the throne, battles were to be fought, and a war of extermination to be waged. Their fortunes corresponded with their circumstances. She perished on a scaffold: he, after a long and obstinate struggle, secured the crown on his head, by conforming to the religion professed by the majority of his subjects.

The man who organized this opposition to the right of Henry was the young duke of Guise, a prince who had inherited the talents with the ambition of his family; and whose zeal for religion was animated by the desire of avenging the murder of his father. While Anjou lay on his death-bed, the duke consulted his friends, and resolved to call into action the dormant energies of the league: the former was no sooner dead, than the emissaries of the latter spread themselves throughout the kingdom, exhorting the people to reform the abuses of the government, to provide for the permanence of their religion, and to learn a useful lesson from the example of a neighbouring realm, where even a woman, in possession of the sovereign authority, had been able to abolish the national worship, and to exclude the catholic nobility from their legitimate influence in the state. Assemblies were held: treaties were signed; and the cardinal of Bourbon, the uncle of Henry, was declared first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the throne<sup>1</sup>. The king of France, though he deemed the league an act of treason against his authority, found

Origin of the  
league in  
France.

1585.  
March 31.

<sup>1</sup> See his declaration in the *Memoires de Nevers*, i. 641—647.

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it prudent to place himself at its head ; but the leaguers, suspicious of his intentions, compelled him to pursue measures the most hostile to his feelings. The wars and pacifications, the perjuries, murders, and crimes which ensued, are foreign from the subject of this history ; but it is necessary to observe, that Elizabeth kept her eyes fixed upon the struggle between the two parties ; that she believed her own interests to be intimately connected with those of the king of Navarre ; and that much of her conduct for some years was suggested by a wish to avoid the dangers, which she anticipated from the final success of the duke of Guise. To Henry she sent large sums of money, and made an offer of an asylum in England whenever he might find himself an unequal match for his enemies. Under her protection he would live in security ; and might at some subsequent period make a more fortunate attempt in support of his claim<sup>2</sup>.

Treaty between Elizabeth and the Belgian insurgents.

Among the princes who had subscribed their names to the league, the most powerful was the king of Spain. But though he promised much, he performed little. His great object was the reduction of the Netherlands. The French expedition under Anjou had formerly disconcerted his plans ; he now persuaded himself that, if he could keep alive the flame of civil war in France, nothing could interrupt the victorious career of his general Farnese, the celebrated prince of Parma<sup>3</sup>. To his surprise a new and most formidable obstacle was opposed from a quarter, whence it was not expected. The states despairing of aid from France, threw themselves on the pity of England : and the deputies of the revolted provinces, falling on their knees, besought Elizabeth to accept of the Belgian people for her subjects.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, iii. 395.

<sup>3</sup> See in the *Memoires de Nevers*, the letters from Rome of the duke of Nevers to the

cardinal of Bourbon, and to the duke and the cardinal of Guise.



Their petition was supported by the leading members of the council, by Leicester, Burleigh, and Walsingham; who maintained that their sovereign owed it to her religion to succour the professors of the reformed faith; to her people to disable Philip from invading England, by taking possession of his maritime provinces. But the queen was a firm believer in the divine right of kings: she could not persuade herself that the Spanish monarch had forfeited the sovereignty of the states; nor that subjects had, under any pretext, the right of transferring their allegiance. To accept the offer, she contended, would disgrace her in the eyes of the other sovereigns, and would form a precedent dangerous to herself. To silence these scruples, Leicester had recourse to the authority of the bishops. If the metropolitan declined the task, on the plea that the catholic princes must have as much right to send forces to the aid of the English catholics, as Elizabeth could have to support foreign protestants, the earl found a more zealous, or more courtly, casuist in the bishop of Oxford, who pronounced the measure not only lawful in itself, but one which the queen could not in conscience reject<sup>4</sup>. While, however, *she* consulted, the prince of Parma improved his former advantages: after an obstinate defence Antwerp capitulated; and Elizabeth, subdued by the importunities of her favourite, the arguments of her counsellors, and the solicitations of the deputies, consented to sign a treaty with the states, not as their sovereign but as their ally; not to withdraw them from their dependence on the Spanish crown, but to recover for them those franchises, which they formerly enjoyed.

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VIII.1585.  
June 29.

Sept.

<sup>4</sup> The bishop argued that the queen, according to the scriptures, was a nursing mother of the church: now the church was not confined to England, but embraced all the professors of the gospel; it was therefore

her duty to protect them, even in foreign countries, from the tyranny of idolaters. See Strype's life of Whitgift, 229. 231. and Records, 97.

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It was stipulated that she should furnish, at her own cost, an auxiliary army of six thousand men ; that her expenses should be repaid within five years after the restoration of peace ; and that she should retain, as securities, the towns of Brill and Flushing, and the strong fort of Rammekins<sup>5</sup>.

Treaty with  
Scotland.

May 20.

July 16.

In these circumstances it became of the first importance to secure the amity of Scotland. On the fickle and temporizing character of the king, little reliance could be placed : he was ready to intrigue with every party, and to profess attachment to every prince who would relieve his necessities with money. But experience had shewn that Scotland might be ruled by a faction in defiance of the sovereign ; and most of the royal counsellors had already been bought with the presents and promises of Elizabeth. Even Arran made the tender of his services : but his sincerity was doubted ; and Wotton was dispatched as ambassador to watch his conduct, and undermine his influence. The intrigues of Wotton were aided by an accidental rencontre on the borders, in which lord Russel, the son of the earl of Bedford, perished. There was nothing to distinguish this from other similar affrays : but the English council pretended that it was the result of a plot to provoke hostilities between the nations ; and required the surrender of its supposed authors, Kerr of Fernihurst, and Arran, the protector of Kerr. To elude the demand James placed both under arrest : and Wotton improved the opportunity of Arran's absence from court, to weave a new and more important intrigue. He suggested to the Scottish partisans of Elizabeth, a plan to seize the person of the king, and to transport him into England, or confine him in the castle of Stirling. His secret was betrayed ; and the ambassador, by a precipitate flight, escaped the vengeance of the monarch. The moment he

<sup>5</sup> Rymer, xv. 93—98. Camden, 444. 446.

was gone, Arran resumed his seat in the council : but his activity was checked by the secret friends of Wotton : the exiles, with a supply of English gold, returned across the borders : their numbers swelled as they approached Stirling ; they were treacherously admitted into the town ; and the king, unable to resist, opened the gates of the castle. He was now at the mercy of the lords, the partisans of England, who regained their estates and honours, and received the government of the several forts as places of security<sup>6</sup>. A negociation was opened with Elizabeth : and James, having obtained a promise that nothing should be done to the prejudice of his right to the succession, consented to a treaty, by which the queen of England and the king of Scotland bound themselves to support the reformed faith against the efforts of the catholic powers ; and to furnish to each other a competent aid in case of invasion by any foreign prince. During this negociation the name of the queen of Scots seems not to have been even mentioned<sup>7</sup>.

With this treaty the queen had sufficient reason to be satisfied : but that which she had concluded with the states of Belgium, proved to her a source of uneasiness and regret. The disgrace of aiding rebels, who pretended to depose their lawful sovereign, haunted her mind ; she was careful to inculcate, that she entered into the war not as a principal, but as a friend and ally, with no other view than to preserve entire the rights both of the prince and of the people ; and she strictly forbade the earl of Leicester, the commander of her forces, to engage in any enterprise, or to accept of any honour, which could be construed into an admission, that Philip had lost the sovereignty of the provinces. But the views of the favourite were very different from

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Oct. 16.

Nov. 3.

Dec. 10.

1586.  
July 5.

Quarrel between Elizabeth and Leicester.

Oct. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Camden, 436—440. Melville, 167. <sup>7</sup> Camden, 466—473. Rymer, xv. 803. Spots. 343.



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Dec. 8.

those of his mistress. His ambition aspired to the place, which had been possessed and forfeited by the duke of Anjou; and, on his arrival in Holland, he asked, and after some demur obtained, from the gratitude of the states, the title of excellency, the office of captain-general of the united provinces, and the whole controul of the army, the finances, and the courts of judicature. When the news reached England, the queen manifested her vexation by the violence of her language. She charged Leicester with presumption and vanity, with contempt of the royal authority, with having sacrificed the honour of his sovereign to his own ambition; but when she was afterwards told, that he had sent for his countess, whom she hated, and was preparing to hold a court, which in splendour should eclipse her own, she burst into a paroxysm of rage, swearing "with great oaths, that she would have no more courts under her obeyesance than one," and that she would let the upstart know how easily the hand which had raised him, could also beat him to the ground<sup>8</sup>.

1586.  
Feb. 10.

If Elizabeth's anger alarmed, Leicester's silence and apathy perplexed, the lords of the council. It was in vain that they offered apologies for his conduct, and forged dispatches from him to appease her displeasure<sup>9</sup>. She was, or pretended to be inexorable. Each day she announced his immediate recal: his friends were loaded by her with injuries: her letters to him were filled with reproaches and threats. But the earl scorned to submit, or to betray any sign of repentance. Convinced of his

<sup>8</sup> Hardwicke papers, 299.<sup>9</sup> I think I may call it a forgery. Leicester had written to Hatton a letter, which the ministers determined to suppress, as it was more calculated to irritate, than to appease the queen. Afterwards, finding it necessary

to gain time, "they conferred of the letter again, and blotting out some things, which they thought would be offensive, and mending some other parts as they thought best," they presented it to her. Hardwicke papers, 300.

influence over her heart, he left to his colleagues in England the task of vindicating his conduct, and continued to act as if he were beyond the reach of her authority. His time was spent in progresses from one city to another; every where he gave and received the most sumptuous entertainments; and on all occasions displayed the magnificence of a sovereign prince<sup>10</sup>. In these altercations, three months were suffered to roll away. Elizabeth always threatened, but had never the resolution to strike: and her resentment was, at last, subdued by the address of lord Burleigh. That minister, under pretence that his services were useless, tendered his resignation. She called him a presumptuous fellow: but the next morning her passion had subsided; she listened to the remonstrances of the council, and consented that a plentiful supply of men and money should be sent to the captain general of the Netherlands<sup>11</sup>.

Mar. 30.

The arrival of the English army had revived the drooping spirits of the Belgians: its presence in the field, while it gave a lustre to their cause, could retard, but did not repel, the victorious advance of the Spaniards. The troops, indeed, fought with their accustomed valour; they gained some partial advantages; they wrested some towns from the possession of the enemy. But Leicester proved no match for Farnese; the accomplished courtier for the experienced and victorious general. At the close of the campaign, the balance of success was considerably in favour of the prince of Parma; and the earl, on his return to the Hague, was received with murmurs and remonstrances.

Campaign in  
the Nether-  
lands.

Oct. 22.

Oct. 29.

<sup>10</sup> There was one exception to this round of entertainments, a day of general fast. Neither Leicester himself, nor any one in his household, was allowed to eat or drink till after sun-set. From the dawn till that hour they were employed in public prayer, listen-

ing to the discourses of the preachers, and chanting psalms. See Stow, 713, 714.

<sup>11</sup> All these particulars may be found in the Hardwicke papers, 297. 329, and in Camden, 459.

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Though he had conceived the most sovereign contempt for the members of the states, as an assembly of merchants and shopkeepers, whose patriotism consisted in purchasing, at the lowest price, the services and blood of their allies ; yet he found it difficult to return a satisfactory answer to their complaints, that the result of the campaign had not been answerable to its expense, nor the number of the English forces in the field equal to the number stipulated by treaty : that he had violated their privileges, ruined their finances, neglected military discipline, and extorted money by arbitrary and illegal expedients. In a moment of passion he dissolved the assembly : it continued to sit in defiance of his menaces : he next had recourse to concessions and promises ; announced his intention of returning to England ; and proposed to intrust the supreme authority, during his absence, to sir William Pelham, or sir William Stanley, or sir Roland York. The states claimed it as their own right : he submitted ; and resigned the government in a public sitting ; though, at the same time, by a private instrument, he reserved it to himself. The cause of this hasty and informal proceeding was his anxiety to obey the command of Elizabeth, that he should immediately return, and aid her with his advice in the important cause of the queen of Scots <sup>12</sup>.

Parties in fa-  
vour of Mary  
Stuart

The misfortunes of that princess were, at length, drawing to a close : her friends had blindly leagued themselves with her enemies, to conduct her to the scaffold. The exiles, whom religion or interest induced to espouse her cause, had soon become split into factions, which laid on each other the blame of their repeated failures and disappointments. Morgan and Paget, who, as the administrators of the queen's dower in France,

<sup>12</sup> Camden, 460. 463. Stow, 729. 740. Anno 1586.  
Bentivoglio, ii. 92. 99. Strada, i. viii.



found numerous adherents among the more needy of their companions, complained with bitterness that the introduction of the jesuit missionaries had rendered the English government more suspicious and vigilant: that tracts had been written, which could only lead to irritation and severity: and that Persons and his brethren had monopolized the office of advocating the claims of Mary in foreign courts, to the exclusion of laymen, who were better adapted for such duties, and to the prejudice of the Scottish queen herself, whose secrets had been betrayed by the confession of Holt in the castle of Edinburgh, by that of Creighton in the Tower of London, and by the disclosures made by their partisan Gray, during the negociation at Greenwich<sup>13</sup>. Their opponents replied, that the measures, thus condemned, had mainly contributed to the preservation of the catholic worship in England: that Morgan and Paget were, at best, suspicious characters, since they were connected with men known to be the emissaries of Walsingham: that their impatience or perfidy had often caused them to adopt dangerous and unlawful projects: and that the real friends of Mary should have for their chief object the preservation of her life, and should therefore reject every plan, the discovery or failure of which might lead to her death. With these agreed her ambassador, the archbishop of Glasgow, and all her relations of the house of Guise: but Morgan and Paget possessed friends, to whom the habit of daily intercourse gave a greater influence over her counsels, Nau and Curle, her two secretaries, shut up with her in her prison<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> It seems to have been the treachery of Gray that made her throw herself into the arms of this party. Gray had been sent with letters from Holt to Persons, at Paris, and was admitted by him and his friends into all their secrets. Murdin, 442. Mary writes

to Castelneau, "Ce voyage de Gray n'a pas  
" nuit seulement à son credit, mais à celuy de  
" ceux, qui se sont tant voulu mesler avec luy."  
Jebb, ii. 670.

<sup>14</sup> See the letters of Morgan and Paget in  
Murdin, 442. 459. 465. 479. 496. 499. 507.

CHAP.  
VIII.Morgan's  
intrigues.1585.  
March 9.

Pooley.

July 20.  
1586.  
Jan. 28.

Against Morgan, the English queen was animated with the most violent hatred. The charge brought against him by Parry, though unsupported by oral or written testimony, had provoked her to declare that she would give ten thousand pounds for his head; and, when she sent the order of the garter to the French king, she demanded in return the person of Morgan. Henry dared not refuse, and was ashamed to consent. He adopted a middle course: he confined the Welshman in the bastille, and sent his papers to the queen<sup>15</sup>. Morgan employed his time in meditating schemes of revenge; and for this purpose, with the aid of Paget, he procured the means of corresponding with Mary; and to effect his purpose, sought out agents and associates in every part of England. But he was opposed by one more artful than himself, by the secretary, Walsingham, who corrupted the fidelity of his agents, supplied them with the means of correspondence, and secretly encouraged the intrigues of the Welshman, that he might connect the Scottish queen herself with the plot, and finally conduct his victim to the scaffold. Morgan's first application was made to Christopher Blount, a catholic gentleman in the household of Leicester. But Blount was too cautious to endanger himself: he recommended for the hazardous office of transmitting intelligence, one Pooley, a servant to lady Sydney, the daughter of Walsingham. Pooley repeatedly visited Paris, feigned himself a catholic, brought letters for Mary, and was intrusted with the secrets of her friends in England<sup>16</sup>. But he was probably at this moment, he certainly became in a short time, a spy for Walsingham.

516. See also More, *Hist. Provinciæ Anglicanæ*, 138. and Bartoli, 277. I observe that Morgan, in his letters, always speaks of Allen in terms of respect and friendship, par-

ticularly p. 497.

<sup>15</sup> Murdin, 440—444. 471. Jebb, 577. Egerton, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 446. 449. 451. 480. 497.

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VIII.

The next agents whom Morgan employed, were Gifford and Greatley, two traitors, who had studied in the English seminaries, had taken orders, and had consented to become panders to the artful and intriguing secretary. They were more than suspected by many of the catholics; but they deceived the credulity of the Welshman, acknowledging that they received the pay of the government, but protesting that they had no other object than to serve, with greater security, the captive queen. Morgan recommended them, in the strongest terms, to Mary. They came to England, went back to Paris, and returned again with ample instructions, which they communicated to Walsingham<sup>17</sup>.

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Gifford and  
Greatley.

1585.  
Oct. 15.

1586.  
Apr. 24.

Ballard.

There was yet a fourth and more important enissary, a gentleman who dressed in the garb of an officer, and assuming the name of Fortescue, had been observed during the last summer and autumn to visit the families of several recusants. By the means of Maude, who insinuated himself into the confidence of the stranger, it was discovered that he was John Ballard, a catholic priest, and that his object was to sound the disposition of his hosts, and to collect intelligence for the exiles. Maude was a master in the art of dissimulation. He accompanied the envoy on a tour along the western coast, through part of Scotland, the northern counties of England, and thence through Flanders to Paris. On his way, Ballard communicated his intentions to Allen, by whom they were strongly disapproved: but Morgan and Paget exhorted him to persevere, and introduced him, through Greatley, to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. He informed that minister, that the best part of the English forces had landed with Leicester in the Low Countries; that not only the catholics, but many of the protestants,

Apr. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 454, 455. 470. 511.



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VIII.

were ready to espouse the cause of the queen of Scots; and that they only waited for the appearance of a foreign force to rise in her favour. But Mendoza was not satisfied with the information of the agent: he would undertake only to recommend the matter in general terms to his sovereign, and to promise that, if a powerful party could be organized in England, it should receive prompt and competent assistance from the prince of Parma. Both Morgan and Paget were disappointed by the coldness of the Spaniard. They knew that Savage, an officer who had served in the wars of Flanders, had undertaken to assassinate Elizabeth<sup>18</sup>; and they persuaded themselves that a sufficient party, to liberate the Scottish queen, might easily be formed with the aid of Babington of Dethick, in Derbyshire. For this purpose, Ballard was sent back to England, with orders to return in a short time, and report the result of his mission to Mendoza. Maude, his companion, transmitted information of every particular to Walsingham<sup>19</sup>.

May 22.

Babington.

Mary, who had been forewarned of the suspicious character of the man, refused to receive any communication from Ballard: but the more ardent mind of Babington neglected such precaution. He was a young man of family and fortune, who had transmitted letters to the queen of Scots, when she resided in Sheffield, and had always professed the most chivalrous attachment to her cause. It was his own opinion that no attempt should be made in favour of Mary during the life of Elizabeth:

<sup>18</sup> In his confession in the Tower, Savage says that he was persuaded to this crime by the Gifford already mentioned, and by another Gifford, afterwards archbishop of Rheims, for the good of religion, and to revenge the death of Throckmorton. But such confes-

sions, as we have often seen, deserve little credit, and this, in particular, contains much that appears very questionable. See it in Howell's State Trials, i. 1130.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 1137. 1144. Strype, iv. 100. Murdin, 517. 527. 530. Camden, 474.

but when he was told by Ballard, that Savage had engaged to murder the queen, and that the prince of Parma would land at the same time with a powerful force, he waved his objections, and observed, that the death of Elizabeth was of too great importance to be left to the good fortune and intrepidity of one man: that six gentlemen ought to be appointed to that service, while others should liberate the Scottish queen: and that he had several dear and trusty friends, who, he persuaded himself, would risk their lives and fortunes to serve the captive princess, and to relieve their brethren from the yoke of persecution<sup>20</sup>.

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VIII.

May 27

During the month of June, Babington consulted alternately with Ballard and Savage on the one hand, and with the young men, the companions of his pursuits and pleasures, on the other. The former applauded his resolution; the latter betrayed a reluctance which he could not comprehend. But his ardour grew with their resistance: he laboured to remove their objections; and the result of every conference was regularly communicated by Pooley to Walsingham. That artful minister, while he smiled at the infatuation of the youths, who had thus entangled themselves in the toils, was busily employed in weaving a new intrigue, in planning the ruin of a more illustrious victim. By his command, Gifford repaired to the residence of an uncle in the neighbourhood of Chertsey; secured, by a bribe, the services of a man employed to convey beer to the castle, and opened, under the connivance of Pawlet, a correspondence with the two secretaries, Nau and Curle. In a few days a note was put, by an unknown messenger, into the hands of Babington. It came from Gifford, but was written in the cipher of Mary, and, after a gentle reprimand for the discon-

Counter-plot  
of Walsing-  
ham.June 5.  
to  
June 25.

July

<sup>20</sup> Hardwicke papers, 226.

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VIII.

July 25.

tinuance of his services, requested him to forward to Chertsey a package which he had received from the French ambassador. Babington had no suspicion of treachery: he rejoiced in his good fortune; and sent with the package a letter from himself to the Scottish queen. The moment it was delivered to Gifford, he forwarded it to Walsingham: in the office of the secretary it was deciphered and transcribed: and then the original, or perhaps a copy, was returned to Gifford, and by him forwarded to Chertsey. After some delay his agent brought him the answer, which, having undergone the same process, and made the same circuitous route, was at last delivered to Babington. Of the real contents of these two letters there may be some doubt: by the copies, which were afterwards produced, Walsingham was able to implicate Mary with the conspirators, and to make her liable to the penalties of death<sup>21</sup>.

Apprehension  
of Ballard.

Aug. 2.

Still, however, the plot, if plot it may be called, was only in its infancy. Though consultations had been held, no resolve had been taken: the wishes of Babington were combated by the opposite opinions of his friends; and the invasion, the intended groundwork of every other proceeding, was a contingency depending on the uncertain pleasure of a prince, who had not yet been consulted<sup>22</sup>. It may have been the slow progress of the conspiracy, or the apprehension of immediate danger, or the hope of a commensurate reward, which dictated the conduct of Ballard: but, the moment Mary's answer had been deciphered, he offered to disclose the whole proceeding to Walsingham<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Camden, 479. Thomas Philipps was employed to decipher them, Arthur Gregory to counterfeit the seals. Harrison, the private secretary of Walsingham, afterwards charged that minister, Philipps and Maude, with having contrived the whole plot. Cot-

ton MSS. Cal. c. ix. 458. Chalmers, i. 427.

<sup>22</sup> In the indictment it is said, that on the 27th of July, sir Thomas Gerard entered into the plot. He was not, however, brought to trial. Howell, i. 1134.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 1153.



CHAP.  
VIII.

Aug. 4.

His services, however, were not wanted ; and he was instantly apprehended as a seminary priest. The alarm spread among the conspirators ; most of them fled ; Babington sought, and obtained, what will surprise the reader, an asylum in the house of the secretary himself, with a promise of licence to depart the realm, that he might watch the conduct of the traitors abroad <sup>24</sup>.

Hitherto Walsingham had kept the secret within his own breast : now he deemed it proper to impart it to his sovereign. Her alarm cut at once the thread of the intrigue. While she praised his ingenuity, she condemned his confidence. To delay, she said, was to tempt the providence of God ; to expose her life to imminent danger ; she owed it to herself to apprehend the traitors, and to bring them to immediate justice. They received, however, a hint of her intention. Babington escaped from his asylum, but was taken at Harrow with Gage, Charnock, Barnwell, and Donne, in the house of Bellamy, their common friend. Abington, Salisbury, Jones, Tichbourne, Travers, and Tilney, were brought prisoners from the country. Edward Windsor alone, the brother of lord Windsor, had the good fortune to escape the pursuivants. As for the spies, Gifford was already on the continent ; Pooley, after a short imprisonment, was dismissed without trial.

Aug. 15.

In the fate of these young men the reader will find much to interest his sympathy. They were not of that class, in which conspirators are generally to be found. Sprung from the best families in their respective counties, possessed of affluent fortunes, they had hitherto withdrawn themselves from politics, and had devoted their time to the pursuits and pleasures be-

Their objects,

<sup>24</sup> The story told by Camden (p. 477), of the painting representing Babington and the six assassins, should be corrected by the statement of the queen's counsel at the trial, that it contained only Savage and Tichbourne. Howell, 1138.

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VIII.

longing to their age and station. Probably, had it not been for the perfidious emissaries of Morgan and Walsingham, of Morgan who sought to revenge himself on Elizabeth, of Walsingham who cared not whose blood he shed, if he could shed that of Mary, none of them would ever have thought of the crime for which they suffered <sup>25</sup>. There were different gradations in their guilt. Babington was an assassin: he approved and promoted the project of Savage and Ballard. Of the others, Abington, Salisbury, and Donne, though they refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of the queen, offered to undertake the liberation of the royal captive: the remainder condemned both these projects: their real offence consisted in their silence: they scorned to betray the friends who confided in their honour. "It was my hard fate," exclaimed Jones at the bar, "that I must either betray my friend, whom I love as myself, or break my allegiance, and undo myself and my posterity. I desired to be accounted a faithful friend, and am condemned as a false traitor. The love of Thomas Salisbury has made me hate myself: but God knows how far I was from intending treason <sup>26</sup>."

And execu-  
tion.

They were arraigned in two bodies: some pleaded guilty; the others were convicted on the admissions of their associates

<sup>25</sup> "Before this thing chanced," says Tichbourne, on the scaffold, "we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, in Fleet-street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Tichbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for: and God knows what less in my head than matters of state!—I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it: but in regard of my friend, I was silent, and so consented." Howell, 1157. He was much pitied by the spectators. Two of his compositions, a short poem

written on the evening before his execution, and a letter to his wife on the very morning, have been published by Mr. D'Israeli, *Curi- osities of Literature*, iii. 105.

<sup>26</sup> Howell, 1155. Babington seems to have behaved ungenerously. He, it was, who sought to inveigle the others into the conspiracy: and yet his confession was the chief proof against them. They urged that he had exaggerated their guilt, to obtain mercy for himself. This was denied by Hatton: but it appears that he cherished some hope, even after condemnation. See his letter to the queen in Howell, 1140.

in the Tower. Two successive days were allotted for their execution. On the first, the youth, the rank, and the demeanour of the sufferers, excited the pity, the barbarity of their punishment the horror, of the spectators. It was deemed prudent to concede something to the public feeling: and the remaining seven were allowed to expire on the gallows, before their bodies were subjected to the knife of the executioner<sup>27</sup>.

Previously to the apprehension of the conspirators, Pawlet had been ordered to seize the private papers of his captive, and had promised, in the cant of the age, to perform the commission, "with the grace of the Almighty." The first day that Mary took an airing, he conducted her by force to Tixal, restricted her to a particular corner of the house, and debarred her from the use of pen, ink, and paper. After three weeks of solitary confinement, she was suffered to return to Chertsey, and entering her apartment, observed that her cabinets were standing open, and that her money, seals, and papers, were gone. After a moment's pause, she turned to Pawlet, and looking on him with an air of dignity, said, "There still remain two things, sir, which you cannot take away: the royal blood which gives me a right to the succession, and the attachment which binds my heart to the religion of my fathers<sup>28</sup>."

Seizure of  
Mary's pa-  
pers.

Aug. 1.

Aug. 8.

Aug. 28.

<sup>27</sup> I shall not harrow the feelings of the reader by detailing the barbarities of their execution. See them in Howell, 1158, Camden, 483. Babington's lands were granted by the queen to sir Walter Raleigh. Murdin, 785. Mrs. Bellamy escaped through a misnomer. Her name was Catharine, and she was indicted by that of Elizabeth. Howell, 1141.

<sup>28</sup> See extracts from Pawlet's letters, in Chalmers, i. 429, 430. It is to this period that I attribute Elizabeth's celebrated letter to Pawlet. "Amyas, my most careful and faithful servant, God reward thee treble-fold in the double for thy most troublesome

charge, so well discharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly, besides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours, and faithful actions, your wise orders, and safe conduct performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travel, and rejoice your heart, in that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment, the value that I prize you at: and suppose no treasure to countervail such a faith: and shall condemn myself in that fault which I never committed, if I reward not such deserts. Yea, let me lack when I have most need, if I acknowledge not such



CHAP.  
VIII.Order for her  
trial.

To determine the fate of Mary, Elizabeth solicited the advice of her most trusty counsellors. There were some who endeavoured to save the life of the captive; who pleaded her advancing age, her corporal infirmities, and the probability that her health would sink under the rigour of protracted confinement. But there were more who maintained, that her death was necessary for the security of their religion; and these balanced between the two opposite opinions of Leicester, who recommended the sure but silent operation of poison, and of Walsingham, who contended that the reputation of their sovereign required the solemnity of a public trial. But Walsingham was present: his advice prevailed; and a commission was issued to forty-seven peers, privy counsellors, and judges, to inquire into the conduct of Mary, commonly called queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, and to pronounce judgment according to the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of the queen's reign. Of this number six-and-thirty, accompanied by the law officers of the crown, repaired to the castle of Fotheringay, to which Mary had been previously transferred<sup>29</sup>. She received them with courtesy; she listened to the object of their visit with composure; but she firmly refused to submit to their authority. It was derived, she said, from the queen of England.

"a merit with a reward non omnibus datum." She proceeds to tell him, that he should exhort Mary to repent for attempting Elizabeth's life: "Her vile deserts compel these orders, no excuse can serve. it being so plainly confessed by the actors of my guiltless death." Strype, iii. 361. He never received this great reward non omnibus datum: but the reason is evident. The reader will afterwards see, that he refused to put Mary to death without a warrant, though Elizabeth asked him to do it.

<sup>29</sup> They were Bromley, lord chancellor, Burleigh, lord treasurer; the earls of Oxford,

Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln: the viscount Montague; the lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sands, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletso, Compton, and Cheney; sir James Croft, sir Christopher Hatton, sir Francis Walsingham, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Walter Mildmay, and sir Amyas Pawlet; Wray, chief justice of the common pleas, Anderson, chief justice of the king's bench, Manwood, chief baron of the exchequer, and Gaudy, one of the justices of the common pleas. Camden, 486. 495.

But the queen of England was not her superior. She was an independent princess : nor would she ever disgrace the Scottish crown, by condescending to stand as a criminal at the bar of an English court of justice. No arguments could subdue her resolution ; and the commissioners separated, dissatisfied and perplexed. But the tone of her mind relaxed during the solitude and silence of the night : she was distressed by a remark of Hatton, that her obstinacy arose from consciousness of guilt, and in the morning she consented to plead for the sake of her reputation, but on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should be previously admitted. This, after some demur, was granted<sup>30</sup>.

It was perhaps unwise in the Scottish queen to make such a concession. She was placed in circumstances in which, though she might assert, it was almost impossible that she could prove, her innocence. A single and friendless female, ignorant of law, unpractised in judicial forms, without papers, or witnesses, or counsel, and with no other knowledge of the late transactions than could be collected within the walls of her prison, or of the proofs to be adduced by her adversaries than her own conjectures might afford, she could be no match for that array of lawyers which sat marshalled against her : and, if among the judges she discovered two or three secret friends, they were men whose fidelity was suspected, and whose lives and fortunes probably depended on their vote of that day : the rest comprised the most distinguished of those who for years had sought her death in the council, or had clamorously called for it in parlia-

Her judges.

<sup>30</sup> During this discussion she observed repeatedly that she could not comprehend that passage in the queen's letter, which said that she was living in England under the queen's protection. She therefore requested an explanation of it from Bromley, the chancellor:

It was rather a puzzling question. His reply was evasive : that the meaning was plain enough : but that it was not for subjects to interpret the letters of their sovereign, nor had they come there for that purpose. Howell, 1169, 1170.

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ment. Yet under all these disadvantages the queen defended herself with spirit and address. For two days she kept at bay the hunters of her life: and on the third the proceedings were suspended by an unexpected adjournment to Westminster<sup>31</sup>.

First charge  
against her.

The charge against Mary may be divided into two heads: that, against the statute made in the last parliament, she had conspired with foreigners and traitors to procure, 1<sup>o</sup>. the invasion of the realm; 2<sup>o</sup>. the death of the queen. In proof of the first part was adduced a multitude of letters, either intercepted or found in her cabinet, between her and Mendoza, Morgan, Paget and others. These, if they were genuine, and of that there can be little doubt, shewed that she had not only approved the plan of invasion devised at Paris, but had offered to aid its execution, by inducing her friends in Scotland to rise in arms, to seize the person of James, and to prevent the march of succours to England<sup>32</sup>. Mary, though she refused to admit, did not deny, the charge in general. She treated it as frivolous. She was not bound, she said, by their statutes: she was the equal, not the subject of Elizabeth: and between equals and sovereigns there was no other law but the law of nature. That law fully authorized her to seek her deliverance from an unjust captivity. She had first offered conditions which even Elizabeth had pronounced reasonable, and had declared that, if they were rejected,

<sup>31</sup> Lord Burleigh, however, as if Mary did not labour under sufficient disadvantages, composed and circulated on the morning of the trial a paper, which he called a note of the indignities and wrongs offered by the queen of Scots to the queen's majesty. See it in Murdin, 584. Oct. 12.

<sup>32</sup> This project to seize the person of James, and carry him out of the kingdom, did her much harm. Yet it would have been fair to recollect that it was suggested to her by the conduct of her enemies, who had repeatedly

made themselves masters of the royal person, and of Elizabeth, who had as often required that the king should be sent into England. Another letter was read, in which she expressed an intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right to the succession to the English throne. Hardwicke papers, 247. In return she merely observed that she had been forced to such measures. Her enemies had deprived her of all hope in England: she was therefore compelled to purchase friends abroad. Howell, 1188.



she would have recourse to other means. But her prayers, her offers, her warnings had been despised; and who was the man, that in such circumstances could blame her, if she consented to accept the tenders of aid, which had been made to her by her friends?

The second part of the charge, that she had conspired the death of the queen, she denied with vehemence and tears. To prove it, the crown lawyers read the copy of a letter from Babington to Mary, in which appeared this passage: "For the dispatch of the usurper, from obedience of whom, by the communication of her, we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear to the catholic cause and your majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution." This was followed by her supposed answer, in which she was made to say: "When the forces are in readiness both within and without the realm, then shall it be time to set the six gentlemen on work, taking good order that, on the accomplishment of their designment, I may be suddenly transported out of this place<sup>33</sup>." If both these passages were genuine, it was clear that Mary had given her consent to the assassination of Elizabeth.

It should be observed, that the papers exhibited in the court, were confessedly copies. No attempt was made to shew what had become of the originals, or when, where, or by whom the copies had been taken. On these points the crown lawyers observed a mysterious and suspicious silence. They deemed it

Second  
charge.

The proofs of  
the charge.

<sup>33</sup> To the letter which Babington received, there was a postscript in the same cipher, requesting him to send to Mary the names of the six gentlemen, who had undertaken to kill the queen. But when the letter was read at his trial, and at the trial of Mary, it appeared without any postscript at all. Cam-

den informs us, that it was one of the additions made to the letter in the office of the secretary; quibus subdole additum eodem caractere postscriptum, ut nomina sex nobilium ederet, si non et quædam alia. Camden. 497.

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sufficient to shew, that there had once been originals with which the copies corresponded : and for that purpose adduced, 1<sup>o</sup>. a confession of Babington, that he had written a letter to Mary and had received an answer, containing similar passages, and that he believed these copies faithful transcripts of the originals : 2<sup>o</sup>. the confessions of Nau and Curle, that the letter of Babington intimated the appointment of six gentlemen to kill the queen ; that by the order of their mistress they wrote an answer in cipher ; and that the copies now produced appeared to them correct representations of what had been written : 3<sup>o</sup>. the admission in several of her letters to her foreign correspondents, that she had received from the conspirators an account of their intended proceedings, and had given them instructions on several heads. These confessions and admissions, it was contended, formed a sufficient proof of the authenticity of the two letters.

Her answer.

The Scottish queen replied, that she had never received from Babington such a letter, nor written to him such an answer as had just been read to the court : that, if her adversaries had wished to discover the truth, instead of putting him to death, they would have produced him as evidence against her : that his confession, if he really made it, was of no value : it might have been dictated by the hope of mercy<sup>34</sup>. That she knew not what Nau and Curle had acknowledged ; but that Nau was simple and timid, and that Curle was the follower of Nau : it might be, that they had asserted what was false, under the im-

<sup>34</sup> Hume makes her say, that she never had any correspondence of any kind with Babington, a fact, he observes, of which there remains not the least question. Hence he infers that much reliance is not to be placed on her denials. But this only shews, that we are not to give implicit credit to the reports of her trial. He was deceived by that, which is usually printed in the State Trials. Her real

denial was, that she ever had *such* correspondence with him, as had now been read to her. See the Hardwicke papers, i. 233. She might also have alleged, had she known it, against Babington's confession, that it was made by him in Walsingham's house, while he expected to obtain leave to go abroad, and to deserve mercy by the importance of his disclosures.

pression that they would thus save their own lives without endangering her's: that as for the answer attributed to her, she knew nothing of it before the present day: it might have been written in her name by Nau, who had formerly committed a similar offence: or it might have been forged by Walsingham, who, if she were rightly informed, had very recently been practising against her life, and that of her son. At these words the secretary rose, and protested before God, that in his private capacity he had done nothing unbecoming an honest man, nor as a public officer, any thing unworthy of his place. Though his answer was rather an evasion than a denial of the charge, Mary prayed him not to be offended: she had spoken freely, what she had heard; and hoped that he would give no more credit to those who slandered her, than she did to those who accused him<sup>35</sup>. She renewed her declaration that she knew nothing of the obnoxious passages; and asked for her notes—with them she might explain much that seemed obscure—and for her secretaries,—were they confronted with her, the truth might soon be elicited—at present they ought to be considered unworthy of credit. They had been sworn to keep her secrets: if they had accused her truly, they had perjured themselves to her; if falsely, they had perjured themselves to the queen of England.

It is plain that, as the originals were not produced, the solution of the difficulty depended on the testimony of Nau and Curle. Elizabeth had foreseen that her captive would ask for them, and had therefore ordered that they should be in attendance<sup>36</sup>. Still they were kept out of the way: Mary demanded to be heard in parliament, or before the council, in the presence of the queen: but the chief commissioners rising, spoke to her

Oct. 15.

<sup>35</sup> Camden, 499.<sup>36</sup> Her letter of October 7, 1586. Cotton MSS. Cal. ix. 329.



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VIII.Judgment  
against her.

in private, and adjourned the assembly to meet on the 25th of October, in the star-chamber at Westminster.

On that day Nau and Curle appeared: but then Mary was absent, a close prisoner in the castle of Fotheringay. They are said, in the printed accounts of the trial, to have confirmed what had been advanced out of their confessions. Nau, on the contrary, in his apology to James I., asserts, that he strenuously opposed the chief points of the charge against his mistress<sup>37</sup>. However that may be, the commissioners unanimously gave judgment, that after the last session of parliament, and before the date of the commission, Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called queen of Scotland, pretending title to this crown of England, had compassed and imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the royal person of the queen, contrary to the form of the statute specified in the commission. They added, however, that this sentence should not derogate from the right or dignity of James, king of Scotland; but that he should continue in the same place, rank and right, as if it had never been pronounced<sup>38</sup>.

Elizabeth's  
hesitation.

The life of the Scottish queen now lay at the mercy of Elizabeth. From foreign powers she could expect no effectual relief. The Spanish monarch had to maintain his ground in Flanders against the combined army of the insurgents and the English: the king of France, harassed by religious wars, might entreat, but he could not intimidate: and with respect to her son, the Scottish king, it was plain that his claim to the succession would render him unwilling, and the English pensioners in his council would render him unable, to draw the sword in her defence. But indecision was one of the leading traits in the character of her adversary.

<sup>37</sup> Camden, 507.

see note (Z).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. On Mary's guilt or innocence,

Elizabeth, while her object was at a distance, pressed towards it with impatience; but always hesitated to grasp it, when it came within her reach. The death-warrant of her rival lay ready for her signature: but sometimes her imagination conjured up phantoms of danger from the desperation of Mary's partisans, and the resentment of James, and the catholic powers: sometimes she shuddered at the infamy which would cover her name, if she shed the blood of a kinswoman and a sovereign. As was usual, she sought refuge in procrastination. An interval of a month or two would persuade the world, that she was reluctant to take the life of Mary: in the mean time that princess might die a natural death: she might be dispatched by secret violence: at all events, the execution might be performed without the knowledge of the queen, or appear to be wrung from her by the voice of the people.

Anticipating the conviction of her prisoner, Elizabeth had summoned a parliament to meet on the fifteenth of October; the length of the trial at Fotheringay compelled her to prorogue it to the twenty-ninth of the same month. The proceedings on the trial were laid before each house: the commissioners in long speeches maintained the guilt of the royal prisoner; and the lords and commons united in a petition, that speedy execution might be done on the convict. Elizabeth, with many thanks for their loyalty, requested time to deliberate; and inquired, if no expedient could be devised to secure her life from danger, and at the same time spare her the necessity of taking that of her kinswoman. When the question was put, the members rose in their places, and pronounced such an expedient impossible. The chancellor and speaker communicated the result to the queen: and Elizabeth returned this ambiguous answer: "If I  
" should say that I mean not to grant your petition, by my faith,

Her answer to  
the parlia-  
ment.

Nov. 12.

Nov. 14.

Nov. 25.

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“ I should say unto you more perhaps than I mean. And if I  
 “ should say that I mean to grant it, I should tell you more than  
 “ is fit for you to know. Thus I must deliver to you an answer  
 “ answerless <sup>39</sup>.”

Sentence of  
 death an-  
 nounced to  
 Mary.

Nov. 22.

The unwelcome task of announcing these occurrences to Mary, was imposed on lord Buckhurst. In the company of Beal, secretary to the council, and of Pawlet her keeper, he informed her of the judgment of the commissioners, the ratification of it by parliament, and the petition of the two houses; bade her not to look for mercy, for her attachment to the catholic faith rendered her life incompatible with the security of the reformed worship; and offered her the aid of a bishop or dean of the established church to prepare her for death. She replied, that the judgment was unjust, as she had never conspired the murder, nor sought the least injury to the person of her English sister: that the real crime was her religion, a crime for which she should be proud to shed her blood; and that she wanted not the aid of reformed clergymen, but begged, in the name of Christ, that she might have the services of her own almoner, who was, she knew, in the house, though he had been hitherto excluded from her presence. This request was granted, but only for a short time, during which she wrote two important letters, one to the archbishop of Glasgow, the other to the pope. Both

Nov. 23.  
 24.

<sup>39</sup> Lords' Journals, 124, 125. Howell, 1189—1201. D'Ewes, 380. Puckering, the speaker, to induce her to grant the execution, made use of two singular arguments. 1<sup>o</sup>. Those who had signed the association were bound, by their oath, to kill the queen of Scots. If they should do it without licence, they would incur the indignation of her majesty: if they did not do it, they would be perjured, and incur the indignation of God. 2<sup>o</sup>. Not only the life, but the salvation, of her majesty was at stake. She would offend God by sparing

the wicked princess, whom God had delivered into her hands to be put to death. She should beware of imitating Saul, who had spared Agag, and Ahab who had spared Benhadad. D'Ewes, 401. Sir James Croft, who seems to have excelled all others in religious cant, moved that some earnest and devout prayer to God, to incline her majesty's heart to grant the petition, might be composed and printed, in order to be used daily in the house of commons, and by its members in their chambers and lodgings. Ibid. 404.



were preserved by her servants, and faithfully delivered after her death<sup>40</sup>.

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The judgment of the commissioners had been proclaimed by sound of trumpet in London. The bells tolled for twenty-four hours: bonfires blazed in the streets; and the citizens appeared intoxicated with joy. This intelligence awakened new alarms in the breast of the unfortunate queen. She knew that by the late statute her life lay at the mercy of every member of the association; she recollected the fate of the earl of Northumberland in the Tower; and she persuaded herself that it would be her lot to fall by the hand of an assassin. After many solicitations, she obtained permission to make her last requests to Elizabeth. They were three: that her dead body might be conveyed to France, and deposited near that of her mother; that her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests, which it was her intention to make them; and that she might not be put to death in private, otherwise her enemies would say of her, as they had said of others, that despair had induced her to shorten her days. Throughout the whole letter she carefully avoided every expression, which might be interpreted as a petition for mercy. She thanked God that he had given her the courage to suffer injustice without murmuring; expressed her regret that her papers had not been honestly and entirely submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth, who would then have seen whether the safety of their sovereign was the real object of her adversaries;

Her last requests to Elizabeth.

Dec. 6.

Dec. 19.

<sup>40</sup> The next day Pawlet informed her that, as she was now a woman dead in law, she had no right to the insignia of royalty. His servants having removed her canopy of state, he sat down, covered himself in her presence, and, saying that a woman in her situation could have no need of recreation, ordered her billiard table to be taken away. She appears to have felt much on this occa-

sion. See the particulars in her letter to the archbishop, (Jebb, ii. 292.) in which she leaves the vindication of her character to her relatives of the house of Guise, who have been equally accused with herself of seeking the death of Elizabeth. "Je dis, et est vray, que je n'en avois rien sceu, et n'en croiois rien." Ibid. For her other letter to the pope, see note (AA).

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and as she was about to leave this world, and was preparing herself for a better, hoped it would not be deemed presumption, if she reminded her good sister, that the day would come, when she must render an account of her conduct to an unerring Judge, no less than those, whom she had sent before her<sup>41</sup>. To this eloquent and affecting letter no answer was returned: perhaps it never reached the hands of the queen.

Elizabeth  
eludes the re-  
quest of the  
king of  
France.

These extraordinary proceedings had attracted the notice, and excited the wonder of the neighbouring nations. All sovereigns felt a common interest in the fate of Mary; the kings of France and Scotland, as more nearly allied in blood, were more eager to rescue her from death. 1<sup>o</sup>. Though Henry III. sincerely hated the house of Guise, he could not see, with indifference, the head of a princess, who had worn the crown of France, fall beneath the axe of the executioner. But the weight of his interposition was lightened by the knowledge of his necessities: and the harshness of a direct refusal was eluded by fraud and cunning. He had sent Bellievre with instructions to remonstrate in the most forcible and pointed language. The ambassador found unusual obstacles thrown in his way. He was first delayed, under pretext that hired assassins, unknown to him, had insinuated themselves among his followers; and then an inquiry was ordered, whether the plague had not made its appearance in his household. At last he was introduced to the queen, who was seated on her throne, and surrounded by her officers of state. She listened to him with impatience; and replied in a long and studied harangue, but with a tone of asperity and flush

Nov. 20.

Nov. 27.

“ Ne m'accusez de presumption, si, abandonnant ce monde, et me préparant pour un meilleur, je vous remonstre qu'un jour vous aurez à respondre de votre charge aussi bien

“ que ceux, qui y sont envoyez les premiers.”  
19 Decembre. The whole letter is in Jebb, ii. 295.

of countenance, which betrayed her inward emotion. She exaggerated the guilt of Mary, and claimed the praise of forbearance. She was, indeed, loath to shed the blood of one so nearly allied to her ; but she knew not how to refuse the just prayer of her people. He must, therefore, be content to wait a day or two, and he should receive her final determination. For more than a month Bellievre attended at court : all his applications were fruitless ; and, when every other excuse had been exhausted, he was told that the queen would send an answer by a messenger of her own<sup>42</sup>. After his departure, L'Aubespine, the resident ambassador, resumed the negociation : he was silenced by a low and unworthy artifice. An uncertain rumour had been spread of a new plot to assassinate Elizabeth ; and the ministers informed L'Aubespine, that he had been pointed out to them as the author of the conspiracy. They professed, indeed, to disbelieve the charge ; yet his secretary was imprisoned, and his dispatches were intercepted. He replied with warmth and contempt ; Henry resented the insult offered to his representative ; and all official correspondence through the ambassadors of the two courts was interrupted. The object of this artifice did not, however, escape the French monarch ; he condescended to dispatch another envoy ; but no representations, no entreaties could procure for him access to the queen. At length Mary perished ; then apologies were made ; the charge against L'Aubespine was attributed to false information ; and both the

1567.  
Jan. 3

Jan. 8.

<sup>42</sup> See a very interesting account from the *Registre des dépêches de M. de Villeroy, secretaire d'état*, published in the life of lord Egerton, p. 6, 7. When Bellievre told her that the king would resent the execution of Mary, she asked, "Sir, have you authority from your sovereign to employ such lan-

guage?" "Yes, madam, he has expressly commanded me to use it." "Is your authority signed with his own hand?" "It is, madam." "Then I require you to testify as much in your own writing." This he did, p. 7. Bellievre's arguments are in Camden, 522—526.



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VIII.

Refuses that  
of the king  
of Scots.

ambassador and his master were loaded with compliments and praise<sup>43</sup>.

2<sup>o</sup>. James of Scotland felt a still deeper interest in the fate of his mother. He had, indeed, no objection to her captivity—it secured to him the crown without a rival—but he could not brook the idea, that she should suffer an ignominious death. He wrote to Elizabeth: he ordered the Scottish resident, Archibald Douglas, to remonstrate: he sent sir Robert Keith, and afterwards the master of Gray, and sir Robert Melville, to employ entreaties and threats. They suggested that Mary's life should be spared, on condition that she resigned all her rights to her son: this would secure Elizabeth from the fear of a competitor, and the established church from the enmity of a catholic successor. It was replied, that after her condemnation, Mary had no rights to resign. They protested, in their master's name, that he would be compelled, in honour, to revenge her death. The menace was received with the most marked contempt<sup>44</sup>. There can be little doubt that James was sincere; but he employed men to negotiate in favour of his mother, who deemed her death necessary for their own safety. Gray publicly performed the duty intrusted to him; privately he whispered in the

<sup>43</sup> Stafford, brother to the English ambassador in France, requested De Trappes, secretary to L'Aubespine, to accompany him to one Moody, a prisoner for debt. De Trappes consented. Moody offered to kill the queen, if the ambassador would pay his debt. De Trappes reprimanded him for his presumption; and L'Aubespine immediately pronounced it an artifice to defeat the object of his negotiation, by rendering him suspected by Elizabeth. Compare Camden's narrative (520) and the original examination in Murdin, (578—583) with Villeroy's registre. p. 7. L'Aubespine's dispatches were

intercepted; but contained no allusion to the supposed conspiracy. Jebb, ii. 324.

<sup>44</sup> See Gray's dispatch, Robertson, ii. App. xiv. She would not understand their proposal. "So the earl of Leicester answered that our meaning was, that the king should be put in his mother's place. Is it so, the queen answered, then I put myself in a worse case than before; by God's passion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a dutchy, or an earldome to yourself, you, or such as you, would cause some of your desperate knaves to kill me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place." Ibid.

1580.  
Dec. 10.

ear of Elizabeth, that "the dead cannot bite." On his return James expressed his suspicions; but the favourite was able to persuade the king of his innocence, and to divert the royal vengeance from himself to his accomplice, Archibald Douglas<sup>45</sup>.

After the publication of the sentence, Elizabeth spent two months in a state of apparent irresolution; but that irresolution arose, not from any feeling of pity, but from a regard to her own reputation: and she was often heard to lament, that among the thousands who professed to be attached to her as their sovereign, not one would spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the blood of a sister queen. Preparatory to the execution, a precept had been directed to certain members of the association: for it was substituted, a warrant, in the usual form, to the sheriff of Northampton<sup>46</sup>; and this was superseded by a commission, from the pen of Burleigh, to the earl of Shrewsbury, as earl marshal, with the earls of Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and Pembroke, as his assistants. The last met with the queen's approbation; she signed it at the end of six weeks, and ordered Davison, her secretary, to take it to the great seal; adding, with a smile of irony, that on his way he might call on Walsingham, who was sick, and who, she feared,

Signs the  
warrant.

Dec. 10.

Dec. 20.

1587.  
Feb. 1.

<sup>45</sup> See the dispatches in Robertson, ii. App. xiii. xiv. The records of the treachery of Gray and Douglas, are their own letters. "The necessity of all honest men's affairs requires that she were out of the way." Sept. 8. Murdin, 568. "This is a hard matter to the king not to make any mediation for his mother: yet the matter is also hard for you and me, although we might do her good: for I know, as God lives, it shall be a staff to break our own heads. He has commanded you to deal very instantly for her: but if matters might stand well between the queen and our own sovereign, I care not if

"she were out of the way." Lodge, ii. 331. "By God, the matter is hard to you and me both." Nov. 27. Murdin, 573. "Answer ye to the queen there and all my honourable friends, that they shall find me always constant, and that in my negotiation I shall do nothing but for their contentment, reserving my duty to my sovereign." Dec. 9. Lodge, ii. 335. "By God, I say this far, if ever she (Elizabeth) knew me do wrong, it was for that I entered further for her service than good reason permitted." Dec. 25. Murdin, 575. <sup>46</sup> They are in Murdin, 574. 576.

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“at the sight of it, would die outright.” Then recollecting herself, as it were, she said, “Surely Pawlet and Drury,” (the latter had been lately appointed additional keeper of Mary) “might case me of this burden. Do you and Walsingham sound their disposition <sup>47</sup>.”

But proposes  
private assassi-  
nation.

Feb. 2.

A letter was accordingly forwarded to Fotheringay. It informed the two keepers, that the queen charged them with lack of care for her service, otherwise they would long ago have shortened the life of their captive. Of her guilt they could not doubt after her trial; and the oath of association which they had taken, would have cleared their consciences before God, their reputations before men. Pawlet was a stern and unfeeling bigot. He hated Mary, because she was a catholic; he sought her death, because he believed her the enemy of his religion. Yet he was an honest man, too intelligent to be the dupe of such sophistry, and too resolute to sacrifice his conscience to the will of his mistress. He replied, the same day, that his goods, living, and life, were at the queen's service: he was ready, if it pleased her, to forfeit them the next morning: but he would never make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot on his posterity, as to shed blood without law or warrant <sup>48</sup>.

Dissembles  
with Davison.

Davison little suspected that he was destined to be the victim of Elizabeth's dissimulation. The next morning she forbade him to take the warrant to the chancellor: and when she heard

<sup>47</sup> I know not whether Walsingham's illness was feigned or real: but after the charge made against him by Mary at Fotheringay, he took no part in the proceedings against her, but retired from court for two months, and only returned on the Tuesday after her death. Egerton, 8.

<sup>48</sup> Hearne's Robert of Gloucester, 673—676. Davison repeatedly requested that these letters might be burnt, “because they

“were not fit to be kept.” Pawlet replied, “If I should say I have burnt the papers you wot of, I cannot tell if any body would believe me: and therefore I reserve them to be delivered into your own hands at my coming to London.” Feb. 8th. Chalmers, i. 447. He might do so: but the letter and answer had previously been entered into his letter-book. Had this not happened, the fact would never have come to light.



that the seal was already affixed, expressed her surprise, and her persuasion, that the death of the Scottish queen might be better accomplished by some other expedient. The following day she repeated the same language; and when he read to her the answer of Pawlet, burst into expressions of anger and disappointment. That gentleman was no longer "her dear and faithful Pawlet," as she had lately called him: he was now "a precise and dainty fellow," who, in words, would promise much, in deed, perform little; one who, notwithstanding his oath, would perjure himself, in order to throw the blame from his own shoulders upon her's. But she knew of others less scrupulous. To them she would apply; and, in the midst of these complaints, she abruptly retired into her closet.

Feb. 3.

Davison now felt alarmed. From the ambiguous language of the queen, he knew not whether to detain or to forward the warrant; and, to exonerate himself, he delivered it to lord Burleigh, from whom he had received it originally. That nobleman called a council, in which it was unanimously resolved, that the queen had done all that the law required at her hands: that to trouble her further was needless, dangerous, and unpleasant to her feelings: that it was their duty to take the responsibility on themselves: and that on these accounts the warrant should be dispatched immediately, under the care of Beal, the clerk of the council<sup>49</sup>.

Feb. 4.

For two or three days the servants of Mary observed with surprise the frequent arrival of strangers at Fotheringay. On the seventh of February, the earl of Shrewsbury was announced;

The commissioners at Fotheringay.  
Feb. 7.

<sup>49</sup> See Davison's answers to the commissioners in Strype, iii. 375. His apologies in Robertson, ii. App. xix. and Whitaker, iii. 544. Also Camden, 545. If I can understand Burleigh's short notes in Strype, iii. App.

142, Leicester informed the council, that it was the queen's pleasure they should proceed; but, at the same time, should conceal the particulars from her.

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and his office of earl marshal instantly suggested the fatal object of his visit. The queen instantly rose from her bed, dressed and seated herself by a small table, having previously arranged her servants, male and female, on each side. The earl entered uncovered; he was followed by the earl of Kent, the sheriff, and several gentlemen of the county; and Beal, after a short preface, read aloud the warrant for the execution. Mary listened, without any change of countenance. Then, crossing herself, she bade them welcome: the day, she said, which she had long desired, had at last arrived: she had languished in prison near twenty years, useless to others, and a burthen to herself: nor could she conceive a termination to such a life more happy, or more honourable, than to shed her blood for her religion. She next enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices and frauds employed by her enemies; and in conclusion, placing her hand on a testament which lay on the table, "As for the death of the queen your sovereign," said she, "I call God to witness, that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it."

Mary makes  
oath of her in-  
nocence.

"That book," exclaimed the earl of Kent, "is a popish testament, and of course the oath is of no value." "It is a catholic testament," rejoined the queen, "on that account I prize it the more: and, therefore, according to your own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath the more satisfactory." The earl, in return, exhorted her to abandon all papistical superstition, to save her soul by embracing the true faith, and to accept the spiritual services of the dean of Peterborough, a learned divine, appointed by the queen. But Mary replied, that she was, perhaps, better versed in controversy than he thought: she had read much, and had attended to the most learned of the reformed

preachers ; but had never heard of any argument which should induce her to leave the faith of her fathers. Wherefore, in place of the dean of Peterborough, whom she would not hear, she requested that she might have the aid of Le Preau, her almoner, who was still in the house. This was the last and only indulgence she had to demand.

It was answered, that her request could not be granted. It was contrary to the law of God, and the law of the land : and would endanger the safety both of the souls and bodies of the commissioners. A long and desultory conversation followed. Mary asked if her son had forgotten his mother in her distress ; whether none of the foreign powers had interceded in her favour ; and lastly, when she was to suffer. To this question the earl of Shrewsbury answered, but with considerable agitation, " To-morrow morning at eight o'clock."

The earls had risen, when the queen inquired what was become of her two secretaries ; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, asked, with much earnestness, whether Nau were dead or alive. Drury replied that he was still in prison. " What !" she exclaimed, " is my life to be taken, and Nau's life spared ? " " I protest before God," putting her hand again on the book, " that Nau is the author of my death. He has brought me to the scaffold, to save his own life. I die in the place of Nau. " But the truth will soon be known <sup>50</sup>."

<sup>50</sup> " Quoy, je mourray, et Nau ne mourra pas ! Je proteste," mettant la main sur le livre, " que Nau est cause de ma mort. Nau me faict mourir pour se sauver. Je meurs pour Nau." Jebb, ii. 621. It has been argued, that this solemn asseveration is unworthy of credit, because the same evening she rewarded, as faithful servants, Nau and Curle, by her bequests to them in her will. On the contrary, the contemporary account of her death says,

that she marked her sense of Nau's conduct in her will, though in obscure terms, lest the English ministers should observe it, and destroy the instrument. (Ibid. 663.) On a reference to the will itself, this appears to have been the case. Nau is to have his wages, pension, and a large sum of money ; but only if he prove, that he has fulfilled certain conditions well known to her servants. Goodall, i. 413, 414. She every where makes a dis-



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Mary had heard the denunciation of her death with a serenity of countenance, and dignity of manner, which awed and affected the beholders. The moment the earls were departed, her attendants burst into tears and lamentations: but she imposed silence, saying, "This is not a time to weep but to rejoice. In a few hours you will see the end of my misfortunes. My enemies may now say what they please: but the earl of Kent has betrayed the secret, that my religion is the real cause of my death. Be then resigned, and leave me to my devotions."

Her employ-  
ment during  
the night.

After long and fervent prayer the queen was called to supper. She ate sparingly; and before she rose from table, drank to all her servants, who pledged her in return on their knees, and prayed her to pardon the faults, which they had committed in her service. She forgave them cheerfully, asking at the same time forgiveness of them, if she had ever spoken or acted towards them unkindly, and concluded with a few words of advice for their future conduct in life. Even in this short address, she again mentioned her conviction, that Nau was the author of her death.

This important night, the last of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will, and of three letters, to her confessor, her cousin of Guise, and the king of France, occupied the first and longer

tion between him and Curle, whom she considered as seduced by Nau. But of Curle himself, it is but fair, that I relate the testimony given by Henry Clifford, the biographer of the duchess of Feria. "I was present at his death, when a little before calling F. Creswell, and the gentlemen, and men of anie fashion, both English and Scots, he there protested, upon hope of his salvation, of his fidelitie and true loyaltie, ever to the queene his mistresse, both living and

"dead, against the calumnies and imputations putt in print, the authors being too lightly credulous. And this he spake (myself being a witnes) with great asseveration, protesting his innocence even at the last gaspe, as he should answer it before the tribunal of the eternal Judge. This I hold myself bound in conscience to write, for that he desired all the assistants to witnes, what he affirmed on his death-bed." P. 206.

portion<sup>51</sup>. The second she gave to exercises of devotion. In the retirement of her closet with her two maids, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle, she prayed and read alternately : and sought for support and consolation in the lecture of the passion of Christ, and of a sermon on the death of the penitent thief. About four she retired to rest : but it was observed that she did not sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer.

At the first break of day her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar : they knelt down and prayed behind her<sup>52</sup>.

She is summoned to the scaffold.  
Feb. 8.

In the midst of the great hall of the castle had been raised a scaffold, covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. About seven the doors were thrown open : the gentlemen of the county entered with their attendants ; and Pawlet's guard augmented the number to between one hundred-and-fifty and two hundred spectators. Before eight a message was sent to the queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. At that time, Andrews, the sheriff, entered the oratory : Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow : they insisted ; but the queen bade them to be content, and turning, gave them her blessing. They received

<sup>51</sup> Her letter to her confessor is in Jebb, ii. 303, and Keralio, v. 433. She complains of the cruelty of her enemies in refusing her his aid, and begs of him to pray with her during the night. In that to the king of France, she says, that she dies innocent of any crime against

Elizabeth. Jebb, ii. 303. 629.

<sup>52</sup> Conn, in his *Life of Mary*, says, that at this time, she communicated herself in virtue of an indult from Pius V. Jebb, ii. 45. This, from her letter to the pontiff, is plainly a mistake.

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it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed: and the burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Her discourse  
with Melville.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers: and descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. This old and faithful servant threw himself on his knees, and wringing his hands exclaimed, "Ah, madam, "unhappy me! was ever a man on earth the bearer of such "sorrow as I shall be, when I report that my good and gracious "queen and mistress was beheaded in England!" Here his grief impeded his utterance: and Mary replied: "Good Melville, "cease to lament: thou hast rather cause to joy than mourn: for "thou shalt see the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. Know that "this world is but vanity, subject to more sorrow than an "ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee report, that I die "a true woman to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. "May God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood, "as the hart doth for the brooks of water. O God, thou art "the author of truth, and truth itself. Thou knowest the inward "chambers of my thoughts; and that I always wished the "union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son; "and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown, or favourable to the pretended superiority of our enemies." Then bursting into tears, she said, "Good Melville, farewell," and kissing him, "once again, good Melville, farewell, and pray for thy mistress and "queen." It was remarked as something extraordinary, that this was the first time in her life, that she had ever been known to address a person by the pronoun thou.

Drying up her tears, she turned from Melville, and made



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her last request, that her servants might be present at her death. But the earl of Kent objected that they would be troublesome by their grief and lamentations, might practise some superstitious trumpery, perhaps might dip their handkerchiefs in her grace's blood. "My lords," said Mary, "I will give my word for them. They shall deserve no blame. Certainly your mistress, being a maiden queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I have some of my own women about me at my death." Receiving no answer, she continued, "You might, I think, grant me a far greater courtesy, were I a woman of lesser calling than the queen of Scots." Still they were silent: when she asked with vehemence, "Am I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant of the blood royal of Henry VII., a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?" At these words the fanaticism of the earl of Kent began to yield; and it was resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids, Kennedy and Curle.

The procession now set forward. It was headed by the sheriff and his officers: next followed Pawlet and Drury, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent: and lastly came the Scottish queen with Melville bearing her train. She wore the richest of her dresses: that which was appropriate to the rank of a queen dowager<sup>53</sup>. Her step was firm, and her countenance cheerful.

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She demands  
that her ser-  
vants be ad-  
mitted.

Enters the  
hall.

<sup>53</sup> It is thus described: Her head dress was of fine lawn, edged with bone lace, with a veil of the same, thrown back and reaching to the ground. She wore a mantle of black printed satin, lined with black taffeta and faced with sables, with a long train, and sleeves hanging to the ground. The buttons were of jet in the form of acorns, and set round with pearls; the collar à l'Italienne.—Her purpoint was of black figured satin, and under it a bodice, un-

laced on the back, of crimson satin, with the skirt of crimson velvet. A pomander chain with a cross of gold was suspended from her neck, a pair of beads from her waist. The executioner claimed all these articles as his right, but was compelled to surrender them for a sum of money. This account of her dress is taken from Jebb, ii. 307. 640. and R. W.'s narrative in the preface to Hearne's Camden, cxvi. compared with a MS. copy.

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She bore without shrinking the gaze of the spectators, and the sight of the scaffold, the block, and the executioner; and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty, which she had so often displayed in her happier days, and in the palace of her fathers. To aid her, as she mounted the scaffold, Pawlet offered his arm. "I thank you, sir," said Mary; "it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me."

Is addressed  
by the dean  
of Peterbor-  
rough.

The queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her. On her right stood the two earls, on the left the sheriff and Beal the clerk of the council, in front the executioner from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, with his assistant also clad in black<sup>54</sup>. The warrant was read, and Mary in an audible voice addressed the assembly. She would have them recollect, she said, that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the parliament of England, but brought there to suffer by injustice and violence. She, however, thanked her God that he had given her this opportunity of publicly professing her religion, and of declaring, as she had often before declared, that she had never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to, the death of the English queen, nor never sought the least harm to her person. After her death many things, which were then buried in darkness, would come to light. But she pardoned from her heart all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might turn to their prejudice. Here she was interrupted by Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, who, having caught her eye, began to preach, and under the cover, perhaps through motives of zeal, contrived to insult the feelings of the unfortunate sufferer. He told her that his mistress, though compelled to execute justice on her body, was careful of the welfare of her

<sup>54</sup> Egerton, 8.

soul: that she had sent him to bring her to the true fold of Christ, out of the communion of that church, in which if she remained, she must be damned: that she might yet find mercy before God, if she would repent of her wickedness, acknowledge the justice of her punishment, and profess her gratitude for the favours which she had received from Elizabeth. Mary repeatedly desired him not to trouble himself and her. He persisted: she turned aside. He made the circuit of the scaffold, and again addressed her in front. An end was put to this extraordinary scene by the earl of Shrewsbury, who ordered him to pray. His prayer was the echo of his sermon: but Mary heard him not. She was employed at the time in her devotions, repeating with a loud voice, and in the Latin language, long passages from the book of psalms<sup>55</sup>. When he had done, she prayed in English for Christ's afflicted church, for her son James, and for queen Elizabeth. At the conclusion holding up the crucifix, she exclaimed, "As thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the cross, so receive me into the arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins." "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "you had better leave such popish trumperies, and bear him in your heart." She replied, "I cannot hold in my hand the representation of his sufferings, but I must at the same time bear him in my heart."

When her maids, bathed in tears, began to disrobe their mistress, the executioners, fearing to lose their usual perquisites, hastily interfered. The queen remonstrated; but instantly submitted to their rudeness, observing to the earls with a smile, that she was not accustomed to employ such grooms, or to undress in the presence of so numerous a company. Her servants,

And be-  
headed.

<sup>55</sup> These passages were from psalms 31. 51. 91. as they are numbered in the reformed bibles.



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at the sight of their sovereign in this lamentable state, could not suppress their feelings: but Mary, putting her finger to her lips, commanded silence, gave them her blessing, and solicited their prayers. She then seated herself again. Kennedy taking a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes: the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block; and the queen, kneeling down, said repeatedly, with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." But the sobs and groans of the spectators disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The queen remained motionless: and at the third stroke her head was severed from the body. When the executioner held it up, the muscles of the face were so strongly convulsed, that the features could not be recognised. He cried as usual, "God save queen Elizabeth."

"So perish all her enemies!" subjoined the dean of Peterborough.

"So perish all the enemies of the gospel!" exclaimed, in a still louder tone, the fanatical earl of Kent.

Not a voice was heard to cry amen. Party feeling was absorbed in admiration and pity<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> We have several interesting accounts of the execution of the Scottish queen by eyewitnesses; one, the official dispatch, by the earl of Shrewsbury, which has been published by Robertson, (ii. app. xviii.) another by R. W. for the use of lord Burleigh, published by Hearne in the preface to his Camden, cxvi. and by C. Howard, esq. in his anecdotes of the Howard family, 36—66. and a third, still more circumstantial, by one of the servants of Mary in Jebb, ii. 611—641. The dead body was embalmed the same day, in the presence of Pawlet and the sheriff by a physician from Stamford, and the surgeon of the village. It was afterwards enclosed in lead, and kept in the same room for six months, till the first of August, when Elizabeth ordered it to be in-

terred with royal pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough. The servants of Mary had during all this time been confined close prisoners at Fotheringay. They were now dismissed: and the natives of France repaired to London on their way to their own country, but were detained there during a fortnight, that Nau, who had hitherto remained for security in Walsingham's house, might have leisure to tell his own tale, or perhaps the tale suggested by the secretary, in the French court. After Mary's body had rested twenty-five years at Peterborough, it was transferred to Westminster by order of James, Oct. 11, 1612. See Jebb, ii. 641. 649—661. Hearne's Camden, clxx.—clxxv.

Before the execution of Mary, Elizabeth had balanced between the fear of infamy and the gratification of revenge. The blow had now been struck: her revenge was gratified; and it became her object to escape the infamy, under the shelter of pretended ignorance. The reader will recollect that Davison, instead of dispatching the warrant immediately after it had been signed, retained it till the following morning. Of this he had apprized the queen, but she was careful not to iterate the order: she even suffered six days to elapse without any mention of the warrant: and when its execution was at last announced, she affected the utmost surprise: she swore, that she thought it still in the possession of Davison: she burst into tears and lamentations; and when the tumult of her grief was allowed to subside, indulged herself in threats of vengeance against the ministers who had abused her confidence, had usurped her authority, and, without her knowledge or consent, had put to death her good sister the Scottish queen. This dissimulation might perhaps blind the eyes of the multitude: but her secret proposal to Pawlet only a few days before, must prove that, if she grieved at all, it was not because Mary had suffered, but because she had suffered publicly in virtue of a warrant under the sign manual.

Several days, however, elapsed before her grief, whether real or pretended, was made manifest. Either the queen was kept in ignorance of what every other person knew, or, with her usual irresolution, hesitated whether to avow the deed, or to throw the blame on her counsellors. On the morning after the execution, at an early hour, a dispatch arrived from lord Shrewsbury<sup>57</sup>. Elizabeth took her usual airing; and after her return entertained herself in the company of don Antonio, the pretender to the

Feb. 9.

<sup>57</sup> There is an abstract of it in Jebb, ii. ii. App. xvii.  
641. the whole is published in Robertson,

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Feb. 14.

Feb. 15.

Feb. 16.

crown of Portugal. By noon the report was spread through the city: the bells announced the joyful intelligence; and numerous bonfires illuminated the darkness of the night. Four days, however, were employed in secret consultation, before the result was made public. On Monday the ministers were disgraced, and Davison was committed to the Tower: on Tuesday, Walsingham, who had been for two months absent, returned to court: and the next day Elizabeth sending for Roger, groom of the chamber to the French king, desired him to assure his sovereign of her regret for the death of the Scottish queen, of her ignorance of the dispatch of the warrant, and of her resolution to punish the presumption of her ministers. To account for so late a communication, it was reported, that the council had concealed the death of Mary from the queen, who first learned that event from a casual conversation with a lady of the court<sup>58</sup>.

Who publishes Davison the secretary.

Elizabeth now attempted to prove the sincerity of her regret by the execution of her threats. She suspended the obnoxious ministers from their offices, and ordered them to answer in the star-chamber, for their contempt of her authority. But her anger was gradually appeased. In all humility they acknowledged their offence, pleaded the loyalty of their intentions, and submitted to her pleasure. One after another, all, with the exception of Davison, were restored to office and favour<sup>59</sup>. He had earned this distinction by his constant reluctance to unite with his colleagues in their persecution of Mary. He had declined to subscribe "the association," even at the request of

<sup>58</sup> See a very interesting letter from L'Aubespine to Henry III. dated Feb. 27, N. S. in Egerton, 7—9, and Camden, 539.

<sup>59</sup> We have several letters from Burleigh to Elizabeth, during his temporary disgrace. Instead of vindicating himself, he submits to her will, and seeks to pacify her with texts of

scripture. In March he was called to the council to deliberate on the affairs of Holland: and the queen took the opportunity to charge him with his offence. Her violence was such, that he hastened home, and wrote her a most humble and desponding letter. See Strype, iii. 371. App. 144—146.



the queen: he had eluded the task of examining Babington and his associates in the Tower: he had absented himself, though named in the commission, from the trial at Fotheringay; and had afterwards refused to sign, as the other absent commissioners had signed, the condemnation of the Scottish queen. To add to his demerits, in answer to the questions put to him in prison, he did not imitate the humility of his colleagues, but in defending himself, indirectly charged the queen with falsehood, and alluded in obscure terms to her message to Pawlet<sup>60</sup>. In court, however, he acted with more reserve and prudence. To the invectives of the crown lawyers he replied, that to acknowledge the offence would be to tarnish his own reputation, to contend with his sovereign would be to transgress the duty of a subject: he would only say, that he had acted under the persuasion that he was obeying the queen's commands, and for the rest would throw himself on her mercy. He was condemned in a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The treasury seized all his property: and the queen, though she lived seventeen years longer, would never restore him to favour. She was deaf to his repeated petitions: even the young earl of Essex, in the zenith of his influence, prayed for Davison in vain<sup>61</sup>. Perhaps she thought by this severity to convince the

March 12.

<sup>60</sup> 1°. In his examination to the question, Did not her majesty give it in commandment to you to keep the warrant secret, and not utter it to any one? he answers, that she gave it to him without any such commandment, which he affirmeth as in the presence of God. 2°. Did she command you to pass it to the great seal?—He answers affirmatively, and mentions such circumstances as he trusts will bring that commandment to her recollection. 3°. Did she not, after it had passed the seal, command you, on your life, not to let it go out of your hand? In answer he protesteth before God, that he neither remembereth, nor

received, any such command. 4°. Did she ever command you to deliver it to any body? As she did not expressly command him to deliver it, so did he never understand her meaning to be other, than to have it proceeded in. 5°. Did she not six or seven days afterwards tell you, she had a better way to proceed therein? He replies, "On the receipt of a letter from Mr. Pawlet, upon such cause as *she best knoweth*, she uttered such a speech as that 'she could have matters otherwise done,' the particulars whereof I leave to her best remembrance." Strype, iii. 375.

<sup>61</sup> Cabala, 229—232. Camden, 540—545.

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world, that she did not dissemble: certainly she effected one important object: she closed the mouth of her prisoner, whom the spirit of resentment, or the hope of vindicating his innocence, might have urged to reveal the secret history of the proceedings against Mary, and the unworthy artifices and guilty designs of his sovereign.

Appeases  
James.

Mar. 8.

It may appear surprising; but a full month elapsed before the king of Scotland received any certain intelligence of the execution of his mother. At the news he burst into tears: he talked of nothing but vengeance: the people shared the resentment of the king; and the estates offered to risk their lives and fortunes in the national quarrel. Robert Carey, son to lord Hunsdon, who arrived with a letter from Elizabeth, would have fallen a victim to the fury of the Scots, had not James sent him a guard for his protection<sup>62</sup>. The queen in her letter assured the young monarch, that the death of Mary was not owing to her: that the ministers who ordered it without her knowledge, should be severely punished: that she would be to him in the place of his mother, whose condemnation should prove no prejudice to his rights and expectations. Elizabeth's partisans in the Scottish court supported her cause. They admonished James to recollect that he was now the next heir to the English crown: let him not forfeit that splendid inheritance by offending a princess, who alone could remove him from it: nor rely on the uncertain friendship of the foreign powers, who, while they pretended to seek his honour, sought in reality nothing but their own interest. His indignation gradually evaporated: the cry of vengeance was subdued by the suggestions of prudence; and the ease with which he acquiesced, provoked a suspicion in some, that if James felt

<sup>62</sup> Carey's memoirs, 13.

for Mary as his mother, he also rejoiced at her death, as at the removal of a rival <sup>63</sup>.

The revenge of Henry III. was equally harmless. A sense of honour had compelled him to forewarn Elizabeth, that he should consider the execution of a queen dowager of France as an insult offered to the French crown. But amidst the civil wars in which he was engaged, he was in no condition to execute this menace: nor could he indeed view with dissatisfaction an event, which detracted something from the importance of the man whom he most hated, the duke of Guise. Now that the head of Mary had fallen, it became the object of the two powers to renew their former relations of amity. The chief obstacle arose from the pretended conspiracy to murder the queen, attributed to the French ambassador. Elizabeth was the first to yield. She assured L'Aubespine, that she never gave any credit to the report; that she had always thought highly of his honour and integrity; and that his late behaviour had raised him still more in her esteem. After his audience with the queen, he was addressed, in presence of the whole court, by each of the ministers in rotation. Beginning with the earl of Leicester, they assured him of their respect and friendship; of their sorrow for the late charge, of which they acknowledged him to be innocent; and of their desire that all cause of dissension might be buried in oblivion. With this farce (for so the ambassador calls it) ended the quarrel between the two crowns <sup>64</sup>: and the death

And the king  
of France.

May 19.

<sup>63</sup> Camden, 439. 446—450. Courcelles' dispatches, Cotton MSS. Cal. i. ix. 233. Strype, iii. 377.

<sup>64</sup> See a most interesting dispatch from L'Aubespine in Egerton, 9, 10. After a public apology to the ambassador, Elizabeth took him by the hand, and led him into a corner of the room: where she told him that, since their last interview, the greatest of all cala-

mities had befallen her in the death of the queen of Scots. Of that death she swore, with abundance of oaths, that she was innocent. She had determined never to execute the warrant, except in case of invasion or rebellion. Four of her council—they were then in the room—had played her a trick, which she should never forget. They had grown old in her service, and had acted from



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of Mary was left unrevenge'd by those whom it chiefly concerned; her son the king of Scotland, and her brother-in-law the king of France.

the best of motives, or by G — they should have lost their heads. But that which troubled her most, was the displeasure of the king of France, whom she honoured above all men; whose interest she preferred to her own; and whom she was ready to supply with men, money, ships, and German mercenaries, against his enemies. L'Aubespine had previously resolved to make no remark on the death of Mary: but he took occasion of the last words, to express a wish, that the queen would shew her esteem of his master by her deeds. To send men and ammunition to those who were in arms against him, to hire Germans to

fight their battles, to capture French ships, and to treat a French ambassador for four months as she had treated him, were not convincing proofs of friendship and esteem. She replied, that she had done nothing against Henry, but had aided the king of Navarre against the duke of Guise. He asked whether to do even that, without the consent of Henry, were not to do in a foreign realm, what she would suffer no foreign prince to do in her's? He has not mentioned her answer, but adds that she talked incessantly for three hours. *Ibid.*

## CHAP. IX.

## ELIZABETH.

MARITIME AND PIRATICAL EXPEDITIONS—HAWKINS—DRAKE—CAVENDISH—DISCONTENT OF THE HOLLANDERS—LOSS OF SLUYS—RETURN OF LEICESTER—HATTON MADE CHANCELLOR—PREPARATIONS OF PHILIP—OF ELIZABETH—THE ARMADA SAILS FROM LISBON—ENTERS THE CHANNEL—IS DISPERSED—AND COMPELLED TO RETURN BY THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND—MAGNANIMITY OF PHILIP—ELIZABETH VISITS THE ARMY AT TILBURY—LEICESTER DIES—HIS CHARACTER.

THAT spirit of commercial enterprise, which had been awakened under Mary, seemed to pervade and animate every description of men during the reign of Elizabeth. For the extension of trade, and the discovery of unknown lands, associations were formed, companies were incorporated, expeditions were planned : and the prospect of immense profit, which, though always anticipated, was seldom realized, seduced many to sacrifice their whole fortunes, prevailed even on the ministers, the nobility, and the queen herself, to risk considerable sums, in these hazardous undertakings. The agents of the Russia company

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Commercial  
enterprise.

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laboured to penetrate through Muscovy and Persia, into Cathai: the Turkey merchants purchased and imported the productions of the Levant: English mariners explored, sometimes the coasts of Africa, sometimes those of America; and repeated attempts were made, in opposite directions, to force a passage to the East Indies, through the icebergs which crown the northern limits of the old and the new continents. The adventurers brought wealth and honour to their country. But among them there were many who, at a distance from home, and freed from the restraint of law, indulged in the most brutal excesses: whose rapacity despised the rights of nations, and the claims of humanity; and whom, while we admire their skill, and hardihood, and perseverance, our more sober judgment must pronounce no better than public robbers and assassins<sup>1</sup>.

'The slave  
trade.

1563.

1567.

The renowned sir John Hawkins first acquired celebrity by opening the trade in slaves. He made three voyages to the coast of Africa; bartered articles of trifling value for numerous lots of negroes; crossed the Atlantic to Hispaniola, and the Spanish settlements in America; and in exchange for his captives returned with large quantities of hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. This trade was, however, illicit: and in the bay of St. Juan d'Ulloa, Hawkins was surprised by the arrival of the Spanish viceroy with a fleet of twelve sail from Europe. The hostile squadrons viewed each other with jealousy and distrust; a doubtful truce was terminated by a general engagement; and in the end, though the Spaniards suffered severely, Hawkins lost his fleet, his treasure, and the majority of his followers. Out of six ships under his command, two only escaped: and of these one foundered at sea, the other, called the Judith, a bark of fifty

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, *passim*. Stow, 681. 684. 729. son, i. 420. Harris, i. 524—526. 575—583. Camden, 243. 306. 332. 360. 449. Ander-



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tons, commanded by Francis Drake, brought back the remnant of the adventurers to Europe. The reader will perhaps be surprised when he understands, that the two largest vessels, out of the six engaged in this inhuman traffic, belonged to the queen<sup>2</sup>.

In an age of religious fanaticism, it is not unusual to find habits of piety united with the indulgence of the most lawless passions. Drake attributed his late disaster to the perfidy of the viceroy. He thirsted for revenge: a naval chaplain was consulted; and the enlightened casuist determined, that the loss which he had suffered from a Spanish commander, might be justly repaired by the plunder of Spanish subjects in any part of the globe. The conscience of the adventurer was satisfied: he made three predatory voyages to the West Indies; and if the two first were unsuccessful, the last amply indemnified him for his previous disappointments. In the gulf of Mexico he captured more than one hundred small vessels; he took and plundered Nombre de Dios; made an expedition by land in the company of the Symerons, or fugitive negroes, and of a band of French adventurers; and intercepted a convoy of mules laden with gold and silver. This treasure satisfied his rapacity: to secure it, he hastened back to England<sup>3</sup>.

During his last expedition, from the summit of a mountain on the isthmus of Darien, Drake had, for the first time, descried the great Pacific ocean: and in a transport of enthusiasm, falling on his knees, he called God to witness, that if life were granted him, he would one day unfurl the English flag on that sea, hitherto unknown to his countrymen. In England he was not unmindful of his vow. Walsingham, Hatton, and some of the

Piratical ex-  
pedition of  
Drake.

1572.  
May 12.

July 28.

1573.  
Mar. 29.

He sails round  
the globe.

1573.  
Feb. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Camden, 158.

<sup>3</sup> Camden, 352.

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IX.1577.  
Nov. 15.1578.  
Dec. 5.1579.  
Mar. 1.1580.  
Nov. 3.Is knighted by  
Elizabeth.

other counsellors, applauded and aided his efforts: and Elizabeth herself staked a sum of one thousand crowns on the issue of the expedition. With five ships and one hundred and sixty men he crossed the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil; passed the straits of Magellan, and reached the small port of Santiago on the Spanish main. No resistance had been prepared, where no enemy had hitherto been known. From Santiago to Lima, the towns on the coast, and the vessels in the harbours, were taken and plundered. His last and richest capture was made at sea; the *Cacafuego*, a Spanish trader of considerable value. But the alarm was now raised: a squadron had been stationed at the straits to intercept his return: and Drake took the bold resolution of stretching across the Pacific ocean to the Moluccas. Thence, after many dangers and adventures, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he returned to Plymouth in safety, after an absence of almost three years. His arrival was celebrated as a triumph. He came indeed stained with bloodshed and rapine: but in the estimation of the people these blots were effaced by the glory of the enterprise; and England hailed with joy the return of her adventurous son, the first of mortals who had in one voyage circumnavigated the globe<sup>4</sup>.

Though Drake had sailed with five ships, he returned with only one, the *Golden Hind*: but it was laden with treasure to the amount of £800,000. Of this sum, one-tenth was distributed among the officers and crew; a portion was given up to the Spanish ambassador, who claimed the whole in the name of his sovereign; and the rest, of which no account was ever received, was believed to have been shared among the queen, the com-

<sup>4</sup> The glory of having practically demonstrated the orbicular form of the earth belonged to Majelhaen: but that navigator was

prevented from completing his circumnavigation of the globe, by his death in the Philippine isles.

mander, and the royal favourites. Four months, however, elapsed before she would give to Drake any public testimony of her approbation. His ship had been placed in the dock at Deptford, that it might be preserved as a memorial of his daring adventure. Elizabeth condescended to partake of a banquet which he gave in the cabin; and before her departure, conferred on him the honour of knighthood<sup>5</sup>.

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1581.  
April 4.

When Philip complained of these depredations, they were feebly vindicated on the ground of his having secretly aided the queen's enemies, and sought to excite rebellion in her dominions. But if the plea of retaliation is to be admitted at all, we must seek out the original aggressor: and impartiality will compel us to lay the blame on the unjustifiable conduct of the English adventurers. At length, however, Elizabeth, as the ally of Holland, engaged in open war with Philip: the lawless pirate was immediately converted into an officer acting under the royal commission; and the skill and intrepidity of Drake was successfully employed in legitimate hostilities for the service of his sovereign. With a fleet of twenty-one sail he directed his course to the West Indies: burnt the town of St. Jago, plundered those of St. Domingo and Carthagená, and razed two Spanish forts on the coast of Florida<sup>6</sup>.

Commands an  
expedition to  
the West In-  
dies.

1585.  
Sept. 14.

At the same time, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had dissipated one half of his property, sold the remainder, built or purchased three small vessels, and sailed in quest of adventures to the Spanish main. The inhabitants were upon their guard: and for several months his exploits were confined to

Voyage of  
Cavendish.

1586.  
July 21.

<sup>5</sup> Camden, 354—360. Stow, 687. Harris, i, 19.

<sup>6</sup> In this expedition he lost 700 men by sickness, and brought back to England the survivors of a colony, that sir Walter Raleigh

had sent out to Virginia. These colonists, on their return, introduced the custom of smoking tobacco. Camden, 449. Harris, i, 815.



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IX.1597.  
Nov. 4.

the capture of a few coasting vessels, and the conflagration of two or three villages. But just before his departure, his good fortune led him into the course of the *Santa Anna*, a merchantman from the *Manillas*. The Spaniards repelled every attempt to board: at last the sinking state of their ship compelled them to yield. The gold and silver, and more valuable commodities, were transferred from the prize to the English vessels: the other merchandise, amounting to 500 tons, was consumed with the carrack: and the adventurer immediately returned by the *Moluccas*, *Java*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*. Like *Drake* he had made the circuit of the globe: but like him he added little to the stock of general knowledge. The object of both was to enrich themselves at the expense of the Spaniards. This they effected: the improvement of science was beyond their abilities, or beneath their notice<sup>7</sup>.

Desertion  
from the  
English army  
in Holland.1587.  
June 18.

These maritime expeditions might irritate the Spanish monarch: they contributed nothing towards the great object of the war. The subjugation or independence of the *Netherlands* was to be decided on the spot: and there *Philip* had little to dread, as long as the conduct of the hostile army was intrusted to the presumption and incapacity of *Leicester*. On his return to *England* in *November*, the earl had resumed his wonted ascendancy over the heart of the queen: instead of punishment, he met with reward: and, as if she sought to atone for the pain which she had given, she made him lord steward of her household, and chief justice in eyre south of the *Trent*. But during his absence, dissension and faction introduced themselves into the army in *Holland*. If many approved, many also con-

<sup>7</sup> *Stow*, 719. *Camden*, 552. *Harris*, i. voyage in 1591, and perished at sea.  
24. He afterwards undertook a similar

demned, the execution of the Scottish queen. Elizabeth was branded as the murderess of the rightful heir to the crown: and emissaries were artfully employed to debauch the fidelity of the soldiers. Among the officers was sir Roland York, a soldier of fortune and captain of a fort near Zutphen, who, for some former offence, dreaded the secret resentment of Leicester. This man took the opportunity to insinuate to sir William Stanley, governor of Daventer, that he, as the friend of Babington, and advocate of Mary, was an object of suspicion to the council, and was destined to suffer, at a convenient time, a similar fate. Stanley caught the alarm: he assembled the garrison, and declared that his conscience forbade him to fight in the cause of rebels against their sovereign; that Daventer belonged to the king of Spain; and that it was the duty of every honest man to restore to the right owner that property which had been unjustly acquired. They applauded his harangue: both Daventer and the fort were surrendered; and Stanley and York, with 1300 men, entered into the service of Philip<sup>8</sup>.

This unexpected event spread terror and consternation throughout Belgium. The states assembled: and, as if the queen's lieutenant were no longer in existence, appointed Maurice, son to the late prince of Orange, stadtholder and cap-

Discontent of  
the Belgians.

<sup>8</sup> Camden, 552. In justification of Stanley, a letter was published by Dr. Allen. I have not been able to procure it: but another apology by Persons may be seen in that writer's "Manifestation." He observes that Daventer had been surprised against the will of the inhabitants by sir Wm. Stanley, who was sworn to keep it for the states, and with the garrison, received pay from the states: that both Stanley and Leicester were enemies to sir John Norris, who succeeded to the command on the departure of Leicester; and that on this account the latter left with Stan-

ley a written licence to leave the service at any moment he might think proper. Hence Persons contended that Stanley was no deserter, because he had the licence to depart: that he was no traitor to Elizabeth, because he was in the pay of the states, and held the town for them: and that he was guilty of no injustice, because the town was the property of the king of Spain, and, as he had been instrumental in taking it from the right owner, he was bound in conscience to restore it to him. Persons, Manifestation, p. 43—46.

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tain general in Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. But they soon found reason to repent of their precipitation. Leicester, by his religious cant, and his affectation of sanctity, had, during his residence in the Netherlands, formed a strong party among the reformed clergy. He frequented their sermons; he prayed and fasted in their company; he frequently received the sacrament; and on every occasion avowed a determination to extirpate popery, and to establish the gospel. They spread the shield of their influence over their absent disciple; and from their pulpits inveighed with bitterness against the ingratitude and the injustice of the states. Many towns disowned the authority of Maurice: the clergy of Friesland proclaimed Elizabeth their sovereign: and the synod of Sneek, in an address to the English ambassador, conjured the queen to hasten to the assistance of Christ, who put himself and his children under her protection. Elizabeth felt the affront offered to her favourite as offered to herself; and the lord Buckhurst was dispatched to signify her displeasure. By his exertions harmony was restored. The appointment of the new stadtholder was declared to have been only provisional: Maurice expressed his readiness to resign the office whenever it should be required; and the fury of the people was appeased by a promise that Leicester should immediately return<sup>9</sup>.

Mar. 1.

Drake's expedition to Cadiz.

The English queen, however, had a more important object in view. She had rashly, though reluctantly, plunged into the contest with Philip; she now sought to extricate herself from it with honour. Two foreign merchants, Grafigna, a Genoese in London, and De Loo, a Flamand in Antwerp, had been employed as representatives of the commercial interests in the two

<sup>9</sup> Brandt, 409 Bentivoglio, ii. 99. Cabala, part ii. 1. 63.



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countries, to solicit, the one from Elizabeth, the other from Farnese, the restoration of peace. Both received favourable answers: through them a correspondence was opened between Burleigh and sir James Croft, on the part of England, and Perenotte and Richardot on that of Spain: and complimentary letters, expressive of the most pacific sentiments, were interchanged between Elizabeth and the duke<sup>10</sup>. In the council the lord treasurer supported the views of his sovereign: but Leicester and his friends urged the continuation of the war. They foretold that, while the queen was deluded with a pretended negociation, the Spanish squadrons would slip from their ports, unite in one numerous armament, and pour a foreign army on the English shores; and they wrought so powerfully on the fears and feelings of Elizabeth, that Drake was dispatched from Plymouth to watch the harbours of Spain, and to oppose, if it were attempted, the junction of the Spanish fleet. But that officer had no intention to confine himself to the letter of his instructions. He hastened to Cadiz, bore fearlessly into the harbour, dispersed by his superior fire the Spanish galleys, and sunk, or burnt, or captured, or destroyed, no fewer than eighty sail, partly ships of war, partly merchantmen, either recently arrived from the East, or equipped to proceed to the West Indies. From Cadiz, the conquerors returned by the coast of Portugal: in the waters of the Tagus they insulted the marquess of Santa Crux, the admiral of Spain: and at sea their labours were rewarded by the capture of the St. Philip, a carack of the largest dimensions, and laden with much valuable merchandise<sup>11</sup>.

Jan. 29.

Feb. 17.

April 2.

April 19.

The victorious admiral was received with gratitude by all but **Loss of Sluys.**

<sup>10</sup> See their contents in Strada, l. ix. anno 1587.

<sup>11</sup> Drake's letter is in Strype, iii. 451. Stow, 709.

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- his sovereign. Elizabeth trembled, lest so great a loss should awaken in the breast of Philip the desire of revenge, rather than of peace: and, in answer to a letter from Farnese, who had offered to appoint negociators, and left the place of meeting to the choice of the queen, she assured him that Drake had been sent out for the sole purpose of opposing any attempt at invasion; that orders had been forwarded to him to abstain from every act of hostility; and that, as he had disobeyed her commands, he should suffer for his presumption on his return. Farnese affected to be satisfied, but prepared to play a similar game. To Elizabeth he replied, that he could believe any thing of a man who had been bred a pirate, and who at Cadiz had acted in the usual line of his profession; that he was still willing to abide by his former offer; and that it depended on the queen alone to put an end to the horrors of war<sup>12</sup>. But, while she was thus amused by his proposals, while she feared that a second act of hostility might extinguish every hope of pacification, the duke silently arranged his plans, and gave instructions to his officers.
- May 19. On a sudden, Sluys, a fort of the first consequence, garrisoned partly by Englishmen and partly by Hollanders, was besieged: and the number and discipline of the enemy, the abilities and good fortune of their leader, taught the states to tremble for its safety. They made the most pressing instances to the queen: her favourite assailed her with arguments and entreaties: still she hesitated; she wrote to Farnese to withdraw his forces; nor was it till she had received a refusal, that she gave her consent to the departure of Leicester. He took with him a large sum of money, and a reinforcement of 5000 men: but he was hampered with instructions, which he could not, or would not, understand:
- June 28.

<sup>12</sup> Strada, l. ix. anno 1588.

July 30.

he was ordered to sound, in the first instance, the disposition of the Hollanders ; and, if he found them averse from peace, to declare that the queen would retire from the contest, unless they could advance £100,000 for the payment of a more numerous army. The earl arrived, assembled his forces, and made three unsuccessful attempts to raise the siege. Sluys capitulated ; and the royal message was delivered. The states received it with reproaches and complaints ; and, in the transport of their indignation, indulged in the most unjust and alarming suspicions. They had been, they said, betrayed by placing confidence in the professions of their allies. Avarice had induced their pretended friend, the queen of England, to sell them to the king of Spain, and to stipulate the surrender of the places garrisoned by her troops, in return for a sum of money sufficient to defray the past expenses of the war. These charges, though unfounded and improbable, were circulated and believed : and the earl, from having been the idol, became in a few days the execration, of the people.

From the conflicting assertions of Leicester and his opponents, it is difficult to form a correct notion of his proceedings. *They* charged him with aspiring to the sovereignty of the provinces : they asserted, that with this view he had sought to place English governors in every fortress ; had attempted to seize the persons of Barnevelt, his chief adversary, and of prince Maurice, his most formidable rival ; and had arranged a plot to seize for himself the city of Leyden, which was preserved to the states only by the timidity and flight of the conspirators <sup>13</sup>. Leicester, on the contrary, complained bitterly of the ingratitude of the Hollanders ; accused the most ardent among the patriots of cor-

Disputes between Leicester and the Hollanders.

<sup>13</sup> Camden, 555. Brandt, 414.



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Nov. 21.

ruption and treason ; and pretended that a secret design existed of betraying the Netherlands into the hands of Philip. However these things may be, his influence with Elizabeth was gone. She believed that he had neglected her instructions, and sought chiefly his own aggrandizement : and when Farnese complained that the queen had no real desire of peace, she laid the blame, first on the negligence, and then on the ambition of Leicester. He was recalled : and on his arrival, aware of his danger, threw himself at her feet, and conjured her to have pity on her former favourite. “ She had sent him to the Netherlands with “ honour ; would she receive him back in disgrace ? She “ had raised him from the dust ; would she now bury him “ alive ? ” Elizabeth relented : but the result of the interview was not revealed till the following morning. The earl had received a summons to answer before the council. He obeyed : but, instead of kneeling at the foot of the table, took his accustomed seat ; and when the secretary began to read the charges which had been prepared, he arose, inveighed against the baseness and perfidy of his calumniators, and appealed from the prejudices of his equals to the equity of his sovereign. The members gazed on each other : the secretary passed to the ordinary business of the day ; and the lord Buckhurst, the accuser, was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house. Such a punishment was evidently unjust. But he submitted without a murmur : and so rigorously did he observe the royal order, that, although his confinement lasted till the death of Leicester, he never admitted, during nine months, either his wife or children into his company !<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Besides the historians of the period, consult the original letters in the Hardwicke papers, i. 334—360. It would appear that Leicester had much to say in his own defence, but that

the party which sought peace, had obtained the ascendancy while the earl was absent in Holland, and Walsingham was confined to his house by sickness.

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About the same time, the death of Bromley, lord chancellor, enabled the queen to satisfy the ambition of another of her favourites. Since the reformation that high office had been confined to the lawyers: she now resolved to break through the custom, and to bestow it on the earl of Rutland. But Rutland died within a few days, and to the surprise and ridicule of the courtiers, sir Christopher Hatton was appointed chancellor. It had happened, some years before, that the students in the inns of court gave a magnificent ball in honour of the queen. Among the maskers her eye distinguished one, who in stature, agility and manner, excelled all his companions. The fortunate dancer was Hatton, a young gentleman of slender fortune from Northamptonshire. She bade him reside at court, appointed him the captain of her guard, then chamberlain, and at length lord chancellor. The lawyers were mortified: they objected to plead before him: but Hatton, combining moderation with firmness, subdued their opposition; and with the aid of two serjeants, whom he consulted on points of law, proved himself, as a judge in equity, not inferior to his predecessors. He was considered the most accomplished gentleman in the court; and made himself many friends by opposing the harsh and irritating measures, which were often suggested by his colleagues in the council<sup>15</sup>.

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Hatton is  
made chan-  
cellor.

We are now arrived at the most interesting and memorable epoch in the reign of Elizabeth. The reader must have noticed the injuries, which the queen had almost annually offered to the king of Spain. She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his

Philip pre-  
pares to in-  
vade Eng-  
land.

<sup>15</sup> Philopater, 20. Camden, 558. Splendidissime omnium quos novimus, gessit. Ibid.

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armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas, and in his American dominions. Policy taught him to dissemble: he covered his feelings with an affectation of disdain: and the monarch, so haughty to every other power, appeared to bear the provocations given by Elizabeth with the most stoical indifference. But the constant repetition of insult, the sophisms with which his complaints had formerly been answered, and the recollection that the queen, under the reign of her sister, had owed her liberty, perhaps her life, to his protection, sharpened the edge of his resentment<sup>16</sup>: and, if he hesitated to strike, it was only that he might take more sure and ample vengeance. In 1583, after a forbearance of fifteen years, he flattered himself that the day of retribution was come. The duke of Anjou had been driven out of the Netherlands: France trembled on the verge of a civil war; and the defeat of his rival don Antonio, with the reduction of Tercera, had secured on his head the crown of Portugal. Freed from other foes, he turned his attention to the English queen: but he was by nature slow and cautious: to arrange his plans, to make his preparations, demanded leisure and consideration; and five more years were suffered to elapse, before the armada, destined to subjugate the English nation, was ready to sail from the ports of Spain. During this interval the conduct of Elizabeth had not been calculated to avert his resentment. She had sent to the relief of the Belgian insurgents an English army under a general, who assumed the title and authority of governor of the revolted provinces, and after a trial, unprecedented in the annals of Europe, she had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots. The first was equivalent to a declaration of war, which

<sup>16</sup> See Philopater, *Augustæ*, 1592, p. 68—83. Osborn's memoirs, p. 13.



Philip could not refuse to notice without the imputation of cowardice: the second was an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge.

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Of all men, the Spanish king should have been the last to acknowledge in the pontiff the right of disposing of the crowns of princes. In former times he had not hesitated to declare war against Paul IV.; and by his general, the duke of Alva, had dictated the terms of peace, in the Vatican. Revenge and ambition taught him a different lesson. In confidence he communicated his object to Sixtus V. the reigning pope, and solicited his co-operation in an attempt, which had for one of its objects the restoration of the papal authority in England. For this purpose he demanded an aid in money, the renewal of the censures promulgated against Elizabeth by former popes, and a grant of the purple for Dr. Allen, who, in the event of success, might proceed as legate to England, regulate the concerns of religion as had been done by cardinal Pole, and confer on the conqueror the investiture of the kingdom<sup>17</sup>. Allen, ignorant of the project, was at the Spa, for the benefit of his health: under some other pretext, he was drawn to Rome; and, though he declined the dignity, as he had before declined it under Gregory XIII., he was, against his will, created a cardinal by the title of St. Martin in montibus. But though Sixtus kept the secret locked up within his own breast, the motive of Allen's promotion was suspected by the politicians at the papal court; and the pontiff, apprehensive of the discovery, exhorted Philip to hasten the expedition, offering him a subsidy

His negotiation with the pope.

1587.  
Aug. 7.  
N. S.

Nov. 1.

<sup>17</sup> The dispatch is among the records at Simancas.

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of a million of crowns, to be paid as soon as the invading army had landed on the coast of England<sup>18</sup>.

His army and  
navy.

The preparations of that monarch both in Spain and the Netherlands were proportionate to the importance of the undertaking. Never had the ocean borne a more gallant fleet than that which now rode in the harbours of Spain. One hundred and thirty-five sail of men of war, carrying eight thousand seamen, and nineteen thousand soldiers, obeyed the command of the marquess of Santa Crux, an officer, who had grown grey in the naval service, and whose brow was shaded with the laurels of numerous victories<sup>19</sup>. In Flanders, the forest of Waes had been felled: the dockyards of Antwerp, Newport, Gravelines and Dunkirk, swarmed with artificers; and the rivers and canals were covered with flat-bottomed boats, destined to serve as transports in the projected invasion. The reputation of Farnese, and the danger but glory of the attempt, had drawn volunteers from many of the most noble families in Europe: on every road were met bodies of soldiers hastening from Spain, and Germany, and Italy, to the place of rendezvous; and when the duke of Parma had mustered his forces, and allotted to the count Mansfeldt eleven thousand men in addition to the ordinary garrisons for the defence of the country, he had still at his disposal thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen hundred cavalry, to be employed in the invasion of England<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Fitzherbert, *Vita Alani*, 87. Strada, l. ix. anno 1588. Maffei, *Hist. ab excessu Gregor. XIII.* p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> The vessels composing this fleet were of four kinds: 1°. the ordinary ship of war, formed after the chiule or keel of the ancient northern nations: 2°. the galley, which employed the aid of oars, and carried cannon on the prow and the stern: 3°. the galleasse, one

third larger and broader than the galley, with the addition of cannon on each side between every bench of oars: 4°. the galleon, or large chiule, being the ordinary ship of war extended in length, with cannon on each flank, and powerful batteries on the prow and stern. See Strada, l. ix. anno 1558.

<sup>20</sup> Strada, *ibid.* Hardwicke papers, i. 354. Camden, 563.

It was impossible that these preparations could escape the notice of the English government: but Philip circulated different reports to cover their real destination. Elizabeth was plunged in the most cruel uncertainty, where the storm would ultimately burst, whether on *her* head, or on the insurgents of Belgium. It was necessary that she should be on her guard: but parsimony inclined her to distrust both the advice of her ministers, and the warnings of their spies; and she alternately quickened or retarded her preparations, as hope or fear preponderated in her mind. She easily consented that a military council for the defence of the kingdom, should be established; that all the male population from the age of eighteen to that of sixty, should be enrolled; and that the lord-lieutenants should be instructed to form companies of militia, to appoint officers, and to provide arms at the expense of the counties. But to call these men into active service, would entail a great expense on the crown. She still cherished a hope of avoiding the contest: and, if at last two armies were ordered to assemble, one of thirty-six thousand men, under lord Hunsdon, for the defence of the royal person, and another of thirty thousand, under the earl of Leicester, for the protection of the capital, these measures were so long delayed, that the first existed no where but upon paper; the second never reached to more than one half of the specified number<sup>21</sup>. It was, however, of small moment. Such raw and

Her army.

<sup>21</sup> The orders for the army under Leicester were issued in June. In what manner it was to be composed, may be seen in Murdin, 611. It was to consist of 27,000 infantry, 407 lancers, 2011 light horse, and eighteen pieces of artillery. Yet on the tenth of August it did not exceed 15,000 foot, with their complement of horse. Stow, 743. Now, if the armada had not been dispersed by the fire-ships and the storm, the attempt to land

would have been made on the 30th or 31st of July. As for lord Hunsdon's army, none except the men from London and Middlesex, received orders to assemble before the 6th of August. Murdin, 612, 613. Of this Leicester complained, on July 27th. God had given the queen forces and power: yet she would not use them when she ought. Hardwicke papers, i. 576.



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hasty levies could have opposed but a feeble resistance to the numerous and disciplined force under the duke of Parma<sup>22</sup>. England was destined to be saved by the skill and intrepidity of her navy.

## Her navy.

In the last autumn, a sense of danger had extorted from the queen a warrant for the levy of five thousand seamen: in January she repented of her prodigality, and ordered two thousand to be dismissed. As, however, the rumour of invasion assumed a more authenticated shape, she yielded to the entreaties of her council: the original number was again filled up; it was even raised to seven thousand men<sup>23</sup>. The royal navy consisted of thirty-four men of war, of which five measured from eight to eleven hundred tons: the city of London furnished thirty-three, and different gentlemen eighteen sail, and to these, in such an emergency, were added forty-three hired ships, and fifty-three coasters. The chief command was assumed, in virtue of his office, by lord Howard of Effingham, admiral of England, whose resolution and intrepidity were universally acknowledged, and whose want of naval experience was supplied by a council of able seamen. Under him served as volunteers, the earl of Cumberland, and the lords Henry Seymour, Thomas Howard, and Edmund Sheffield: Drake was appointed lieutenant of the fleet: and the best ships were given to Hawkins, Forbisher, and other mariners, who in voyages of commerce, or piracy, or discovery, had acquired experience, and displayed that contempt of danger, and that spirit of enterprise, which have long been characteristic of the British sailor<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> See in a note in the Hardwicke papers, i. 575, the opinion which sir John Smyth, an old soldier, who was employed to train the new levies, had formed of this army. He wrote a work on military discipline, which,

on account of some such passages, was suppressed. Strype, iv. 47.

<sup>23</sup> The treasurer's accounts in Murdin, 620.

<sup>24</sup> See the statement of the fleet in Murdin, 615—618.

The only neighbouring powers to whom the queen could apply for assistance, were the states of Belgium, and the king of Scots. The independence of the former was owing to her protection: their ruin must be the inevitable consequence of her subjugation. Interest and gratitude taught them to obey the call. They forgot all recent causes of offence, undertook to shut up the navigation of the Scheld, and sent to the fleet a squadron of twenty sail. From the king of Scotland she dared not hope for active assistance: but to secure his neutrality was an object of immense importance. James appeared to waver: a Spanish party had been formed among his subjects: the addition of a Spanish army and of Spanish treasure, would have aroused him from his inactivity, and have made him the avenger of the blood of his mother. Such a measure was urged in the council of Philip<sup>25</sup>: but he distrusted the fidelity of the Scottish king, whose policy it was not to commit himself with either party, till he should see the probable event of the contest. If, to please his protestant subjects, he subscribed the covenant, and put down the attempt of the lord Maxwell on the borders; yet, at the same time, he listened with coldness to the apology offered by lord Hunsdon for the death of Mary; put forth his own claims with a tone of authority; and held the English cabinet in suspense, till he had extorted the most magnificent promises from Ashby, the resident ambassador. Then, indeed, he forbade his subjects to aid the enemy, and offered to Elizabeth the whole force of his kingdom: but it should be observed, that

<sup>25</sup> This advice was given by Plato, a celebrated engineer: and Leicester informs us, "that James had instruments about him, labouring to have men sent him." Murdin, 592. Again he observes: "Scotland is altogether neglected, from which all our mischief is to

"come, where the employment of 2000 men  
"by the enemy, with some portion of treasure, may more annoy us than 30,000  
"landed in this realm." Hardwicke papers, i. 360.

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Conduct of  
the catholics.

the armada had been already defeated, and that the Spaniards were fleeing before their pursuers along the shores of Scotland <sup>26</sup>.

But there was within the realm a class of men, whose doubtful loyalty created more alarm in the cabinet than the procrastination of the Scottish, or the enmity of the Spanish monarch. The real number of the English catholics was unknown: (for the severity of the penal laws had taught many to conceal their religion:) but it was loosely conjectured, that they amounted to at least one-half of the population of the kingdom <sup>27</sup>. Hitherto they had been the victims of a relentless persecution: was there not reason to expect that they would receive the Spaniards as deliverers? The queen had been deprived of all right to the throne by the head of their church: would they not avail themselves of that sentence to wrest from her hands the sceptre of iron with which she had ruled them? Impressed with these fears, several of the ministers began to look on the massacre of St. Bartholomew as a useful precedent: and, had it not been for the humanity of the queen herself, the chief of the catholics, those most distinguished by birth and property, would have been immolated to the jealousy of their adversaries. The expedient of a counterfeit plot was suggested: but Elizabeth rejected the barbarous advice; and, as no trace of any disloyal project could be discovered, refused to dip her hands in innocent blood <sup>28</sup>. Still the

<sup>26</sup> That James remained in suspense to the last, is evident from the dates. In the autumn lord Hunsdon wrote to the queen, "that if she looked for any amity or kindness at his hands, she would find herself deceived." Murrin, 591. In April, Hunsdon received instructions to satisfy him for his mother's death: in June, Mr. Ashby was sent to him: in July, sir Robert Sydney went on a similar mission. Cecil's Diary. Murrin, 787, 788. They did not succeed. For on the 27th of July, Walsingham wrote to Douglas, the Scottish envoy, to give the same ad-

vice to his master. At last, on the 4th of August, James accepted the proposal of Ashby: that he should join the queen, and receive in return a dukedom, with lands, an annuity of £5000, and entertainment for a guard of 150 men. Ibid. 788. Rymer, xvi. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Dr. Allen was positive that they amounted to two-thirds. Apud Bridgewater, 374. The same was asserted in a paper found upon Creighton. Strype, iii. 415.

<sup>28</sup> Ad securitatem capita pontificiorum, quæsitis causis, demetenda. Illa autem hoc ut crudele consilium aversata. Camden, 566.



loyalty of the catholics was subjected to the severest trials. Under the plea of precaution all recusants convict were placed in custody: a return “of persons, suspected for religion,” was required from the magistrates of the capital<sup>29</sup>: in several counties, perhaps in all, domiciliary searches were made: crowds of catholics of both sexes, and of every rank, were dragged to the common jails throughout the kingdom<sup>30</sup>: and the clergy from their pulpits declaimed with vehemence against the tyranny of the pope and the treachery of the papists. But no provocation could urge them to any act of imprudence. They displayed no less patriotism than their more favoured countrymen. The peers armed their tenants and dependents in the service of the queen: some of the gentlemen equipped vessels and gave the command to protestants; and many solicited permission to fight in the ranks as privates against the common enemy<sup>31</sup>.

The reader will be surprised to learn that, in the midst of these preparations and alarms, both Elizabeth and Philip were employed, and that too with apparent earnestness, in negotiating a peace. The queen still clung to the hope of extricating herself from the danger of invasion. It was in vain that Leicester and Walsingham represented the attempt as calculated to paralyze the efforts of her subjects, and to give courage to her ene-

Conferences  
respecting  
peace.

<sup>29</sup> They amounted to 17,083. Murdin, 605.

<sup>30</sup> The reader may form some notion of the manner in which such searches were made, from the papers, in Lodge, ii. 371—376.

<sup>31</sup> Stow, 746. Harleian Miscel. ii. 64. “Not one man appeared to favour the Spaniard: the very papists themselves being no less unwilling than the rest to see their native country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in strangers.” Osborn, 28. The ministers themselves, in the account which they published in almost all the European languages, under the title of “A letter

“to Mendoza,” remark that no difference could be observed, on this occasion, between the protestants and the catholics; mention with particular praise the viscount Montague, who, with his son and grandson, presented himself before the queen at the head of 200 horse, that he had raised for the defence of her person; and inform us that the prisoners for religion in Ely, signed a declaration of their readiness to fight till death in her cause against all her enemies, were they kings, or priests, or pope, or any other potentate whatsoever. Ibid. 15. 17. 46.

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mies<sup>32</sup>: supported by the opinion of Burleigh, she named as commissioners, the earl of Derby, lord Cobham, sir James Croft, and Dale and Rogers, doctors of civil law. They landed at Ostend in the month of January; and after some preliminary forms, met at Bourbourg near Calais, the Spanish commissioners, the count of Aremberg, Perenotte, Richardot, De Mas and Garnier. The English opened the conferences with the demand of an armistice: it was granted by the Spaniards, but only for the four cautionary towns possessed by the queen in the Netherlands. They then brought forward three propositions; that the ancient league between England and the house of Burgundy should be renewed; that Philip should withdraw his foreign troops from the Low Countries, and that freedom of worship should be allowed to all the inhabitants for the space of at least two years. It was replied, that to the renewal of the league the king of Spain could have no objection; but that it would be imprudent in him to withdraw his forces, as long as England and France continued in arms; and that the queen could not be serious in soliciting liberty of conscience for the protestants of Belgium, as long as she refused it to the catholics of England. The Spanish commissioners then demanded the restoration of the towns, mortgaged to Elizabeth by the states: their opponents required, in return, the repayment of the money which she had advanced. Neither would yield: expedients were suggested and refused; and the conferences continued till the armada had arrived in the mouth of the channel. It was the general opinion that each party negotiated for the sole pur-

<sup>32</sup> Walsingham was "very unquiet in mind about the peace." Lodge, ii. 355, 356. He declared that "all men of judgment must see that the negotiation would work the queen's ruin." Hardwicke papers, i. 357—359. From him we learn that Stafford, the

ambassador in France, was in disgrace, because he had sent word that Philip did not deal sincerely in the negociation: "so much," he adds, "do we mislike any thing that may hinder the treaty." Ibid.

pose of over-reaching the other : but, if we may believe the private letters of the ministers, Elizabeth anxiously sought the restoration of peace<sup>33</sup>.

During five years, procrastination had marked the counsels of Philip : on a sudden his caution was exchanged for temerity. The marquess of Santa Crux had objected the danger of navigating a narrow and tempestuous sea without the possession of a single harbour capable of sheltering the fleet : the duke of Parma had solicited permission to reduce the port of Flushing previously to the departure of the expedition ; and sir William Stanley had advised the occupation of Ireland, as a measure necessary to secure the conquest of England. But the king would admit of no delay. He had understood from the pontiff that, on his part, every thing was ready ; that the money had been collected, the bull of deposition signed, and the appointment of the legate made out ; but that he was resolved not to commit himself by any public act, till he should be assured that the Spanish forces had obtained a footing in England<sup>34</sup>. Philip immediately issued the most peremptory orders to the admiral, that he should put to sea, without further delay ; to Farnese, that

The armada  
sails from the  
Tagus.

<sup>33</sup> For the particulars of the negociation, compare Camden, (568, 571) with Strada, (l. ix. anno 1587) ; who contradict each other on one point, the powers of the Spanish commissioners.

<sup>34</sup> Several writers, among others Spondanus, iii. 29, assert that Allen repaired to Flanders, to accompany the army to England. It is, however, certain that he remained in Rome. Alanum noluit Roma dimittere pontifex, priusquam de belli successu constaret. Epist. ad Pernium, 110. Olivares never ceased to solicit the bull till he had obtained it : sollicitato instancabilmente dall' Olivares. Tempesti, Vita e Geste de Sixto Quinto, ii. 80 : where may be seen the speech of the pontiff, when he proposed it to the

cardinals. The papal diploma was translated into English, and printed in the Low Countries, that it might be published on the arrival of the Spanish army. Its contents may be seen in Spondanus, iii. 29. Foulis, 350, and Mr. Butler's Memoirs, iii. 210. In addition was composed and printed at Antwerp, under the title of "an Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland," a libellous tract, detailing all the crimes which her enemies imputed to the queen, and calling upon the reader to unite with the Spaniards in punishing so infamous a character. To it, Allen was induced to put his signature. See an account of it in note (BB).



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May 19.

he should hold the army in readiness to embark on the first appearance of the fleet near the coast of Flanders. But Santa Crux was already dead, the victim of his anxiety to satisfy the impatience of his sovereign : and his place was inadequately supplied by the duke of Medina Sidonia, who, like the lord admiral of England, was totally unacquainted with the naval service. Under this new leader, the armada sailed from the Tagus. The grandeur of the spectacle excited the most flattering anticipations ; and every breast beat high with the hope of conquest and glory. In two days the delusion was dispelled. Off Cape Finisterre the southerly breeze was exchanged for a storm from the west : the armada was dispersed along the shores of Gallicia : three galleys ran aground on the coast of France, eight were dismasted, and no ship escaped without considerable damage. To collect and repair his shattered fleet, detained the duke three weeks in the harbour of Corunna.

It enters the  
channel.

July 8.

July 12.

This disaster had been announced to Elizabeth as the destruction of the armada, the end of the expedition. If she received the intelligence with joy, she did not forget her usual economy : and the lord admiral received an order to dismantle immediately the four largest ships in the royal navy<sup>35</sup>. Fortunately he ventured to disobey, offering to bear the expense out of his private fortune ; and directed his course across the bay of Biscay, to ascertain the real state of the Spanish fleet. But a brisk gale from the south-west compelled him to return : the enemy took advantage of the same wind to leave Corunna : and the English had scarcely moored their ships in the harbour of

<sup>35</sup> These were the *Triumph* of 1100 tons, carrying 340 sailors, 120 soldiers, and 40 gunners, the *White-bear*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, and the *Victory*, of 1000, 900, and 800 tons, with a complement of 260 sailors, 100 soldiers, and 40 gunners to each. Murdin, 615. 619. 621.

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July 19.

Plymouth, when the duke of Medina was discovered off the Lizard point. Here he summoned the more experienced among his captains, to a council of war. They unanimously advised a bold but decisive measure, to bear down on the English fleet, and to attack it while it lay at anchor: but the admiral produced his instructions, which strictly forbade him to provoke hostilities till he had seen the army of Flanders safely landed on the English shore<sup>36</sup>. They obeyed with reluctance: the armada formed in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which lay some miles asunder, and with a gentle breeze from the south-west, proudly advanced up the channel. It was a magnificent and imposing spectacle. The magnitude of the ships, the unusual construction of the galleasses, their lofty prows and turrets, and their slow and majestic motion, struck the beholders with admiration and awe. The lord admiral had already formed his plan. His vessels, though inferior in bulk and weight of metal, excelled those of the enemy in agility and expedition. To oppose might be dangerous: but he could follow, could annoy from a distance, and might retard their progress, by attacking the more sluggish sailors, and cutting off the stragglers. Two hours did not elapse before he exchanged a brisk cannonade with Ricaldez, the commander of the rear division, and compelled the duke to detach several ships to his support.

July 20.

July 21.

In this action neither fleet suffered any considerable loss: but during the night one of the largest galleons was set on fire by the resentment of a Flemish gunner, who had been reproached by his captain with cowardice or treachery: a second, which had lost a mast by accident, fell astern and was captured, after

Several actions  
between the  
fleets.

July 22.

<sup>36</sup> Strada, l. x. anno 1588. Strype, iv. 280.

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a sharp engagement ; and a third, which had separated from the fleet in the dark, met with a similar fate near the coast of France. These disasters proved lessons of caution to the Spanish admiral. His progress became more slow and laborious : the enemy was daring, and the weather capricious ; some of his ships were disabled by successive engagements ; others were occasionally entangled among the shoals of an unknown coast ; and the necessity of protecting both from the incessant pursuit of the English, so retarded his course, that six days elapsed before he could reach his destination, and cast anchor in the vicinity of Calais.

July 27.

The armada  
dispersed by  
fire ships.

By this time, the Spaniards had learned to respect the courage and power of their enemy : to the English the advantages which they had won, though trifling in themselves, imparted that tone of confidence which is often the forerunner of victory. Still the great measure on which depended the fate of England, the transportation of the invading army, remained in suspense. The duke of Parma had completed his preparations ; and with the aid of canals cut through the country, had conveyed his transports to Newport and Dunkirk. In the first of these harbours, a division of 14,000 men had already embarked ; in Dunkirk, the other division, almost equal in number, awaited only the orders of the general<sup>37</sup> ; and it was expected that on the next day, the second after the arrival of the duke of Medina, the grand attempt would be made. That very night (it was cloudy and boisterous) the sea on a sudden was illuminated by the appearance of eight vessels in flames, drifting rapidly in the direction of the armada. A loud cry of horror burst from the Spaniards, who remembered the blazing boats at the siege of

July 29.

<sup>37</sup> Camden represents him as unprepared, patches to Philip, quoted by Strada, l. x. (577 :) the contrary is evident from his dis- anno 1588.



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Antwerp, and the destruction which these engines of explosion had scattered on every side. Immediately they cut their cables, ran out to sea, and in their terror and confusion, inflicted on each other much greater damage than they had suffered in some of the preceding actions. The fire-ships burnt away harmlessly on the edge of the beach; but at the moment when the duke congratulated himself on his fortunate escape, a fierce gale began to blow from the south-west; the rain fell in torrents; the glare of the lightning confounded the mariners; and the dawn of morning discovered the armada dispersed along the coast from Ostend to Calais. In a short time, a cannonade in the direction of Gravelines collected the adverse fleets. The Spaniards, with forty sail, bravely sustained the attack of their enemy during the day: in the evening, the increasing violence of the wind carried them among the shallows and sand banks near the mouths of the Scheld. The following morning, with the aid of a favourable breeze, they extricated themselves from danger: but they had lost two galleons, of which one was sunk, the other taken by the Hollanders, and a galleasse of Naples, which had run aground under the batteries of Calais <sup>38</sup>.

Sufferers considerable loss.  
July 30.

July 31

The Spanish admiral took the opportunity to consult the most experienced among his officers. His fleet was now reduced to fewer than a hundred and twenty sail, all of which had suffered considerably: to attempt the transportation of the army, or to return through the channel, was to throw themselves into the jaws of destruction: and all agreed that but one way remained open, round the north of Scotland and Ireland; a way indeed replete with danger and terror to men unacquainted with the coast, and unused to the tempestuous seas

Returns to Spain by the north of Scotland.

<sup>38</sup> With the narratives of our national histories should be compared, that by Strada, who had the advantage of consulting the pa-

pers of the duke of Parma. See Camden, 571—579. Stow, 756—749. Strype, iii. App. 266. Strada, l. ix, anno 1588.

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Aug. 22.

Sept.

of so high a latitude ; but which offered some hope of preserving for their sovereign the shattered remnant of his once formidable navy. For the first time the Spaniards fairly fled before their pursuers : and the want of ammunition compelled the English to return to port, at a time, when they might otherwise have annihilated the invaders. The fugitives in their northern course met with no enemy ; but they had to contend against the violence of the winds and waves : the shores of Scotland and Ireland were covered with the wrecks of their vessels ; and, when the duke of Medina terminated his unfortunate voyage in the port of St. Andero, he acknowledged the loss of thirty ships of the largest class, and of ten thousand men<sup>39</sup>. Christoval de Mora, after some contest with his colleagues, undertook to announce the disastrous intelligence to the king. Philip heard him without any change of countenance, any symptom of emotion. “ I thank God,” he coolly replied, “ who has given me so many resources, that I can bear without inconvenience so heavy a loss. One branch has been lopt off : “ but the tree is still flourishing, and able to supply its place.” Immediately he sent the sum of fifty thousand crowns to be distributed among the survivors ; forbade by proclamation any public mourning ; and openly returned thanks to God that his fleet had not been entirely destroyed. The Spaniards consoled themselves by attributing their loss to the violence of the weather : the duke of Parma was assured in the strongest terms of the royal favour and approbation ; and a fruitless attempt by the English ministers to debauch his fidelity, served only to raise him higher in the estimation of the monarch<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> According to the lists in the letter to Mendoza, there perished, or were taken, before the English fleet returned from the pursuit, fifteen sail, carrying 4791 men ; and afterwards on the coast of Ireland seventeen sail, with 5394 men. Strype, iii. App. 223.

<sup>40</sup> It was first reported, that Philip was

displeased with the negligence, and jealous of the ambition, of the duke : then that in one of the captured vessels had been found an order to the duke of Medina, to arrest Farnese, as soon as he should come on shipboard, and to send him a prisoner to Spain. This second rumour was traced to the family of the Eng-

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The queen  
visits the army  
at Tilbury.

During this important crisis, the queen displayed the characteristic courage of the Tudors. She appeared confident of success : she even talked of meeting the invaders, and of animating her troops to battle by her presence. But this proposal was disapproved by the prudence, or the affection of Leicester. "As for your person," he wrote to her, "being the most dainty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for, I cannot, most dear queen, consent that you should expose it to danger. For upon your well doing consists all the safety of your whole kingdom : and therefore preserve *that* above all. Yet will I not, that in some sort so princely and rare a magnanimity should not appear to your people and to the world, as it is. And thus far, if it please your majesty, you may do : to draw yourself to your house at Havering : and to comfort this army and the people of these counties, you may, if it please you, spend two or three days to see both the camps and forts. And thus far, but no further, can I consent to adventure your person<sup>41</sup>." She followed his advice, and about a fortnight later proceeded to Tilbury. It was a proud moment for Elizabeth. The danger was now over : the armada which had threatened to overturn her throne, was struggling with adverse winds on its way to Spain : and the people, intoxicated with joy, expressed the most ardent attachment to her person. Mounted on a white palfrey, and bearing a marshal's truncheon in her hand, she

July 27.

Aug. 9.

lish ambassador in Paris. By the time it could reach the duke in Flanders, Fiesque, a Genoese merchant, presented him a letter without signature, and, being questioned who was the writer, replied, Pallavicini, the queen's banker, in London. This letter advised Farnese to beware of the resentment and suspicion of Philip : to send a confidential friend to Boulogne, where he would be met by an agent from England ; and to recollect that he might acquire much more in Flanders, than

he could ever expect to receive from the gratitude of Spain. The duke understood the hint : that the queen wished him to take possession for himself of the catholic provinces, and leave the protestant provinces to the house of Orange. But his fidelity was proof against temptation ; he imprisoned the agent, and sent a copy of the letter to Philip. Strada, l. x. anno 1588.

<sup>41</sup> Hardwicke papers, i. 577.



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rode along the ranks : the soldiers rent the air with acclamations of triumph ; and these raw recruits expressed their regret, that they had not been permitted to measure arms with the veteran forces of Spain<sup>42</sup>.

The death of  
Leicester.

The important services of the lord admiral and of his officers were not overlooked by the queen : but, in her estimation, they could not be compared with those of Leicester. He stood without a rival ; and to reward his transcendent merit, a new and unprecedented office was created, which would have conferred on him an authority almost equal to that of his sovereign. He was appointed lord lieutenant of England and Ireland : and the warrant lay ready for the royal signature, when the remonstrances of Burleigh and Hatton induced her to hesitate : and the unexpected death of the favourite concealed her weakness from the knowledge of the public. On the queen's departure from Tilbury, Leicester had disbanded the army, and set out for his castle of Kenilworth ; but, at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire, his progress was arrested by a violent disease, which, whether it arose from natural causes, or the anguish of disappointed ambition, or from poison administered by his wife and her supposed paramour, quickly terminated his existence. If tears are a proof of affection, those shed by the queen on this occasion, shewed that her's was seated deeply in the heart : but there was another passion as firmly rooted there, the love of money, which induced her, at the same time that she lamented the loss of her favourite, to order the public sale of his goods, for the discharge of certain sums which he owed to the exchequer<sup>43</sup>.

Sept. 4.

<sup>42</sup> I have not noticed the speech, said to have been spoken by her at Tilbury. It might have been prepared for her as an address to the soldiers if it had been necessary. But she certainly could not exhort them to fight, after the enemy was gone, and when

she had resolved to disband the army immediately.

<sup>43</sup> Camden, 583. In Strype is a singular examination of Edward Croft, and one Smith, a pretended magician. Croft, on the imprisonment of his father, consulted Smith,

Leicester in his youth had possessed that external appearance, which was sure to arrest the eye, and warm the heart of Elizabeth. With handsome features and well-proportioned limbs, he joined a tall and portly figure, a qualification necessary for those who aspired to the rank of her favourites. By the spirit of his conversation, the ardour of his flattery, and the expense of his entertainments, he so confirmed the ascendancy, which he had acquired, that for thirty years, though he might occasionally complain of the caprice or infidelity of his mistress, he always triumphed over every competitor. As a statesman or a commander he displayed little ability : but his rapacity and ambition knew no bounds. Many years elapsed before he would resign his pretensions to the hand of his sovereign<sup>44</sup>, and we have just seen, that only the week before his death, he prevailed on her to promise him a much larger share of the royal authority, than had ever, in such circumstances, been conferred on a subject. Were we to judge of his moral character from the language of his writings, we should allot to him the praise of distinguished piety<sup>45</sup> : but if we listen to the report of his contemporaries, the delusion vanishes, and he stands before us as the most dissolute and unprincipled of men. We are told, that among the females, married or unmarried, who formed the court of Elizabeth, two only

who informed him that Leicester was a great enemy of sir James : that he would never return out of the country ; that he had already been muzzled by him ; and that he would shortly die. *Strype*, iii. 594. App. 269.

"The Scottish queen says, that Elizabeth made him a promise of marriage. (*Murdin*, 558.) The assertion is confirmed by the despatches of the bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador, still preserved at Simancas. The bishop, who was in great favour both with the queen and the council, details the artifices employed by Elizabeth and Leicester to

induce him to mention their projected marriage to Philip, and to procure from him an answer in its favour. At length, he informs his sovereign, that they had been actually but secretly contracted to each other in the house of the earl of Pembroke.

<sup>45</sup> "I never yet," says Naunton, "saw a style or phrase more seemingly religious, and fuller of the strains of devotion." *Fragmenta regalia in the Phenix*, 193. Such of his letters as are still extant, are of this description.

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escaped his solicitations ; that his first wife was murdered by his order ; that he disowned his marriage with the second, for the sake of a more favoured mistress ; and that to obtain her, he first triumphed over her virtue, and then administered poison to her husband. To these instances has been added a long catalogue of crimes, of treachery to his friends, of assassination of his enemies, and of acts of injustice and extortion towards those who had offended his pride, or refused to bend to his pleasure. The reader will pause before he gives his unqualified assent to such reports : yet, when he has made every allowance for the envy and malice of political enemies, when he has rejected every charge, which is not supported by probable evidence, there will still remain much to stamp infamy on the character of Leicester. In the year 1584, the history of his life, or rather of his crimes, was published in a tract entitled, “ a Dialogue between a Scholar, Gentleman, and Lawyer ;” but afterwards known by the name of “ Leicester’s commonwealth.” It was generally attributed to the pen of Persons, the celebrated jesuit : but, whoever were the author, he had woven his story with so much art, had descended to such minuteness of detail, and had so confidently appealed to the knowledge of living witnesses for the truth of his assertions, that the book extorted the belief and the applause of its readers. Edition after edition was poured into the kingdom, till the queen herself came forward to vindicate the character of her favourite. She pronounced the writer, “ an incarnate devil,” declared that of her own knowledge (it was a bold expression) she was able to attest the innocence of the earl ; and ordered the magistrates to seize and destroy every copy, which could be discovered<sup>46</sup>. But, if the will of the sovereign could silence the

<sup>46</sup> Such interposition in favour of a subject letter of thanks to lord and lady Shrewsbury, may appear extraordinary ; but the queen’s for the attention which they had paid to Lei-



tongues, it did not satisfy the reason, of her subjects. The accomplished sir Philip Sydney took a different course. He attempted a refutation of the libel. But with all his abilities he sunk under the task ; he abused the author, but did not disprove the most important of his statements : and the failure alone of so able a scholar and contemporary, will justify a suspicion, that there was more of truth in the book, than he was willing to admit, and more of crime in the conduct of his uncle, than it was in his power to clear away<sup>47</sup>.

cester at Chatsworth, is still more so. In it she almost acknowledges him for her husband. " We should do him great wronge (houlding him in that place of favor we do) in cace we should not let you undustand in how

" thanckfull sorte we accept the same at both  
 " your hands, not as don unto him but to our  
 " owne self, reputing him as another ourself,  
 " &c." Lodge, ii. 155.  
 " See it in the Sydney papers, i. 62.

## CHAP. X.

## ELIZABETH.

CONDEMNATION OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL—SUFFERINGS OF THE CATHOLICS—OF THE PURITANS—FAVOUR OF THE EARL OF ESSEX—UNFORTUNATE EXPEDITION AGAINST SPAIN—PROCEEDINGS IN FRANCE—SUCCESSION OF HENRY IV.—SUCCOURS SENT TO HIM FROM ENGLAND—EXECUTION OF LOPEZ—CAPTURE OF CADIZ—PROJECT IN FAVOUR OF A SPANISH SUCCESSOR—ANOTHER EXPEDITION AGAINST SPAIN—SPANISH FLEET IN THE CHANNEL—PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN—DISSENSIONS IN THE CABINET—EXECUTION OF SQUIRES--DEATH OF BURLEIGH--CONDUCT OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND.

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Public demonstrations  
of joy.

**T**HE defeat of the armada had thrown the nation into a frenzy of joy. The people expressed their feelings by bonfires, entertainments, and public thanksgivings: the queen, whether she sought to satisfy the religious animosities of her subjects, or to display her gratitude to the Almighty by punishing the supposed enemies of his worship, celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued: a selection was made from the catholics in prison on account of

religion; and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character; four laymen for having been reconciled to the catholic church; and four others, among whom was a gentlewoman of the name of Ward, for having aided, or harboured, priests. These immediately, and fifteen of their companions, within the three next months, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials nothing was objected to them, but the practice of their religion<sup>1</sup>.

Not satisfied with the blood of these victims, the persecutors looked forward to one of more exalted rank. The reader will re-  
Trial of the  
earl of Arun-  
del.
collect the fine and imprisonment, to which the earl of Arundel had been condemned. For a considerable time after his trial he had been treated with unusual severity: by degrees the rigour of his confinement was relaxed; and he obtained permission to frequent the contiguous cell of William Bennet, one of queen Mary's priests; where he occasionally heard mass, and met two fellow prisoners, sir Thomas Gerard and William Shelley. For this indulgence his countess had given a bribe of thirty pounds to the daughter of the lieutenant: but the result provoked a suspicion that it had been granted with the connivance of some greater personage, who sought the ruin of the noble captive. On the appearance of "the armada," Arundel received a hint, that the moment the Spaniards set their feet on English ground, he and the other catholic prisoners in the Tower would infallibly be massacred. Their danger naturally became the subject of conversation among them: some recommended one expedient, some another: and the earl suggested that they should join in one common form of prayer to solicit the protection of heaven. The proposal was at first adopted, but afterwards abandoned by

<sup>1</sup> Stow, 749, 750. Challoner, 209—237.



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the advice of Shelley, under the apprehension that it might be misrepresented to the queen. The armada, however, failed; no massacre was attempted; but Shelley, Gerard, and Bennet, were removed to different prisons, where they underwent separate examinations, respecting the language and conduct of Arundel. The answer of the first was harmless: Gerard represented him as a well-wisher to the Spaniards; and Bennet, if we may believe himself, by menaces of the rack and the halter, confessed that the earl had asked him to celebrate mass for the success of the invaders<sup>2</sup>. On these depositions was grounded a charge of high treason: the queen appointed the earl of Derby lord high steward for the trial; and the prisoner was brought to Westminster hall, to plead for his life before that nobleman and twenty-four other peers. The crown lawyers had introduced into the indictment all the matter which had formerly been urged in the star-chamber against him: but the real subject of inquiry lay within a much narrower compass: whether he had or had not solicited others to pray with him for the success of the Spaniards.

<sup>2</sup> On the second examination of the earl, both Gerard and Bennet were introduced: but he was not allowed to speak in their presence, and therefore refused to make answer after they were gone. Burleigh put to him the question, "Is not every man a traitor, who shall say that the pope has power to depose the queen?" By the catholics this question was considered as the forerunner of death: because it was devised to cast a doubt on the sincerity of those who denied the deposing power; and there were many, who while they denied that power themselves, yet hesitated to declare those traitors who maintained it. The earl replied: "I never yet heard any man say that he had: when I do, you shall hear what I say." He was told that he must reply, yes or no. "I wonder," he exclaimed, "that such questions are asked of me, seeing I was never accused

"of such matters; but both have been, and am, at all times, ready to serve the queen, with life and limb, against any foreign prince or potentate whatsoever." Hatton asked, "What, against the pope?" "Is not the pope," said the earl in return, "included in the name of foreign prince or potentate?" The report of his examination was then given him to read, but he would not sign it, because it stated that he had refused to give any answer to the question; which he declared to be untrue; he had answered it sufficiently to satisfy any reasonable man. In his own account, he says, he knew that he might have answered more clearly in the affirmative, but it was unnecessary, as his death was already determined, and unwise, as his words would, according to custom, have been misrepresented. MS. Life of the Earl of Arundel, c, xiii.

The principal witnesses were Gerard and Bennet. When the first appeared, the prisoner called on him, in the name of the living God, to speak the truth, and to remember that he must hereafter give a second account before a more awful tribunal. At this solemn adjuration Gerard trembled, muttered a few words, and was withdrawn. Against the testimony of Bennet was produced one of his own letters, in which he acknowledged that his confession before the commissioners was false, and had been extorted from his weakness by menaces of torture and death<sup>3</sup>: he, on the contrary, to support his credit, asserted that the letter was written by Randal, a fellow-prisoner, and addressed to the earl without his consent or his signature. Randal, however, was not examined; and Arundel most solemnly protested that the prayers which he had proposed, had no reference to the invasion: he merely sought the protection of heaven for himself and his companions, who had been threatened with assassination. After an hour's debate the peers found him guilty: he heard the judgment pronounced with composure and cheerfulness; and begged, as a last favour, that he might be allowed, before his death, to see his wife and his son, a child about five years old, who had been born since his confinement in the Tower. No answer was returned<sup>4</sup>.

It must be acknowledged that the queen had some reason to be jealous of this nobleman. The execution of his father, the wrongs which he had lately suffered himself, and his high rank, (he was by birth the first peer of the realm) had pointed him out to the queen of Scots, to Morgan, and to many of the exiles, as the fittest person to be placed at the head of any party, which might be formed against the government. But his con-

His death.

<sup>3</sup> See this letter in Strype, iii. App. 250. 1264. Camden, 595—600.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Life, c. xiv. State Trials, 1250—

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demnation was an act of policy, not of justice. No one pretended that he had ever assented to such projects: it was not proved that they were so much as known to him. The charge on which he was tried, was certainly unfounded. In his subsequent correspondence with the council, in his confidential letters to his wife and his confessor, he always asserted his innocence, and declared his resolution to maintain it, even on the scaffold. Burleigh and Hatton advised the queen to spare him. She had taken the life of his father: let her not stain her reputation with the blood of the son. He had now ceased to be a subject of apprehension: he lay at her mercy: on the slightest provocation, on the first appearance of danger, the sentence might be carried into execution. She suffered herself to be persuaded: yet carefully concealed her intention from the knowledge of the prisoner, who lived for several years under the impression that the axe was still suspended over his head; and never rose in the morning without some apprehension that before night he might expire on the scaffold. In 1595 he was suddenly taken ill at table<sup>5</sup>: the skill of his physician checked the rapidity, but could not subdue the force of his disease: and he died at the end of two months, in the eleventh year of his imprisonment. He was buried in the same grave with his father, in the chapel in the Tower.

In her conduct towards this unfortunate nobleman, the queen betrayed an unaccountable spirit of revenge. He seems to have given some deep but secret offence, which, though it was never divulged, could never be forgotten. There was a time when he seemed to engross her favour: when he shone the foremost in all

<sup>5</sup> After eating of some teal. This circumstance provoked a suspicion of poison: while others attributed his disease to his religious austerities. Camden, 706. In 1624 his

body was transferred to Arundel: and his son recorded his suspicion in his epitaph. *Non absque veneni suspicione.* MS. Life, xvi. xviii.



her parties, and bore a principal share in the festivities and galantries of her court. But from the moment that he returned to the society of his countess, he was marked out for the victim of her displeasure. During his long and severe imprisonment, he could not once obtain permission, not even on the approach of death, to see his wife or his children, or any one of his relations, protestant or catholic. Nor did the rancour of the queen expire with its principal object. As long as she lived, lady Arundel was doomed to feel the royal displeasure. She could not remove from her house without danger of offence: she was obliged to solicit permission to visit London even for medical advice: and whenever Elizabeth meant to repair to St. James's, the countess received an order to quit the capital before the queen's arrival<sup>6</sup>.

From the defeat of the armada till the death of the queen, during the lapse of fourteen years, the catholics groaned under the pressure of incessant persecution. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen, suffered capital punishment for some or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons, which had been lately created. Generally the court dispensed with the examination of witnesses: by artful and ensnaring questions an avowal was drawn from the prisoner, that he had been reconciled, or had harboured a priest, or had been ordained beyond the sea, or that he admitted the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope, or rejected that of the queen. Any one of these crimes was sufficient to consign him to the scaffold. Life, indeed, was always offered, on the condition of conformity to the established worship: but the offer was generally refused; the refusal was followed by death; and the butchery, with very few

Sufferings of  
the catholics.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Life of the Countess. See note (C C.)

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recusancy.

exceptions, was performed on the victim, while he was yet in perfect possession of his senses<sup>7</sup>.

These executions, however, affected but a small part of the catholic population: the great grievance consisted in the penalties of recusancy. If we consider the relative value of money, we shall see that it required an ample fortune to pay the perpetual fine of twenty pounds per lunar month: most gentlemen were compelled to sell a considerable portion of their property, that they might satisfy the demand: and, whenever they were in arrear, the queen was empowered by law to seize all their personalty and two-thirds of their real estate every six months<sup>8</sup>. For this purpose, returns of the names and of the property of the recusants in each county were repeatedly required by the council: and the best expedient of the sufferers was to prevail on the queen, through the influence of her favourites, to accept an annual composition<sup>9</sup>. Yet even then they were not allowed to

<sup>7</sup> See the histories of most of them collected in Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, vol. i. There are many letters extant, describing the horror which these executions excited in other nations. Their resolution and manner of death, says Standen, "being set out to the world in print, in sundry languages, hath bred such a hatred against the regiment of the realm in general, as most are scandalized therewith." Hitherto these rigours had been attributed to Leicester and Walsingham: their continuance was ascribed to the councils of Burleigh: who "was now considered by all the catholics in christendom, an open, declared, and professed enemy to their faith and religion, never having plucked off his mask till these latter years." Birch, i. 84. 89. Burleigh replies: "that though their outward pretence be to be sent from the seminaries, to convert people to their religion, yet without reconciling them of their obedience to the queen, they never give

"them absolution: Such in our realm, as refuse to come to our churches, and yet do not discover (disown) their obedience to the queen, be taxed with fines according to the law, without danger of their lives. And if Mr. Standen were truly informed of this manner of proceeding, and would judge indifferently thereof, he might change his mind." Birch, i. 94. The first part of the answer is undoubtedly false: the second is an open avowal of persecution. It appears, however, from a paper in his hand-writing, that he wished priests to be hanged only, and "that the manner of drawing and quartering were forborne." Strype, iii. 622.

<sup>8</sup> St. 29 Eliz. c. 6.

<sup>9</sup> These compositions were so unwelcome to Cooper, bishop of Winchester, that he petitioned the council to remove the compounders out of the shire, "to some place where they might do less harm." Strype, iii. 240. 419.

live in quiet. They were still liable to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred marks for every time that they heard mass: on each successive rumour of invasion they were confined, at their own charges, in the jail of the county<sup>10</sup>: they were assessed, as often as it appeared proper to the council, in certain sums towards the levy of soldiers for the queen's service: on their discharge from prison they were either confined in the house of a protestant gentleman, or, if they were permitted to return to their homes, were made liable to the forfeiture of their goods, lands, and annuities, during life, for the new offence of straying more than five miles from their own doors<sup>11</sup>. Yet many of these men had signed declarations of loyalty which satisfied the council, and had engaged to fight in defence of their sovereign against any foreign prince, pope, or potentate, whatsoever<sup>12</sup>. They were treated in this manner, if we may believe Burleigh himself, not so much for their own demerits, as to prove to the queen's enemies abroad, that in the case of invasion they must expect to derive little aid from the more wealthy of the catholic body in England<sup>13</sup>.

Thus it was with men of property. Recusants in meaner circumstances were at first thrown into prison. But the jails were soon crowded: the counties complained of the expense of their maintenance; and the queen ordered them to be discharged at the discretion of the magistrates. From some nothing more was required than a promise of good behaviour: some had their ears bored with a hot iron; others were publicly whipped<sup>14</sup>. It was

The lot of the poorer recusants.

<sup>10</sup> The zeal of Topcliffe, not content with the incarceration of the men, wished the women also to be confined; "seeing far greater is the fury of a woman once resolved to evil, than the rage of a man." His proposal to Burleigh is in Strype, iv. 39.

<sup>11</sup> St. 35 Eliz. c. 2.

<sup>12</sup> See some of these oaths in Strype, iii. 191. 564. Kirby's Suffolk Traveller, 193.

<sup>13</sup> Strype's Whitgift, 327. See note (DD).

<sup>14</sup> Bridgewater, 375. Strype, iii. 169. The numbers were so great, that at one sessions



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afterwards enacted, that all recusants not possessing twenty marks a year, should conform within three months after conviction, or abjure the realm, under the penalty of felony without benefit of clergy, if they were afterwards found at large. But the severity of the act defeated its purpose: and the magistrates contented themselves with occasionally granting commissions to their officers, to visit a certain district, and to levy discretionary sums on the poorest recusants, as a composition for the legal fine<sup>15</sup>.

Domiciliary  
searches.

In addition to these sufferings must be mentioned the domiciliary visits in search of catholic clergymen, which have formerly been described. At first they were events of rare occurrence: but now they were repeated frequently in the year, often on the slightest suspicion, on the arrival of a stranger, on the groundless information of an enemy, a discharged servant, or a discontented tenant: sometimes for the sole purpose of plunder, and sometimes through the hope of reward: as the forfeiture of the estate followed the apprehension of the priest. This, in the memorials of the age, is described as the most intolerable of grievances. It was in vain that the catholic gentleman withdrew himself from the eyes of the public, and sought an asylum in solitude. His house afforded him no security: even in the bosom of his family he passed his time in alarm and solicitude; and was exposed at every moment to the capricious visits of men, whose pride was flattered by the wanton exercise of authority over their betters,

in Hampshire 400, at the assizes in Lancashire 400 recusants were presented. *Id.* 478. App. 98. Cooper, to get rid of them, presented "a humble petition that one hundred or two, lusty men, well able to labour, might by some commission be taken up, and sent into Flanders, as pyoners and labourers for the armys." *Ibid.* 169.

<sup>15</sup> St. 25 Eliz. c. 2. I have in my possession a curious manuscript account of the exactions of William Ratcliff, an officer, who about Christmas, 1589, proceeded through most of the villages in Cleveland, with a commission for this purpose from Carey, Constable and Rokesby, three magistrates.

or whose fanaticism taught them to believe, that they rendered a service to God by insulting and oppressing the idolatrous papist<sup>16</sup>.

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It was observed that among those who gloried in the execution of "these godly laws," none were more distinguished by their violence, than the protestant recusants<sup>17</sup>. But, if Elizabeth allowed them to display their zeal by tormenting her catholic subjects, she was still watchful that they did not lay their irreverent hands on the book of common prayer, and continued to prohibit the new form of service, which they had established for themselves. Their petitions for favour, the suggestions of their friends in the council, the efforts of their brethren in parliament, failed to move her resolution. At last their patience was exhausted. They appealed to the public with all the bitterness of disappointed zeal: and the friends of the establishment were surprised and alarmed by a succession of hostile and popular pamphlets. The titles of these writings were quaint; their language declamatory and scurrilous; their object to bring the

Proceedings  
against the  
puritans.

<sup>16</sup> Such at least are the complaints of the sufferers in several manuscript papers in my possession. The searches sometimes comprised a whole district. In 1584, fifty gentlemen's houses were visited on the same night, and almost all the owners dragged to prison. Bridgewater, 299. Cooper proposed, that they should take place every three weeks or month. Strype, iii. 240. In Lodge may be seen instances of the injustice, which often was committed on such occasions. Sir Godfrey Foljambe apprehended his grandmother, and promised, "by God's helpe to keep her safely." Lodge, ii. 375. The result showed the real object of this godly grandson. When, after a confinement of twenty months, the council ordered lady Foljambe to be restored to liberty, he complied; but still kept "her living, goods, and chattels," for his own use. Ibid. 372. In the same search, two

priests were discovered at Padley, a house belonging to sir Thomas Fitzherbert, and inhabited by his brother. The earl of Shrewsbury, without further ceremony, took possession of the house and demesne of Padley, and finding there the deeds of another estate, called Foulcliff, kept them, and entered on that property also: "things," says sir Thomas, "greater than my presente poore estate can suffer, or in any wise bear, I payinge her majesty the statate of recusancie, beinge £240 by yeare, which is more than all my rents yearlie rise unto." Ibid. 402. See note (EE).

<sup>17</sup> Some of them were animated with such a hatred of idolatry, as they termed it, that they travelled as far as Rome to display their zeal. The excesses and answers of these fanatics may be seen in Maffei, *Annali*, ii. 217, 218, 219.

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hierarchy into discredit and contempt. But the queen threw over the clergy the ægis of her protection. She issued a severe proclamation against the authors, publishers, and possessors of seditious libels: and the court of the star-chamber restrained the exercise of the art of printing to the metropolis and the two universities; to a single press in each of these, and to a certain number in London, with a prohibition to print, sell, bind, or stitch any work, which had not previously obtained the approbation of the bishop or archbishop<sup>18</sup>. Yet, in defiance of these regulations, copies of the more obnoxious publications were multiplied and circulated through every part of the kingdom. They issued from an ambulatory press, which was secretly conveyed from house to house, and from county to county. But no ingenuity could long elude the vigilance of the pursuivants. The palladium of the ultra-reformers was discovered, and demolished in the vicinity of Manchester.

Condemnation  
of Udal.

1590.  
July 24.

1591.  
Feb. 20.

One of these works, entitled “a demonstration of discipline,” had been traced to the pen of Udal, a puritan minister. He was brought to trial at Croydon. The jury, on very questionable evidence, found him guilty of the fact: the court, on still more questionable grounds, determined that the book was a libel on the person of the queen, because it inveighed against the government of the church established by her authority. By this decision he was brought within the operation of the statute originally framed against the catholics. But though he received judgment of death, intercession was made in his favour by the king of Scots and sir Walter Raleigh: by degrees he recanted most of his opinions unfavourable to the establishment: and his pardon

<sup>18</sup> See the original in Strype's Whitgift, app. 94.



was already made out, when he died in prison, a victim to the anxiety of his own mind, and the severity of his confinement<sup>19</sup>.

Cartwright, the leader of the nonconformists, with nine of his associates, had been summoned before the ecclesiastical commission, and refused to answer interrogatories upon oath. Such a demand was, he contended, contrary to the law of the land, and to the law of God. In the star-chamber they all persisted in their refusal. Their obstinacy was punished with imprisonment; but it gave rise to an animated controversy, which, though of no benefit to these individuals, contributed to open the eyes of men to the injustice of administering to prisoners the oath *ex officio*, and thus placing them under the cruel necessity of committing perjury, or bearing witness against themselves<sup>20</sup>.

At this time the resentment of the queen had been stimulated by the ungovernable fanaticism of three members of their communion. Hacket, a person of low birth, and not a very creditable character, had listened to the exhortations of some of the preachers. He soon put on the appearance of superior sanctity, made pretension to supernatural powers, and professed

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June 15.  
Imprisonment  
of Cartwright.  
1590.  
Sept. 1.

1591.  
May.  
June.

Execution of  
Hacket.

<sup>19</sup> State trials, i. 1271. Strype's Whitgift, 375—377. The seditious passages in the indictment were these, "Who can without blushing deny you (the bishops) to be the cause of all ungodliness?...the government giveth leave unto a man to be any thing, save a sound christian. You retain the popish hierarchy first reigning in the midst of the mystery of iniquity," &c. Against him it was maintained, that the bishops were part of the queen's body politic, and therefore by depraving them, he had depraved her. See several papers respecting his trial and submissions in Strype, iv. 21—30.

<sup>20</sup> Fuller, 198. Neal, c. viii. Strype's Whitgift, 336. 362. 366. App. 142. This practice

of administering the oath *ex officio*, compelled some persons, chiefly among the catholics, to adopt the doctrine of mental reservation: that it was lawful for the respondent, on such occasions, to deny the knowledge of matters which would criminate him, understanding in his own mind, that he did not know them for the purpose of revealing them. In support of this dangerous doctrine, it was alleged, that Christ himself had practised it, when he said he would not go up to Jerusalem, and that he did not know the day of judgment: meaning, that he did not know these things for the purpose of revealing them. It was, however, confined by its advocates to matters of conscience. See Strype, iv. 307.

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July 19.

to believe that his body was animated with the soul of John the Baptist. The magistrates of Lincoln vainly endeavoured to convince him of the delusion by a public whipping: from the tail of the cart he hastened to London, to prepare the way of the Lord before his second coming; and to denounce, as the prophet of vengeance, the plagues which would fall on the realm, in consequence of its opposition to a thorough reformation. He was accompanied by Coppinger and Arthington, two gentlemen of slender fortunes, whose enthusiasm led them to believe in the divine mission of Hacket. One morning they issued from his lodgings, as the prophets of judgment and mercy, ran through the streets exclaiming, "Repent, England, repent!" and at Charing Cross harangued the people from a waggon. They declared that the reformation was at hand; that Hacket, as the representative of Christ, and clothed in the glorified body of the Messiah, was come with his fan in his hand to separate the wheat from the chaff; that he was king of the world; that all princes must acknowledge him for their sovereign; and that the queen would be deprived of her crown for her opposition to the godly work of reformation. The people heard them with astonishment, but without applause: unable to procure followers, they returned to Hacket; and all three were apprehended and condemned as traitors. Hacket died, venting the most horrid blasphemies: Coppinger starved himself, or was starved in prison; Arthington read his recantation, and obtained his pardon<sup>21</sup>.

July 26.

July 28.

<sup>21</sup> Stow, 760. Collier, ii. 627. 630. Camden, 630. 634. On examination, they all declared, that they were moved by the spirit to act as they had done. The two prophets refused to uncover their heads, because they were of higher dignity than the commissioners.

Hacket was indicted; 1<sup>o</sup> that he had said the queen had forfeited the crown; 2<sup>o</sup> that he had thrust a bodkin into that part of her picture which represented her heart. He pleaded guilty on the first, and stood mute on the second. Strype, iv. 68.

At first the extravagance of these fanatics threw considerable odium on the cause of the imprisoned ministers. It was pretended that, if a rising had been effected, men of greater weight would have placed themselves at the head of the insurgents, and have required from the queen the abolition of the prelacy. But no proof could be brought of any such projects: the visionary schemes of the three prophets were condemned by the more moderate of their brethren; and the cause of Cartwright and his associates, when the surprise of the public had subsided, was again left to its own merits. After some time, the bishops retired from a contest, in which they found themselves abandoned by the majority of the council; and the prisoners, at the end of eighteen months, were discharged, on a promise of good behaviour<sup>22</sup>.

1592  
March.

Their refusal, however, to take the oath *ex officio*, gave rise to a motion, in the next session of parliament, for a reform in the practice of the ecclesiastical courts. But the attempt was crushed in its infancy by the despotism of the queen; who, sending that afternoon for the speaker, bade him remind the house that she had the power to call or dissolve the parliament; to assent to, or to dissent from, its proceedings; that she had already forbidden them to interfere in subjects above their capacities, matters of state, or causes ecclesiastical: that she wondered at their presumption and disobedience; and therefore commanded them never hereafter to entertain any motion, and him on his allegiance never to read to the house any bill, which might have a reference to such questions. Neither did she content herself with this reprimand. Morrice, the mover of the question, was arrested by a sergeant at arms in his place,

Proceedings  
in parliament.<sup>22</sup> Strype's Whitgift, 370. App. 154.



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Act against  
protestant re-  
cusants.

was deprived of his office in the court of the duchy of Lancaster, was disabled from practising as a barrister, and was imprisoned for several years in the castle of Tutbury <sup>23</sup>.

By an act in this parliament, the protestant, like the poorer catholic recusant, was made liable to the penalty of banishment, or felony without benefit of clergy, unless he conformed within three months after conviction. But the puritans were by this time divided into two parties. The majority, the disciples of Cartwright and his associates, did not object to some parts of the established service, or to the administration of the sacrament as it was performed in many churches. These, therefore, by occasional and partial attendance, eluded the severity of the law. But there were others, named Brownists, or separatists, who deemed every species of communion with an unchristian church, a pollution of their consciences; and under this conviction, braved with obstinacy the threats and power of the queen. To intimidate them, five of their number were arraigned on the charge of writing and publishing seditious libels. The plea that the obnoxious passages were directed against the bishops, and not against the queen, was overruled; and though the publishers were spared, Barrow and Greenwood, the writers, suffered the punishment of death. Penry, a minister, was the next victim. Among his papers had been discovered a collection of unconnected sentences, said to reflect on the character of the queen. He protested that they were nothing more than the heads of a petition which he purposed to compose; and maintained that, as they had never been communicated to any other person, they could not have been a writing in the meaning of the statute. The jury found him guilty; and, to prevent

1593.  
Mar. 23.

April 6.  
Execution of  
Penry.

May 25.

<sup>23</sup> D'Ewes, 478. Neal, c. viii.

any riot at the time of execution, he was suddenly called out after dinner, and hung at St. Thomas Waterings<sup>24</sup>.

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These executions might awaken the apprehensions, they did not subdue the obstinacy, of the separatists. Many were imprisoned; some were convicted of recusancy; a few were banished. But the queen had now grown old: the king of Scots, her presumptive heir, professed puritanical principles; and the leaders of the orthodox party saw the danger of persisting in a course which might draw upon themselves the vengeance of the next sovereign. The persecution subsided by degrees; and the separatists enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity, long before the death of Elizabeth.

May 29.

From these religious contests, which place in so strong a light the stern intolerant spirit of the age, we may now turn to the foreign wars and domestic intrigues which occupied the attention of the queen till the end of her reign. As soon as the intoxication of joy, excited by the defeat of the armada, had subsided, she began to calculate the expense of the victory, and stood aghast at the enormous amount. A forced loan offered the readiest way of procuring an immediate supply. The merchants of the city were rated according to their supposed ability to pay; privy seals were dispatched to the lord lieutenants of the different counties; and every recusant of fortune, every individual suspected for religion, almost every gentleman, who possessed not some powerful friend at court, was compelled to advance the sum at which he had been taxed<sup>25</sup>. In a short

Expedients to  
raise money.

1588.  
Nov.

<sup>24</sup> Stow, 765. Strype's Whitgift, 410. 412, 413. Strype's annals, iv. 176. He was supposed to be the author of Martin Marprelate.

<sup>25</sup> Murdin, 632. Lansdowne MSS. lvi. 3. 4. lvii. 4. In Lodge, ii. 387, is a ludicrous

instance of the power assumed by the commissioners. Bagot, employed by lord Shrewsbury to receive the money, writes to him in favour of Jolliffe, to whom a privy seal had been sent; and proceeds thus, "there is one Reynold Devill, a man of

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X.1589.  
Mar. 8.  
Mar. 29.

time the convocation and parliament assembled. From the former the queen received a grant of two subsidies of six shillings in the pound: from the latter, of two subsidies of four shillings, four-tenths, and four-fifteenths. With this liberal vote the commons coupled a petition to the throne. The terror of the Spanish arms was now dispelled: men thought of nothing but revenge and conquest: and the house prayed the queen to punish the insult which she had received from Philip, by carrying the scourge of war into his dominions<sup>26</sup>. Elizabeth praised the spirit of her affectionate people: but her exchequer was exhausted; she had no money to advance; she might supply ships of war, and a few bands of veteran soldiers, but her subjects must furnish the rest from their own resources. An association was quickly formed: at its head appeared the names of Norris and Drake, men who were justly esteemed the first in the military and naval service; and under their auspices an armament of nearly two hundred sail, carrying twenty-one thousand men, was collected in the harbour of Plymouth.

The earl of  
Essex in fa-  
vour.

The reader will recollect that Lætitia, the dowager countess of Essex, had married the earl of Leicester, who introduced her son, the earl of Essex, to the queen. His youth, and address, and spirit soon captivated Elizabeth. She made him her master of the horse; on the appearance of the armada, she appointed him (he was then almost twenty-one years old) to the important office of captain general of the cavalry; and when she visited the camp, ostentatiously displayed her fondness in the eyes of the whole army, and honoured him for his bloodless services with the order of the garter. On the death of Leicester he succeeded to the post of prime favourite: the

"great welth, without wiff or charge, a  
"usurer by occupacion, and worth M. lb  
"He will never do good in his contree. It  
"were a charitable deede for your lordship  
"to impose it (Jolliffe's share) upon him."  
<sup>26</sup> Wilk. Con. iv. 340. D'Ewes, 454.



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queen required his constant attendance at court; and her indulgence of his caprice, cherished and strengthened his passions. But the company of "the old woman," had few attractions for the volatile young nobleman: and the desire of glory, perhaps the hope of plunder (for he was already twenty-two thousand pounds in debt) taught him to turn his eyes towards the armament at Plymouth<sup>27</sup>. Without communicating his intention to the queen, he suddenly disappeared from the court, rode with expedition to Plymouth, embarked on board the *Swiftsure*, a ship of the royal navy, and instantly put out to sea. He was scarcely departed, when the earl of Huntingdon arrived, with orders to arrest the fugitive, and bring him back a prisoner to the feet of his sovereign. Finding that he was too late, he communicated the royal instructions to the commanders of the expedition<sup>28</sup>.

Apr. 1.

In their company was don Antonio, prior of Crato, who had unsuccessfully contended with Philip for the crown of Portugal. The queen had given orders that they should first attempt to raise a revolution in his favour: and if that failed, should scour the coast of the peninsula, and inflict on the subjects of Philip every injury in their power<sup>29</sup>. But Drake had too long been accustomed to absolute command in his freebooting expeditions. He refused to be shackled by instructions, and sailed directly to the harbour of Corunna. Several sail of merchantmen and ships of war fell into his hands: the fishermen's town or suburb was surprised: and the magazines, stored with oil and wine, became the reward of the conquerors. But it was in vain that a breach was made in the wall of the place itself: every assault was repulsed, and three hundred men perished by the unexpected fall of a tower. By this time the conde d'Andrada had in-

Expedition to  
Corunna.

Apr. 21.

<sup>27</sup> Murdin, 634.<sup>28</sup> Lodge, ii. 397.<sup>29</sup> Lodge, ii. 385. Camden, 602.

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May 6.

trenched himself at the Puente de Burgos. Norris marched against him with an inferior force: the first attempt to cross the bridge failed: the next succeeded; and the invaders had the honour of pursuing their opponents more than a mile. But it was a barren honour, purchased with the loss of many valuable lives <sup>30</sup>.

And Lisbon.

From Corunna the commanders wrote to the queen an exaggerated account of their success, but informed her that they had received no tidings of the earl of Essex. That nobleman, probably by appointment, waited for them at Peniche, on the coast of Portugal. On their arrival it was resolved to land: Essex leaped the first into the surf; and the castle was instantly taken. Thence the fleet sailed to the mouth of the Tagus: the army marched through Torres Vedras and St. Sebastian to Lisbon. But the cardinal Albert, the governor of the kingdom, had given the command to Fonteio, an experienced captain, who destroyed all the provisions in the vicinity, and having distributed his small band of Spaniards in positions the best adapted to suppress any rising in the city, patiently waited the arrival of the enemy. The English advanced without opposition: Essex with his company knocked at the gate for admittance: but the moment they retired, the Spaniards sallied out in small parties, and surprised the weak and the stragglers. Sickness and want compelled Norris to abandon the enterprise: not a sword had been drawn in favour of Antonio: and in spite of the prayers and the representations of that prince, the army marched to Cascais,

May 13.

May 16.

May 24.

May 27.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 389—395. Birch, i. 58. Camden, 600—602. Norris and Drake appear to have been proficient in the art of composing official dispatches. They tell the council that in these battles, which were fiercely contested, they killed 1000 of the enemy with the loss of only three men. (Lodge, *ibid.*) But lord

Talbot writes to his father: "as I hear privately, not without the loss of as many of our men as of theirs, if not more: and without the gain of any thing, unless it were honour, and the acquainting our men with the use of their weapons." Ibid. 396.

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a town already captured and plundered by Drake. From Cascais the expedition sailed on its return to England: and the next day was separated by a storm into several small squadrons. One of these took and pillaged the town of Vigo: the others, having suffered much from the weather, and still more from the vigorous pursuit of Padilla with a fleet of seventeen galleys, successively reached Plymouth. Of the twenty-one thousand men, who sailed on this disastrous expedition, not one-half, and out of eleven hundred gentlemen, not more than one-third, lived to revisit their native country<sup>31</sup>. The queen rejoiced that she had retaliated the boast of invasion upon Philip: but she lamented the loss of lives and treasure, with which it had been purchased. The blame was laid by her on the disobedience and rapacity of the two commanders, by them partly on each other, partly on the heat of the climate, and the intemperance of the men. But these complaints were carefully suppressed: in the public accounts the loss was concealed; every advantage was magnified; and the people celebrated with joy the triumph of England over the pride and power of Spain<sup>32</sup>.

June 21.

July 3.

On the return of Essex to court, he found himself opposed by two rival candidates for the royal favour, sir Walter Raleigh, and sir Charles Blount. Raleigh was a soldier of fortune, who had served in France, the Netherlands, and Ireland. A quarrel with the lord Grey brought him to England, where he pleaded his cause before the council with an eloquence which excited the ad-

Rivals of  
Essex.

<sup>31</sup> Camden makes the number of men employed in the expedition, 12,500, and that of the missing at its return 6000 (Camden, 601, 605.): which, if he confine it to the army, will agree with more certain accounts. Baillie, the captain of the *Mary German*, wrote to lord Shrewsbury from Plymouth, that the land forces amounted to 20,000 men, which must be an exaggeration. Fenner, who held

a high command in the fleet, gives the numbers in the text. It was, he adds "a miserable action:" nor could he write with his hand, what his heart thought. Birch, i. 58.

<sup>32</sup> See the dispatches in Lodge, *ibid.* Birch, i. 58—61. Strype, iv. 8. Camden, 601—605. Stow, 751. 756. Maffei, *Hist. ab excessu Gregorii XIII.* l. ii. 48—49.



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miration of his hearers. Elizabeth sent for him, was pleased with his flattery and conversation, and often consulted him “as an oracle.” He accompanied her in her walks, and on one occasion threw his cloak (it was probably the only valuable cloak he had), into the mire, that it might serve for a foot cloth to the queen. It was immediately foretold that he had made his fortune: but the eagerness of his friends brought him into collision with Essex, and the superior influence of the earl drove him from court to plant the 12,000 acres which had been granted to him in Ireland<sup>33</sup>. Sir Charles Blount was the second son of lord Mountjoy, and a student in the Inner Temple. One day the queen singled him out from the spectators, as she dined in public, inquired his name, gave him her hand to kiss, and bade him remain at court. At a tilting match, to prove her approbation, she sent him a queen at chess of gold, which he bound to his arm with a crimson ribbon. The jealousy of Essex induced him to remark, that “now every fool must have his favour:” and the pride of Blount demanded satisfaction for the insult. They fought: Essex was wounded in the thigh; and the queen gratified her vanity with the conceit, “that her beauty had been the object of their quarrel.” By her command they were reconciled; and in process of time became of rivals sincere and assured friends<sup>34</sup>.

Proceedings  
in France.

1588.  
May 2.

But the attention of Elizabeth was soon absorbed by the extraordinary and important events which rapidly succeeded each other in France. In the last year the king had silently introduced a body of troops into Paris, that he might awe, perhaps punish, the factious demagogues, who had obtained the uncontrolled ascendant over the minds of the citizens. The populace rose: chains were thrown across the streets, the soldiers, insulated

<sup>33</sup> Birch, i. 56. Naunton, in the *Phenix*, 209. <sup>34</sup> Naunton, 212. Osborn, 32.

in small bodies from each other, surrendered; and the duke of Guise became master of the capital<sup>35</sup>. An assembly of the states had been convoked at Blois, where the king resolved to dispatch by treachery a subject, whom he was not allowed to punish by justice. By his orders the duke was assassinated in the passage to the royal chamber: the next day the cardinal of Guise suffered the same fate: and the cardinal of Bourbon, with the chiefs of the party, was committed to prison<sup>36</sup>. This intelligence threw the inhabitants of the capital into the most violent ferment: the two brothers were extolled as martyrs; and the streets, the churches, and the public halls, resounded with cries of vengeance. The duke of Mayenne, the third brother, hastened from Lyons to Paris, and took upon himself, with the title of governor, the exercise of the sovereign authority. Had the king acted with vigour, he might perhaps have crushed the hydra, that opposed him: by delay he suffered his opponents to recover from their consternation; and, as a last resource, was compelled to throw himself into the arms of the king of Navarre.

The two monarchs with united forces advanced towards Paris. Within its walls, religious frenzy had reached the utmost height. Formerly the doctrine that the people possessed the right of deposing and punishing their sovereigns, had been confined to Knox, Goodman, and Languet<sup>37</sup>: of late it had been adopted by the university, acknowledged by the new parliament, and inculcated by the preachers from the pulpit. They pronounced the king an apostate, an assassin, and a tyrant: he was said to have forfeited his title to the sovereignty; and men

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Sept. 22.

Dec. 3.

Dec. 14.

1589.  
April.Assassination  
of Henry III.  
July 21.Dec. 29.  
and  
Mar. 26.

<sup>35</sup> Consult Griffet, *De la journée des Barri-  
cades*, Daniel, xi. 439.

Camden, 607.

<sup>36</sup> See the Hardwicke papers, i. 281. 296.

<sup>37</sup> Languet was the author of *Junius Bru-  
tus*, published by Duplessis Mornai.

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July 22.

were exhorted to free the kingdom from the rule of the monster. Jacques Clement, a young Dominican friar, of weak intellect and strong feelings, undertook the task. On the credit of a forged letter from Harlay, first president of the parliament, he obtained an introduction to Henry ; and as the king bent forward to hear him, plunged a knife into his bowels. The monarch exclaimed, that he was murdered: his guards burst into the room; and Clement was immediately slain<sup>38</sup>. This hasty vengeance unfortunately prevented the examination of the culprit: and it could never be ascertained, whether the project originated with himself, or had been suggested to him by others.

Succession of  
Henry IV.

July 25.

Henry died the next day ; and the king of Navarre, the descendant of St. Louis by his youngest son, Robert count of Clermont, took the title of Henry IV., king of France and Navarre. Many of the catholic nobility had hitherto adhered to the royal cause, in opposition to the league ; but, before they would acknowledge the new sovereign, they compelled him to sign a paper, by which he engaged not to suffer the public exercise of any other than the catholic worship, except in the towns in which it was already established ; not to give offices in cities and corporations, to any but catholics ; to maintain the rights and privileges of the princes, nobles, and all other faithful subjects ; to punish the contrivers of the murder of the late king ; and to

<sup>38</sup> The following is the deposition of Bellegarde, who was present. " A jourd'hui environ les huit heures, estant en la chambre du roi, qui estoit sur sa chaise d'affaires, sa majesté a dict audict Jacobin ce qu'il avoit à dire. Lequel Jacobin a répondu en ces motz, Sire, Monsieur le premier president se porte bien, et vous baise les mains, et après ces motz a dict au procureur général qu'il voudroit bien parler au roi à part.....et voyant sa majesté que ledict Jacobin faisoit difficulté de par-

ler, lui a dict en ces motz, approchez vous : ce que ledict Jacobin a faict, et s'est mis en la place dudict sieur deposant, où incontinent il a ouy sadite majesté, qui hausant sa voix a dict, ha mon dieu, qui a esté cause que ledict sieur deposant a tourné la teste, ou il a veu sa dicte majesté, debout, qui tiroit de son corps ung costeau, duquel a plein bras il a par deux foys frappé ledict jacobin dans la face, lui disant : ha meschant tum'as tué." Daniel, xi. 505. notes.



permit the catholic lords to acquaint the pontiff with the reasons of their conduct. But the king was unable to satisfy the bigots of either party. On the one side several catholic gentlemen, distrusting his sincerity, left the royal camp with their followers: on the other nine regiments of protestants, refused to fight under the colours of a sovereign, who had engaged to support what they deemed an idolatrous worship<sup>39</sup>. Weakened by desertions, Henry raised the siege of Paris, divided his army, and retired with a small force into Normandy. The duke of Mayenne pursued: but the king intrenched himself at Arques, near Dieppe, and repulsed the army of the enemy, though four times as numerous as his own. Within a few days, he received from Elizabeth the sum of £20,000 in gold to pay his foreign troops, and an aid of 4000 Englishmen, under the command of lord Willoughby. He was now able to act offensively. By a forced march he retraced his steps, surprised the suburbs of Paris, returned by Tours into Normandy, and reduced several towns of importance. During the campaign, the English supported by their bravery the honour of their country: but they suffered severely in several actions; and the survivors were dismissed with thanks in the beginning of the following year<sup>40</sup>.

Sept. 10.

Sept. 20.

Oct. 20.

The duchy of Bretagne, originally a female fee, had been annexed to the French crown by a marriage with a female. Hence it was now claimed by the king of Spain for his daughter the infanta, as representative of her mother Elizabeth of France; and at the same time by the duke of Mercœur in right of his wife, a descendant of the ancient dukes. Instead of opposing each other, they agreed to co-operate in the conquest of the duchy, and then to settle their respective pretensions: the duke obtained possession of several towns, and a Spanish fleet brought

Expeditions to  
France.<sup>39</sup> Camden, 662.<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 610, 611.

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him a reinforcement of 5000 men. To Elizabeth this establishment of a hostile force on the opposite coast was a subject of considerable anxiety: she entered into several negotiations with Henry for their expulsion, and year after year fitted out expeditions for the coast of Bretagne. But her habitual parsimony so cramped her efforts, that the English were too weak to undertake any enterprise of importance: and the king of France was so busily employed in other parts, that he could never afford them any effectual assistance. Each year their numbers dwindled away through disease and the casualties of war; the next spring the deficiency was supplied with new levies: but the result was invariably the same; and these expeditions, though they might perhaps keep the enemy in check, added nothing to the reputation of the country, and did little service to the common cause<sup>41</sup>.

The king abjures the reformed creed.

The state papers of the time, which are still extant in considerable numbers, shew the restless and irritable condition of the royal mind under many disappointments. The queen's resolves were perpetually changing; nothing that was done, could please her: she reprimanded and threatened her ministers at home, and her agents abroad; her favourite Essex, and Unton her ambassador<sup>42</sup>. But the conduct of the king of France, his apparent indifference to her interests and wishes, and his vexatious demands of additional aid in reply to every complaint, furnished the severest trial to her patience. Aware that she dared not shew her resentment, he laughed in secret at her menaces.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 619, 620. 627. The chief expedition was one of 4000 men, under the young earl of Essex, whose inexperience was atoned for by his favour with the queen. She had chosen Shirley and Wilkes to act as his counsellors: but they evaded the unwelcome task. "I have not known," says the latter,

"so gallant a troop go out of England with so many young and untrained commanders." Sydney papers, i. 327.

<sup>42</sup> See Rymer, xvi. from the beginning to p. 200: also Murdin, 644—1653. Birch, Negotiations, 1—14.

When he ascended the throne, he had given his word that he would study the grounds of the ancient faith. To the reformed ministers this promise proved a source of alarm and scandal: it was ridiculed by the courtiers; and was considered by the English queen as a mere evasion. But experience convinced Henry, that he must redeem his pledge, if he meant to reign in tranquillity. He assisted at several conferences between the catholic prelates and the reformed divines; and in 1593, announced his intention of conforming to the ancient worship. Burleigh immediately composed for the queen a remonstrance, shewing the disgrace and danger of such a step; Elizabeth added a letter in her own hand: but the messenger arrived too late; the ceremony of abjuration had already been performed; and the king returned an answer, apologizing for his conduct, and confirming his former assurances of gratitude and esteem. At the first shock the queen loudly charged him with perfidy and duplicity: but this burst of passion was succeeded by an unusual depression of spirits, from which she sought relief in the study of theology. She held frequent conferences with the archbishop; she spent much of her time in reading the scriptures; and she consulted the writings of the ancient fathers. But though she might thus confirm her own faith, she dared not blame the apostacy of Henry. Policy demanded, that since they were no longer bound to each other by the profession of the same religion, she should secure his friendship by some other tie. A negotiation ensued; and a treaty was concluded at Melun, by which both princes obliged themselves to maintain an offensive and defensive war against Philip, as long as Philip should remain at war with either party<sup>43</sup>.

1593.  
July 13.

August.

<sup>43</sup> Camden, 661—665. Elizabeth's letter "mode; avecque la nouvelle je n'ay que is in Hearne's notes, p. 927. It ends thus: "faire. E. R." "vostre assuree soeur, si ce soit a la vielle



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 Plots against  
the queen's  
life.

The public mind was now agitated by rumours of plots to take the life of the queen. The death of Mary Stuart had not, as she anticipated, secured her from danger; it made her appear to foreign nations as an usurper who, to secure herself on the throne, had shed the blood of the true heir: their prejudice against her was augmented by the continued execution of the catholic missionaries, the narratives of their sufferings, and the prints representing the manner of their punishment<sup>44</sup>; and there were not wanting men of heated imaginations, who persuaded themselves that they should render a service to mankind by the removal of a woman, who appeared to them in the light of a sanguinary and unprincipled tyrant<sup>45</sup>. That such projects were sometimes entertained, we can hardly doubt, after the several convictions which took place: and yet it is extremely difficult to fix on any one particular instance, in which the guilt of the accused appears to have been fairly proved. The truth is, that both Elizabeth and Philip employed multitudes of spies, men of ruined fortunes and unprincipled minds. These, in general, whether it was for greater security or additional emolument, contrived to enter into the service of both princes; and, if they were afterwards charged with duplicity by either, sheltered themselves under the plea, that such conduct enabled them to discover and betray the secret councils of the adverse party. To satisfy their employers, they were often compelled to transmit false and alarming intelligence: sometimes they actually

<sup>44</sup> See note (FF) at the end.

<sup>45</sup> There exist in the archives at Simancas several notices of such offers. Persons also informs us, that he himself had dissuaded some individuals, and particularly one, who, "for delivering of catholique people from persecution had resolved to luse his own life, or to take away that of her majestie."

He had already proceeded more than one hundred miles on his journey, when Persons met him, and after much reasoning prevailed on him to lay aside the project, chiefly on the ground that "the English catholiques themselves desired not to be delivered from their miseries by any such attempt." Persons, Wardword, 71.

formed conspiracies, that they might have the merit of detecting them: and not unfrequently meeting with associates as abandoned as themselves, they perished in the very snares which they had laid for others. Hence it happened that both the English and Spanish courts were prepared to believe the existence of plots against the lives of their respective sovereigns, and that both Philip and Elizabeth charged each other with the guilt of intended assassination<sup>46</sup>.

Antonio Perez, formerly the secretary of Philip, had sought in England an asylum from the vengeance of his master. He was a statesman of parts and address, but vain and imprudent, deceitful and vindictive. As the possessor of important secrets, he probably expected a gracious reception from Elizabeth: but the queen refused him an audience; even Burleigh admitted him but once into his company; Essex alone listened to his suggestions, and took him under protection. To the earl he hinted some suspicion of Roderigo Lopez, a Jew and physician, who had been made prisoner in 1558, and had since, on account of his skill, been retained in the royal service. With the permission of Elizabeth, Essex, accompanied by lord Burleigh and his son sir Robert Cecil, proceeded to the house of Lopez. But these ministers were not equal in the art of detecting conspiracies to their former colleague, the dark and intriguing Walsingham, who died in the spring of 1590. The Jew was indeed strictly examined; his papers were searched; but the result was a conviction in the minds of the Cecils, that he was innocent. Elizabeth sharply reprimanded her favourite, who returning to his house, refused to leave his chamber, till by repeated messages and apologies she had "atoned" for the affront. Stimulated by

Trial and execution of Lopez.

1594.  
Jan. 28.

<sup>46</sup> Camden, 691. There are among the records at Simancas, several notices sent to Philip, of plots to assassinate him. Probably both that prince and Elizabeth attributed to each other projects, of which they were equally incapable.

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vexation, and the hope of mortifying the Cecils, he resumed the inquiry : and with much labour made out a probable charge of high treason against Lopez, and two Portuguese followers of don Antonio, called Ferreira and Louis. Ferreira confessed, that by direction of the Jew he had written a letter to Fuentes and Ibarra, the Spanish ministers in the Low Countries, offering to poison the queen for a reward of 50,000 crowns : and Louis, that he had been commissioned by the same ministers to come to England, and urge Lopez to the execution of his promise. How far these confessions, made in the Tower, and probably on the rack, are deserving of credit, may be doubted. Letters were certainly intercepted, which proved the existence of a plot to set fire to the fleet : and the Jew himself acknowledged, that he had occasionally received presents from the Spanish court, and had in return made general offers of service : but he denied that he had ever done, or meant to do, any thing prejudicial to the person of the queen ; and it may be observed, as some confirmation of his statement, that on one occasion he had shewn her a valuable ring which he had received, and put to her the question, whether it were not allowed him “ to deceive the de-  
Feb. 28. “ ceiver.” All three on their trials were found guilty ; but judgment was respited during three months, in the hope that they would  
June 7. make further discoveries<sup>47</sup>. After their execution the queen wrote to the archduke Ernest, the new governor of Flanders, request-

<sup>47</sup> On the treason of Lopez, see Camden, 676. 677. Birch, i. 149—152. 156—160. Murdin, 669. Bacon's Works, ii. 106. edition of 1802. Bacon wrote his account at the desire of his patron, the earl of Essex.—Two letters had been obtained, brought by Louis from Fuentes and Ibarra. It was difficult to discover their real meaning. By these ministers it was pretended that they referred to an intrigue which Walsingham, who was dead, had carried on with some of the se-

cretaries to the Spanish council : but Louis was induced to refer them to the assassination of the queen. Birch, i. 156. Murdin, 680. I cannot explain how it happens that both Camden, 677, and Stow, 768, relate the execution of Ferreira ; though he appears to have been saved by the favour of Essex, whom he accompanied to Cadiz, and to whom he afterwards presented a memorial, to be seen in Birch, ii. 268.



October.

ing a passport for a gentleman, who would inform him of the desperate practices of Fuentes and Ibarra, and would demand the surrender of her traitorous subjects, Owen, Throckmorton, Holt the jesuit, and Worthington and Gifford, professors of theology. The archduke complied, but with so little ceremony, that the pride of Elizabeth was offended, and the passport was returned<sup>48</sup>.

The king of France, in compliance with an article in the late treaty, had declared war against Spain. He had soon reason to doubt the policy, and repent of the precipitancy, of the measure. Velasco, constable of Castile, entered Champagne, and threatened the duchy of Bourgogne: Fuentes penetrated into Picardy, dispersed the French army, carried Dourlens by storm, and obtained possession of the important city of Cambray. It was in vain that Henry called on Elizabeth for aid. She anticipated a second attempt at invasion on the part of Philip; recalled her troops from the defence of Bretagne; openly condemned herself of folly, in having expended so much money, and lost so many valuable lives in France; and, if at last she appeared to relent, she still demanded the previous possession of Calais as a security or indemnity for the charges of the war. Henry rejected the proposal with scorn: but at the same time admonished her that he was unable to continue the war without aid; that his people clamorously demanded a peace; and that if she abandoned him in his necessities, he should be compelled to throw himself into the arms of Spain<sup>49</sup>.

Henry threatens to make peace with Spain.

<sup>48</sup> Compare Camden, 677, with a letter in Birch, Negotiations, 15. The assassination of the prince of Orange, made the public more inclined to believe in charges of this description. It should, however, be remembered, that the prince had been condemned to death

as a rebel; and that a reward was publicly offered to any one, who should either kill him or take him prisoner. See Philip's answer to the proposal, in Egerton, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Consult the correspondence on this subject in Birch, Negotiations, 26—36: and in Murdin,

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The Spaniards take Calais.

The reports of the preparations in the harbours of the peninsula, had excited a general alarm throughout England. It was evident that the failure of the first expedition had partly been owing to accident and the weather: a more favourable season might enable a second armada to land an army on the coast: and a contest between new levies, however brave, and a veteran force, inured to victory, could not be contemplated without apprehension for the result. Every precaution was taken: fortifications were erected: ships were commissioned: troops were levied in the different counties; and all recusants and suspected persons were compelled to deliver up their arms, and remove from free, as it was called, into close custody<sup>50</sup>. In the mean time the archduke Albert, cardinal of Austria, who had succeeded to the government of the Spanish Netherlands, under the pretence of raising the siege of La Fere, by a sudden and unexpected march sat down with fifteen thousand men before Calais. The adjoining forts were won: the town itself, after an armistice of eight days, surrendered; and the garrison retiring into the citadel, maintained a brave but hopeless resistance. This unlooked-for event perplexed Elizabeth. She ordered the lord mayor to impress one thousand men as an immediate reinforcement; the next morning

1596.  
Feb. 1.

March 29.

April 9.

April 10.

701—734. Henry, to subdue her obstinacy, made a singular appeal to her vanity. Unton, the ambassador, (probably the farce was concerted between them) wrote to her that one day the king asked him, how he liked his mistress, *La belle Gabrielle*. "I answered," says Unton, "sparingly in her praise, and told him that, if without offence I might speak it, I had a picture of a far more excellent mistress, and yet did her picture come far short of her perfection of beauty." The reader will recollect that Elizabeth was only in her sixty-third year. Unton now shewed it to the king. "He beheld it with passion and admiration: saying that I had

"reason: Je me rends: protesting that he had never seen the like. He kissed it, took it from me, vowing that he would not forego it for any treasure: and that to possess the favour of the lively picture, he would forsake all the world." They then began to talk upon business: "but I found," adds the ambassador, "that the dumb picture did draw on more speech and affection from him, than all my best arguments and eloquence." Murdin, 718, 719.

<sup>50</sup> "These Spanish preparations, I assure your lordship, doth breed incredible fears in the myndes of most men." Sydney papers, i. 355, 356.

she revoked the order: the day after she renewed it. But the French envoys observed that the urgency of the case admitted of no delay; a strong detachment might be sent from the army already embodied; or the English fleet might make its appearance at the mouth of the harbour. She interrupted them to ask, whether, if she preserved the place, Henry would put it, or Boulogne, into her hands. They replied, that they had no instructions on that head: and sir Robert Sydney had been already sent to make the proposal. But the king turning his back on the messenger, indignantly replied, that he would rather submit to a box on the ear from a man, than to a fillip from a woman<sup>51</sup>. In a few days the citadel was taken by storm; the French charged the queen with duplicity, in raising expectations which she had refused to fulfil: and Elizabeth herself beheld with regret the establishment of the Spaniards in a port, which offered additional facilities to the invasion of England<sup>52</sup>.

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April 11.

April 12.

April 15.

To augment her disquietude, she had become acquainted with the failure of the expedition to the West Indies, lately undertaken by Hawkins and Drake. The Spanish settlements in the new world were no longer in that defenceless condition, in which they had formerly been found. Wherever the English landed, they were bravely opposed: if they inflicted injury, they received equal injury in return: the two commanders died under the anxiety of their minds, and the rigour of the service; and the survivors returned without glory, and what, perhaps, was equally distressing to the queen, without plunder to repay the expenses of the expedition<sup>53</sup>.

Failure of an  
expedition to  
the West In-  
dies.1595.  
September.1596.  
Jan.

April.

For some weeks the defence of the realm had been the subject

A new expe-  
dition against  
Spain.

<sup>51</sup> "Qu'il aimoit mieux recevoir un soufflet  
" du roy d'Espagne qu'une chiquenaude  
" d'elle." Du Vair, apud Egerton, 35.

465. Daniel, xii. 244, and a great number  
of papers in Rymer, tom. xv.

<sup>52</sup> Camden, 699—701.

<sup>53</sup> Camden, 719. Stow, 769. Birch, i. 463.



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March 18.

of daily deliberation in the council. Howard of Effingham, the lord admiral, urged the same measure which he had proposed on the former occasion, to anticipate the design of the enemy by sending out an expedition to destroy his ports, shipping and magazines. He was powerfully seconded by Essex, who despised the cautious policy of Burleigh, and by his influence, after a long struggle, obtained the consent of the queen. She gave him the command of the land, while the lord admiral held that of the naval force: but to restrain his impetuosity, he was ordered to ask the advice of a council of war, and to be guided by the opinion of the majority. The members were, besides the two commanders in chief, the lord Thomas Howard, and sir Walter Raleigh for the naval, sir Francis Vere, sir George Carew, and sir Coniers Clifford for the land service<sup>54</sup>.

Naval victory  
at Cadiz.

After much irresolution, and considerable delay, occasioned partly by the disguised opposition of the Cecils, and partly by the inconstant humour of the queen, the expedition left the harbour of Plymouth. By the junction of twenty-two ships from Holland, it amounted to one hundred and fifty sail, and carried

June 1.

"Camden, 721. Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1591, had debauched Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the maids of honour, and for this offence was, in July following, committed to the custody of sir G. Carew. From the window he saw the queen's barge on the Thames, and pretended to become frantic at the sight. He suffered, he said, all the horrors of Tantalus: he would go on the water and see his mistress. Sir George interfered: a struggle ensued: their periwigs were torn off, and both drew their daggers before they were parted. See a letter of July 26, in the new edition of Shakespeare, app. 577. As this adventure did not move the queen, he had recourse to another expedient. She was going on her progress. "How," he asked, "could he live alone in prison, while she was afar off? He was wont to behold "her riding like Alexander, hunting like

"Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle "wind blowing her fair hair about her pure "cheeks like a nymph, sometimes sitting in "the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing "like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus. But once amiss had bereaved him "of all." He then exclaims, "All those times "past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the "desires, can they not weigh down one frail "misfortune! Cannot one drop of gall be "hidden under such heaps of sweetness!" (Letter to Cecil in Murdin, 657.) But this flattery did not atone for his presumption or infidelity. He was confined in the Tower two months, and at his discharge forbidden to come near the court: nor could he, till after his return from the expedition to Cadiz, obtain leave to resume his office of captain of the guard. Camden, 697. Birch, ii. 345.

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June 20.

June 21.

fourteen thousand men, of whom fifteen hundred were gentlemen volunteers<sup>55</sup>. At the end of three weeks, the fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the haven of Cadiz, in which were discovered fifteen men of war, and about forty merchantmen. At seven the next morning, the English, in defiance of the fire from the forts and batteries, entered the harbour: the Spaniards met their foes with determined courage; and for six hours the action was maintained on both sides with equal obstinacy. But about one in the afternoon the enemy attempted to run their ships ashore, and set them on fire. Two of the largest, the *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew*, with an argosy, were taken: the galleys effected their escape by sea; and the merchantmen, that had proceeded to Port Royal during the action, having discharged their cargoes, were burnt by order of the duke of Medina Sidonia.

Surrender of  
the city.

Within an hour from the termination of the engagement by sea, the earl of Essex, with his wonted promptitude, had landed fifteen hundred men at Puntal, and marched in the direction of the city. A small body of horse and foot threatened opposition: but they fell back as he advanced; and finding the gate shut against them, made their way over a ruinous part of the wall. Essex followed at their heels: the enemy kept up a destructive fire from the houses: but he advanced as far as the market-place, where he was joined by the lord admiral and another party that had entered by a portal. Resistance was now at an end: and early the next morning a capitulation was signed, by which the

June 22.

<sup>55</sup> The queen composed two prayers, one for her own use, the other to be daily used in the fleet during the expedition (Camden 721.) The former may be seen in Birch, ii. 18. with a letter to Essex, from sir Robert Cecil, who observes, "No prayer is so fruitful as that which proceedeth from those, who nearest in nature and power approach the Almighty.

"None so near approach his place and essence, as a celestial mind in a princely body. Put forth, therefore, my lord, with comfort and confidence, having your sails filled with her heavenly breath for your forewind." Ibid. Lord Burleigh also composed a prayer, and printed it for the use of the public. It is in Strype, iv. 262.

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Return of the  
expedition.

inhabitants paid a ransom of 120,000 crowns for their lives; and the town, the merchandise, and every kind of property, were abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors.

The commanders met in council to deliberate on their future proceedings. Essex proposed to march with the army into the heart of Andalusia; and when that was rejected, offered to remain in the isle with 3000 men, and to defend it against all the power of the enemy. There was, in both of these plans, less of real than of apparent danger. The realm had been drained of all its disciplined forces: the nobles were discontented at their exclusion from the offices of the government: the people in several provinces had manifested a disposition to revolt; and the Moriscoes would have cheerfully joined the banners of the strangers<sup>56</sup>. But the majority of the council opposed every suggestion offered by the earl: the town, with the exception of the churches, was reduced to ashes; and the troops, taking with them the most valuable portion of the plunder, re-embarked. At sea the same dissension prevailed among the leaders; and after many altercations, and two unimportant descents on the Spanish coast, the fleet returned to Plymouth in less than ten weeks from its departure<sup>57</sup>.

Aug. 7.

Never before had the Spanish monarch received so severe a blow. He lost thirteen men of war, and immense magazines of provisions and naval stores: the defences of Cadiz, the strongest fortress in his dominions, had been razed to the ground; and the secret of his weakness at home had been revealed to the world, at the same time that the power of England had been raised in the eyes of the European nations. Even those who

<sup>56</sup> Hawkins from Venice, Aug. 20th. apud Birch, ii. 112. Lettres D'Ossat, i. 301.

<sup>57</sup> We have several accounts from different

persons employed in the expedition, in Birch, ii. 46—58. See also Camden, 720—728. Stow, 770—776. Strype, iv. 286—288.



wished well to Spain, allotted the praise of moderation and humanity to the English commanders, who had suffered no blood to be wantonly spilt, no woman to be defiled; but had sent under an escort the nuns and females, about three thousand in number, to the port of St. Mary, and had allowed them to carry away their jewels and wearing apparel. But while foreigners applauded the conquerors, while their countrymen hailed their return with shouts of triumph, they experienced from their sovereign a cold and ungracious reception<sup>58</sup>.

July 23.

From the first introduction of Essex at court, Burleigh had looked on him with a jealous eye. Age and infirmity admonished that statesman that it was time for him to retire; and he naturally sought to bequeath his place and his influence in the council, to his son sir Robert Cecil. Aware that Essex might prove a dangerous competitor, he maintained towards him the external forms of friendship, while he secretly endeavoured to undermine his influence: and the queen, perhaps to shew that she was not governed by her young favourite, often listened to the suggestions of his opponent; and though she generally granted his petitions for himself, uniformly refused the favours, which he solicited for his dependents. In 1590 Walsingham died: to supply his place Burleigh proposed his son Robert; Essex, first the unfortunate Davison, and afterwards sir Thomas Bodley. Elizabeth, under the pretence of preserving peace between the parties, refused to make any appointment: but desired Burleigh to take the office provisionally on himself, and at his request allowed him to employ his son as an assistant. The object of "the old fox," (so Essex was accustomed to call him), was manifest: yet for six years the earl had sufficient cre-

Discontent of  
the queen.

<sup>58</sup> Birch, ii. 125. Strype, iv. 287. They queen, who had strictly bound them to such must, however, share this praise with the conduct by her instructions. Camden, 721.

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July 5.

dit to retard the appointment of sir Robert. As soon, however, as the late expedition sailed, Elizabeth signed a warrant in his favour; and the courtiers, predicting the ascendancy of the Cecils, sought to instil into the royal ear suspicions and misgivings, respecting the conduct of the absent favourite. His gallantries and debaucheries, his presumption and obstinacy, his extravagance and irritability, were exaggerated, and hypocritically lamented. They made light of the capture of Cadiz. It was a cheap and easy conquest; the only resistance had been made by sea; and there the whole merit of the success belonged to sir Walter Raleigh. How far they might have persuaded the queen, is uncertain; but when she learned that the plunder, instead of being preserved for the treasury, had been divided among the adventurers, her avarice convinced her of the misconduct of Essex, and she was heard to declare that, if she had hitherto done his pleasure, she would now teach him to do her's<sup>59</sup>.

Defence of  
Essex.

Aug. 11.

On their return to Plymouth, the two commanders in chief received an extraordinary message. The expedition, they were told, had already cost the queen fifty thousand pounds: *she* would be at no further expense: it was for *them*, who knew what was become of the plunder, to provide funds for the payment of the mariners and soldiers<sup>60</sup>. The earl immediately hastened to court; but, aware of the unfavourable reports made to the queen, he assumed a new character, that of a saint. He was no longer the gay and voluptuous Essex. He became grave and sedate: those who had been scandalized by the publicity of his amours, were surprised at the attentions which he exclusively lavished on his countess; and his constant appearance at

<sup>59</sup> Birch, ii. 96, 100. Sydney papers, i. 348. <sup>60</sup> Birch, ii. 93.

church, his devout demeanour at sermons and prayers, edified, perhaps amused, his former companions<sup>61</sup>. The queen reluctantly betrayed her satisfaction at the return of her favourite: but she obstinately refused to listen to his justification in private. He was compelled, day after day, to appear before her in council, and to answer to every article. He contended that he and his colleague had done whatever it was in their power to do; that they had brought home for the queen two galleons, and more than one hundred pieces of brass ordnance: that, if she had not received her share of the plunder, she must look for indemnification to the commissioners appointed by the lord treasurer, who, though often admonished, had neglected to perform their duty<sup>62</sup>: and that for himself, he had, on every occasion, been thwarted by his colleagues in the council, the creatures of the Cecils, who had even opposed his proposal to sail to Tercera, and intercept the treasure of the Spanish king on its way from the Indies. While the cause was yet pending, advice was received that this fleet, with twenty millions of dollars on board, had arrived in the ports of Spain. The queen's indignation was instantly pointed against his adversaries and their patrons: every man hastened to seek a reconciliation with the accused; and even Burleigh himself, who had formerly suggested to Elizabeth, that the ransom paid by the inhabitants belonged to the crown, now supported Essex in opposition to her claim. The apostacy of the treasurer threw the queen into a paroxysm of rage: she called him "a miscreant" and "a coward, more afraid of Essex than of herself," and poured on him such a torrent of abuse, that he retired home in despair, and talked "of obtaining licence to live as an ancho-

Sept. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 116. 122.<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 131. 141.



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“rite, as fittest for his age, his infirmities, and his declining influence at court <sup>63</sup>.”

Sept. 22.  
His quarrels  
with the  
queen.

It would weary the patience of the reader to attend to the continual dissensions between these rival statesmen. The queen preferred sir Robert Cecil as a man of business, Essex as an agreeable companion. The former was industrious and intelligent, a master in the art of flattery, and always ready to sacrifice his own opinion to the superior, or, as he termed it, “the divine judgment of his sovereign <sup>64</sup>.” But Essex was petulant and obstinate: when he could not prevail by argument or entreaty, he reproached the queen with unkindness, retired from the court, and confined himself to his bed, under pretence of indisposition: and though Elizabeth repeatedly resolved to break his spirit, she as repeatedly submitted to his pleasure, under the idle fear of breaking his heart. There was, moreover, another point, in which he was in danger of forfeiting the royal favour. The world refused him credit for that superior sanctity, which he affected: and the scandal of the court had marked him out, perhaps unjustly, for the favoured lover of a married lady of high rank <sup>65</sup>. With the reputation of other women the queen had little concern: but to watch over the conduct of the young females employed about her person, was a duty, which she owed both to herself and to their parents. Among her maids of honour was a lady, called Bridges, to whom the palm of superior beauty had been assigned by common consent. She quickly attracted the notice of Essex: his attentions flattered her vanity, perhaps won her affections: and the tale of her indiscretion was

Dec. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 146—148. “He hath made the old fox to crouch and whine.” Ibid. 153.

<sup>64</sup> Birch, Negotiations, 152.

<sup>65</sup> See lady Bacon’s letter to him on his “backsliding,” and his answer, Ibid. 218—220.

soon whispered in the royal ear. Elizabeth sent for Bridges, with her companion Russel, convinced the culprit of her displeasure by the infliction of manual chastisement, and ordered both to be discharged with ignominy from her service. For three nights the house of lady Stafford afforded them an asylum : at length, having asked pardon, and promised amendment, they were restored to favour<sup>66</sup>.

The French king, conceiving that Elizabeth's indifference to his wants, arose from a suspicion that he was disposed to make common cause with the catholic powers, ordered De Bouillon to join Sanci, and to propose to her a general league of the protestant princes against the king of Spain. Two treaties were signed. The first which was made public, proved a mere fiction, intended to give reputation to the confederacy<sup>67</sup>: the second, which was secret, cut down the provisions of the first, and merely bound the queen to send 2000 men for six months into Picardy, as reinforcements for the garrisons of Boulogne and Montreuil. The Hollanders acted with more spirit: they paid 4000 men in the French army, and offered an aid of 8000 more. In addition, all the three powers agreed to solicit the co-operation of the German princes, and to hold a general congress for that purpose. But Henry alone fulfilled his engagements: the attention of Elizabeth was absorbed by events more nearly connected with her own safety. For some years Philip had appeared to sleep over the war with England: the blow received at Cadiz had awakened him from his apathy. He publicly vowed to be revenged; the fleet from the Indies had replenished his treasury; his people offered him an abundant supply of money;

New league  
with France.

1596.  
Aug. 29.

<sup>66</sup> The cause of the queen's displeasure was given out to be "their taking of physic, and one day going privately through the privy galleries to see the playing at ballon," Sydney papers, ii. 38.

<sup>67</sup> It is in Camden, 730.

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X.1597.  
May.Projects in fa-  
vour of a Spa-  
nish succe-  
sor.

and he ordered the adelantado of Castile to prepare a second armada for the invasion of England. He even indulged a hope, that if success attended the expedition, his daughter, the infanta of Spain, might be placed on the English throne<sup>68</sup>.

To understand this visionary project, the reader must go back to the divisions, which prevailed among the catholic exiles previously to the death of Mary Stuart. The fate of that princess, which was certainly, though unintentionally, occasioned by the vindictive intrigues of Morgan, Paget, and their associates, confirmed the ascendant which their adversaries had already acquired in the different catholic courts. They however did not yield without a struggle. They loudly complained that the ambition of the jesuits had monopolized the business of the nation; they maintained that secular affairs did not belong to religious bodies; they sent agents of their own to most of the catholic princes; they sought to undermine the influence of Persons at the court of Madrid, to prevent the promotion of Allen, and afterwards to balance his influence by procuring a cardinal's hat for their own associate Lewis, bishop of Cassano<sup>69</sup>. But every plan was defeated by the superior address or superior influence of their opponents, who were distinguished by the appellation of the Spanish party. Allen was its nominal, Persons its effective head: their principal associates were the jesuits Cresswell and Holt, sir Francis Englefield, sir Francis Stanley, Owen, and Fitzherbert. The great object of the party was the restoration of the catholic worship in England under the sway of a catholic sovereign, whom both gratitude and interest induced them to seek in the royal house of Spain. The jealousy of Elizabeth and the prohibitory statute had closed the mouths of men, with

<sup>68</sup> Padilla's commission is in Strype, iv.  
316.

<sup>69</sup> Persons, Briefe Apology, 5. 6. 31. 36.



respect to the succession<sup>70</sup>: it was highly probable that at her death a number of competitors would start for the throne: and the exiles in general entertained an opinion that Burleigh would support, with all his influence, the claim of Arabella Stuart, to whose hand his son, sir Robert Cecil, already aspired. To defeat this supposed purpose, to awaken the public attention, and to prepare the way for the daughter of Philip, they published the celebrated tract entitled, "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, had in 1593, by R. Doleman<sup>71</sup>." This work, the production of different pens, was revised and edited by Persons. In the first part, it undertakes to prove that, as the right of succession is regulated not by divine, but by positive laws, which are not immutable, but must vary with circumstances, the profession of a false religion is in all cases a sufficient bar against propinquity of blood: in the second it enumerates the different persons, who, on account of their descent from the royal family of England, may advance any pretensions to the crown after the death of the queen: but, though it professes to state all the arguments for and against their respective claims with the most perfect impartiality, it continually betrays a strong leaning towards the pretended right of the infanta, as the linear representative of John of Ghent,

<sup>70</sup> "A law being made that no man, under pain of treason, should talke or reason of the next successor to the crowne, so great an ignorance grew thereby into the people's heades and heartes, of that thing which most of all (next after God) imported them to know, and which one day must be tryed by the uttermost adventure of goods, life, and soule, as it seemed most needful to prevent in part so great a mischief, and to let them see and heare at least, what and how many there were, that did or might pretend to the same." Persons to the earl

of Angus, apud Plowden, Remarks on Memoirs of Panzani, 357.

<sup>71</sup> The book was dedicated to the earl of Essex, with such praise of his many virtues, that the jealousy of the queen was excited. What passed between them on the subject is not known: but on the 3d of November it was observed that when he left her, he looked pale and pensive. On his arrival at his own house, he seemed much indisposed: and, though the queen visited him the next day, kept his bed till the 12th. Sydney papers, i. 157. 159.

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son of Edward III<sup>72</sup>. This tract excited an extraordinary sensation both in England and on the continent: it alarmed and irritated the queen and her ministers; and it flattered the pride of Philip, who, at the persuasion of Persons, had consented to renounce his own pretensions, with the vain hope of seeing his daughter seated on the English throne. He offered the command of the expedition to the adelantado of Castile, who proposed and obtained his own terms; an emissary hastened to England to sound the disposition of the earl of Essex: and the exiles, in their secret councils, formed different plans to promote the success of the projected invasion, and to facilitate the accession of their imaginary queen<sup>73</sup>.

Expedition a-  
gainst Spain.

But the preparations of Philip, and the views of the party, were carefully communicated to the English council by secret agents in the Spanish court. After some struggle, the economy of Elizabeth yielded to her fears, and the remonstrances of her advisers. She consented that a powerful armament should be fitted out for the destruction of the Spanish fleet: and gave the command to Essex, with the lord Thomas Howard, and sir Walter Raleigh, for his seconds. On his arrival at Plymouth he found a fleet of 140 sail, and an army of 8000 soldiers, waiting his command. He was no longer fettered with a council of war; the Cecils, he persuaded himself, had become his friends; and he saw nothing before him but a harvest of victory and glory. Unfortunately the weather was adverse: his impatience lamented the delay; the queen's parsimony, the additional expense. To remove the cause, both had recourse to prayer: the wind came round to the north-east; and the humility of Elizabeth at-

<sup>72</sup> Camden, 672.

<sup>73</sup> Birch, i. 304. 321. ii. 307.

tributed the change to the more fervent devotion of her favourite<sup>74</sup>.

But Essex was destined to experience nothing but misfortune in this expedition. The fleet had not proceeded more than forty leagues, when it was driven back to port by a storm, which continued four days. With his usual obstinacy the earl contended against the winds and waves, till his ship was a mere wreck. The gentlemen volunteers, who accompanied him, had seen enough of the naval service: on his return to Plymouth most of them stole away to their homes<sup>75</sup>.

To have refitted the fleet would have been to incur an expense, to which the queen would not submit. Essex sailed again, but with a smaller force; and on a different destination. He reached the Azores: Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, submitted: but the Spanish fleet from the Indies, the real object of the expedition, escaped into the harbour of Tercera: and the English, with four inconsiderable prizes, and some plunder, directed their course to their own shores<sup>76</sup>. At the same time the adelantado sailed from Ferrol, with intention of obtaining possession of the Isle of Wight, or of some strong post on the shore of Cornwall,

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Dispersed by  
a storm.  
July 9.

A Spanish  
fleet in the  
channel.  
Aug. 17.

<sup>74</sup> Letter of Knollys in Birch, ii. 351. She published her prayer for the use of her people. It is in that quaint obscure style which she affected, and, to be understood by the majority of her subjects, ought to have been translated into ordinary language. It begins thus: "Oh God, almaker, keeper and guider, "inurement of thy rare-seen, unused, and "seeld-heard-of goodness, poured in so plentiful sort upon us full oft, breeds now this "boldness to crave thy large hand of helping "power, to assist with wonder our just cause, "not founded on pride's motion, or begun on "malice-stock," &c. Apud Strype, iv. 316.

<sup>75</sup> Camden, 738. Sydney papers, 57. "I "beat it up till my ship was falling asunder, "having a leak, that we pumped eight tuns

"of water a day out of her: her main and "foremasts cracked, and most of her beams "broken and reft, besides the opening of all "her seams." Birch, ii. 357.

<sup>76</sup> Camden, 740—744. Stow, 783. Apology of the earl of Essex, 15—19. Raleigh had attacked and taken Fayal without orders. This had been forbidden, under pain of death. Essex, who deemed the honour stolen from himself, received him with expressions of anger, and ordered several officers to be put under arrest. When he was advised to bring Raleigh to a court martial, "I would," he replied, "had he been one of my friends." The quarrel was hushed by the good offices of lord Thomas Howard. Camden, 741. Vere's Commentaries, 51. Sydney papers, 74



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X.

Oct. 26.

which might be garrisoned and kept till the following spring, the season selected for the grand attempt. The two fleets, though at no great distance, proceeded in the same direction unknown to each other. When Essex entered the harbour of Plymouth, the Spaniards were off the Lizard point: and while he refitted his ships, the enemy scoured the channel, insulted different parts of the coast, and kept the maritime counties in a state of alarm. Elizabeth ordered forces to be raised, sent for the two thousand men serving in France; and summoned the lords to the defence of her person. But the Spaniard dared not attempt to land. After a week or two he shaped his course back to the Spanish coast, and in his return lost by a storm sixteen sail in the Bay of Biscay<sup>77</sup>.

New quarrels  
between the  
queen and  
Essex.

From Plymouth the earl proceeded to court; and was received by Elizabeth with frowns and reproaches. He had done nothing to repay the expenses of the expedition: but had wasted her treasure, had disobeyed his instructions, and had insulted and oppressed sir Walter Raleigh. He retired in discontent to his house in Wansted, and for several weeks the business of the nation was interrupted by his complaints on the one hand, and the ineffectual attempts of his sovereign to pacify him on the other. She condescended to acknowledge that every charge against him was unfounded: but he was not content. He demanded satisfaction for the imaginary wrongs which had been done to him during his absence. The chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, which he expected for one of his dependents, had been given to sir Robert Cecil: the lord admiral had been created earl of Nottingham, and thus advanced by reason of his office to precedence above him: and the praise of the capture of Cadiz,

Oct. 8.

Oct. 23.

<sup>77</sup> Sydney papers, ii. 72—74. Camden. 744.

which belonged to himself, was in the patent of creation attributed to the new earl. In his waywardness he offered to fight with that nobleman, or with any one of his sons, or with any gentleman of the name of Howard. At the queen's request the Cecils and sir Walter Raleigh laboured to pacify this froward child: after a long negociation he accepted as an indemnity the appointment of earl marshal, because that office would give him precedence of the lord admiral. Nottingham immediately retired from court <sup>78</sup>.

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Dec. 18.

Dec. 20.

The anxiety of the Cecils to satisfy Essex was occasioned by a communication from the king of France. That prince sighed after peace. For thirteen years the realm had been torn by domestic and foreign wars: and though the league of the catholics was extinguished, another on the same principle had recently been formed by the protestants. With peace abroad he might be able to guide the two parties at home; with war he foresaw that his kingdom must still be ravaged by religious dissension. He readily accepted the mediation of the pope, and informed Elizabeth and the states, that without more powerful aid, than they appeared willing to furnish, he would be necessitated to conclude a peace; that Philip had expressed a readiness to restore all the Spanish conquests; and that, at his request, powers had been transmitted to the archduke to treat not only with France, but with its allies<sup>79</sup>. The queen received the intelligence with displeasure, and appointed sir Robert Cecil ambassador extraordinary to the French court. But that minister, aware from experience of the advantage to be derived from the absence of a rival, was unwilling to depart, as long as Essex remained his enemy. It was therefore to win the friendship of the earl, that

Henry proposes a peace with Spain.

<sup>78</sup> Vere, 66. Sydney papers, 70. 74, 75. 77. <sup>79</sup> Villeroy's report apud Egerton, 33, 34. Birch, ii. 365. Camden, 746.

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1598.  
Jan. 21.

Feb. 10.

It is concluded.

March.

he had proposed to give him the staff of earl marshal: to which he afterwards added a present of cochineal to the value of seven thousand pounds; and a contract for the sale of a much larger quantity out of the royal stores, by which he was likely to realize six times that sum. The earl knew that he owed the queen's liberality to the advice of the Cecils: he became their friend; he transacted the business of secretary for sir Robert, and faithfully watched over his interests during his absence<sup>80</sup>.

After much intentional delay, the English ambassador was joined by the Dutch deputies at Angers: and both employed every expedient to divert the French monarch from the conclusion of peace. The Hollanders urged the continuance of the war: Cecil had no proposals to offer: he came, so he pretended, for the sole purpose of ascertaining the sincerity of the Spanish ministers: all he could do was, to return to England, and consult his sovereign; and for that purpose it was requisite that the conferences should be suspended for the space of some months. On the refusal of the king, he united with the allies in holding out the most tempting offers of aid, both in men and money, on condition that Henry should bind himself not to desert the confederacy; but finding him inexorable, they had recourse to insinuations and reproaches; they charged him with ingratitude to the queen; they told him that on future occasions of distress he must not expect assistance from England. Henry heard them with patience. He acknowledged his obligations to Elizabeth, which he would never forget, though he knew that by

<sup>80</sup> "He hath given good security to pay the queen £50,000 at 18s. the pound for the cochineal; here it is sold for 30s. and sometimes 40s."—Sydney papers, 83. See p. 89 for their friendship. The writer adds, "Yt is spied out by envy that the earle is again fallen in love with his fairest Bridges. Yt

"cannot chuse but come to the queen's ears; then he is undone, and all that depend on his favour....the countess of Essex suspects yt, and is greatly disquiet." Ibid. 90. How he escaped being undone, I know not.



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aiding him, she had protected herself. But he owed a duty to his people, from which gratitude to others could not excuse him. Peace was necessary to France; and peace, if it could be obtained, he was determined to have<sup>81</sup>. Sir Robert returned, discontented with the result of his commission. Henry soon afterwards published the edict of Nantes, by which he secured to the protestants every privilege which they could reasonably demand; though he forbade that of holding assemblies, and making laws for their own security: and a few days afterwards he signed a treaty with Spain, by which he recovered Calais, and every place that had been severed from France during the war. The rest of his reign he spent in healing the wounds which had been inflicted on the country by religious fanaticism, and private ambition: and his conduct deserved and obtained for him the love of his subjects, and the veneration of posterity.

April 15.

April 20.

April 22.

During the negotiation between the French and Spanish ministers at Vervins, Philip had repeatedly signified his readiness to treat with the queen of England. The question was afterwards warmly discussed in the cabinet. Essex argued with his usual violence in favour of war: the Cecils contended as earnestly for peace. On one occasion the lord treasurer, putting the book of psalms into the hands of the earl, pointed in silence to the verse, *Blood-thirsty men shall not live out half their days*. On Essex himself it made no impression: by the superstitious it was afterwards considered as a prediction of his subsequent fate. The queen, as usual, listened to both parties, but came to no decision<sup>82</sup>.

Dispute in  
the English  
cabinet.

<sup>81</sup> Birch, ii. 374—379. Villeroy's report, respecting the treaty are in Strype, iv. 324. Egerton, 34, 35. Birch's Negotiations, Camden, 759—763. Burleigh's instructions

<sup>82</sup> Camden, 765—771.

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X.

Essex receives a blow from the queen.

June.

They are apparently reconciled.

Oct. 15.

Oct. 18.

Nov. 6.

There was another question of equal interest, which divided the cabinet. In Ireland almost the whole population, whether of Irish or English origin, was leagued in open or clandestine hostility against the English government. The office of deputy was dreaded as full of difficulty and danger. The queen, by the advice of the Cecils, wished to give it to sir William Knollys, the earl's uncle : Essex insisted that it should be conferred on sir George Carew, one of his opponents. During the debate, Elizabeth addressed him in sarcastic language : he replied by turning his back with an expression of contempt. The queen, no longer mistress of her passion, struck him a violent blow on the ear, adding at the same time, that "he might go to the "d. . . l." Essex instantly grasped his sword ; but the lord admiral interposed ; and the earl, bursting out of the room, exclaimed, that he would not have taken such an insult from her father, much less would he bear it from a king in petticoats<sup>83</sup>.

War was now openly declared ; and the court, and the whole nation, looked forward with curiosity to the result. Both were equally obstinate ; Essex demanding satisfaction for the blow, Elizabeth an apology for his presumption. The months of July and August passed without any advance on either side. In September, the earl was, or pretended to be, seriously indisposed : but the queen, though she seemed to relent during his danger, relapsed into her former obstinacy with his recovery. His friends conjured him to make "submission" to his sovereign. Egerton, the lord keeper, wrote him a long letter of advice, to which he replied by one still longer, expressive of his determination to resist, and to abide the consequences. Yet, contrary to the predictions of the courtiers, a reconciliation was effected,

and within a fortnight he returned to court. To the public he appeared again in favour: but in the heart of Elizabeth love had yielded the place to hatred: from that moment she gave the reins to his temerity and ambition; and allowed him to run forward to his own destruction <sup>84</sup>.

During these domestic quarrels a new treaty was concluded with the states, who, alarmed by the inclination for peace manifested by the Cecils, acknowledged a debt of £800,000 due by them to the queen, and bound themselves to reduce it yearly by the payment of certain instalments. Before the conclusion of this treaty, lord Burleigh died, and his loss was bewailed by Elizabeth with tears. On the other hand she was consoled by the death of her inveterate enemy Philip of Spain, who having previously given his daughter Isabella in marriage to the archduke Albert, with the Netherlands and his rights in Burgundy for her portion, expired in his seventy-first year. He was succeeded by his son Philip III., a prince far inferior in ability to his father <sup>85</sup>.

Aug. 6.

Aug. 4.

Among those who had followed Essex to Tercera was a private soldier, named Squires, lately returned from a prison in Spain. Soon after the troops were disbanded, one Stanley, recently returned from Spain, accused Squires, before the earl of Essex and sir Robert Cecil, of a design to poison the queen. At first he loudly maintained his innocence, but, when he had been five hours on the rack, he confessed that at Seville, Walpole, a jesuit, had solicited him to commit the crime, had furnished him for that purpose with a most powerful poison, and had instructed him in the manner of employing it: and that on his return to England he had rubbed part of the poison into the pommel of

Execution of  
Squires.<sup>84</sup> Id. *ibid.* Birch, 385—393. Cabala, 234.<sup>85</sup> Camden, 776. 778. By this treaty the queen was freed from the charge of

per annum for her garrisons in the cautionary towns.



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the saddle on which the queen rode, and the other part into the chair in which Essex was accustomed to sit, with the expectation that in both cases it would have produced death. It is difficult to conceive a more ridiculous or incredible tale: yet it brought the unhappy man to the scaffold. At his trial one of the counsel for the crown represented with great pathos the danger of Elizabeth: but his feelings grew too big for utterance; he burst into a flood of tears, and was compelled to sit down. The next who rose, was more successful. His task was to describe her wonderful escape from the venom on the saddle. It was as evidently a miracle, as any recorded in holy writ: "For albeit the season was hot, and the veins open to receive any malignant tainture, yet her body felt no distemperature, nor her hand no more hurt than Paul's did when he shook off the viper into the fire." The prisoner in his defence said, that while he was on the rack, he had confessed any thing, which he thought would satisfy the commissioners and relieve him from torture: the truth was, that Walpole had proposed the murder to him, but that he had never consented to it, nor ever employed poison for that purpose. Here one of the judges informed him, that on his own shewing he had been guilty of concealment of treason: and sir Robert Cecil prevailed on him once more to confess the charge. He received judgment, and suffered the punishment of a traitor; but died asserting both his own innocence, and that of Walpole, with his last breath <sup>86</sup>.

Nov. 23.

Perplexity of  
the king of  
Scotland.

Before I conclude this chapter, I may advert to the conduct of

<sup>86</sup> Camden, 779, and Speed, 1183. On this extraordinary plot, see note (F F) at the end. It would appear that Squires and Stanley were both impostors. When Stanley was asked, why he had accused Squires, he replied that the Spanish ministers, supposing that the assassin had deceived them, had,

through revenge, hired him to give information of the treason. He was then put on the rack, and made to confess that he himself had been sent by Christoval de Mora to shoot the queen. See Cecil's letter in Birch, *Negotiations*, 184, 185.

the king of Scotland in the novel and extraordinary situation in which he found himself placed by the death of Mary, and the caprice or policy of Elizabeth. On the one hand the English queen had not fulfilled any of the promises, made to him during the year 1588. She refused to admit his right to the succession; she excluded him from the inheritance of his father in England; she interfered in the internal concerns of his kingdom, intrigued with his subjects, and gave support to his rebels. She continued to treat him as she had treated Mary, though he had not given offence either by the assumption of her title, or by the profession of a hostile faith. By James her unkindness was attributed to the malice and influence of the Cecils, who having brought his mother to the block, feared that he might avenge her blood on their heads, if ever he should ascend the throne. In their hands was his chief competitor Arabella Stuart, whose claim they might at any moment set up in opposition to his own. He proposed to marry her to the duke of Lennox, and to acknowledge that nobleman his presumptive heir. But Elizabeth refused: and the refusal added to the distrust and perplexity of the Scottish king<sup>87</sup>.

On the other hand James had equal reason to fear the hostility of the catholic powers, the ambition of Philip, and the intrigues of the Spanish faction both at home and abroad. By all these he was charged with pusillanimity for his tame acquiescence in the murder of his mother, with apostacy on account of his preference of the reformed doctrines to the faith of his fathers. To have betrayed the least partiality towards that faith would, by uniting against him the protestants of both kingdoms, infallibly

<sup>87</sup> Winwood, i. 4. Birch, i. 84. Bartoli, had formed a plot to get her out of England. 448. Strype, iv. 102. 106. Father Gordon Birch, ii. 307. Strype, iv. 102.

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have extinguished his hopes: at the same time to provoke the hostility of the catholics, was to involve himself in difficulty and danger. They formed in England and Scotland a numerous and powerful party: and the knowledge that his mother had left her right to the succession to the disposal of the pope and the king of Spain, unless her son should embrace the catholic faith, would tend to loosen their attachment to the Scottish line. The bequest itself was, indeed, devoid of force: but he was aware that in the event of invasion, or during the expected struggle for the crown after the death of Elizabeth, it might be brought forward in opposition to his claim, and would probably produce a strong sensation in favour of his competitor.

His plan of  
conduct.

It has been thought that James in these circumstances formed no fixed plan of conduct, but allowed himself to be carried along by the current of events, without any compass by which he might guide, or any certain point to which he might direct, his course. To me, however, he seems to have pursued uniformly the same policy: distrusting equally the English queen and the catholic powers; and seeking equally to propitiate them both. To both he made similar promises of friendship: from both he solicited pecuniary aid: and, if either objected to him his connexion with the other, he always pleaded in his defence the hard necessity to which he was reduced.

After the death of Mary the earls of Huntley, Angus, Errol, and other catholic lords, treated on several occasions with the pope and the Spanish court, through the agency of the Scottish jesuits Gordon, Tyrie, and Creighton. Their object was to revenge, with the aid of Philip, the execution of their queen, and to obtain, if not the re-establishment, at least the toleration, of the catholic worship in Scotland: but on condition that the inde-



pendence and liberties of the realm should be preserved, that no ecclesiastical censure should be issued against James, and that his right to the English crown should remain unimpaired. Their intrigues were often discovered by the English agents abroad, and as often communicated by Elizabeth to the king. He always expressed the highest indignation against the earls: but his deeds did not correspond with his threats: years elapsed, repeated embassies were sent, and the kirk remonstrated and threatened, before James could be persuaded to punish the conspirators. At length they were compelled to leave Scotland: but even then he would not permit the sentence of forfeiture to be executed against them. His apathy scandalized the zealots, and irritated Elizabeth: but it may be satisfactorily explained, if we believe the assertions of the earls, that they acted sometimes with his permission, often with his connivance; and that he was unwilling to destroy a party, the existence of which was necessary to preserve him from falling under the absolute control of the English queen, and of her adherents in the kirk and state <sup>88</sup>.

The publication of "the conference respecting the succession" had excited new alarms in the mind of James. The doctrine that the profession of heresy was a sufficient ground of exclusion, was evidently pointed against him: and the preference given to the pretensions of the infanta of Spain, shewed that it was intended to set her up for his rival. He appointed Ogilvy, a catholic baron, his envoy to the catholic powers. At Venice,

His negotiations in Italy and Spain.

<sup>88</sup> Camden, 656, 669. Winwood, i. 11. 13. Rymer, xvi. 190—199. et seq. Birch, i. 109. 215, 216. Strype, iv. 110. They found that James was so pusillanimous, that he always deserted them, when it came to the trial. "Rex est pusillanimus," says Creighton in a letter to Tyrie, Dec. 14, 1594, "et quamvis tempore pacifico sit bonus, tamen in talibus tempestatibus est animo prorsus consternato." Ibid.

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1595.

Nov.

1596.

Jan.

Feb.

May  
and June.

Florence and Rome, Ogilvy contented himself with asserting that his sovereign was ready, in imitation of the king of France, to study the catholic faith; and with pointing out the dangers, which threatened the liberties of Europe, if Philip were permitted to annex England to his extensive dominions<sup>89</sup>. In Spain he adopted another course, and attempted to negotiate a most important treaty with the ministers of the catholic king. He represented James as actuated with the desire of revenging the injuries offered to him by the queen of England; promised in his name that he would declare war against her, would embrace the catholic faith, would re-establish it within his dominions, would supply Philip with a levy of ten thousand Scottish mercenaries, and would send as a pledge of his sincerity, his son to be educated in the Spanish court; on condition that the king should not pretend for himself, or for any other in his right, to the succession to the English crown; should grant to James a subsidy of 500,000 ducats to begin the war; and should aid him with an army of 12,000 men. But it had been observed that, on his arrival in Flanders, the envoy had consulted with Paget and his friends, known among the exiles by the name of the politicians: and this circumstance, exciting the suspicion of the opposite party, induced them to oppose his endeavours in the Spanish court. They disputed the authenticity of his credentials; threw doubts on his religion and his veracity; and declared that James had on so many occasions deceived the catholic lords and catholic sovereigns, that no reliance was to be placed on his words. In conclusion Philip dismissed the envoy with expressions of good will towards his sovereign, and with a valuable present for himself<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> See D'Ossat, *Lettres*, i. 221—224. The duke of Sessa's account of these negotiations was intercepted: (*ibid.* 293) and having been

forwarded to England, has been published by Birch, i. 407—418.

<sup>90</sup> Winwood i. 1—14. 52.

James, however, was not discouraged. He was aware that the Spanish party, in furtherance of their design, had urged the pontiff to issue a declaration against him, on the ground of heresy: and to oppose their intrigues, he dispatched Drummond on a mission to the court of Rome. This envoy was the bearer of a letter, in which the king expressed his gratitude to Clement, who had refused to listen to the suggestions of his enemies; observed that mutual benefit might arise from the permanent residence of a Scottish minister in the papal court; and for this purpose solicited the dignity of cardinal for the bishop of Vaizon, a native of Scotland<sup>91</sup>. In addition he gave to Drummond verbal instructions. What they were we know not. Two points only have been disclosed: that he should solicit an annual subsidy for the payment of a guard about the royal person, and that he should offer to intrust the castle of Edinburgh to the custody of the catholics, and to dispose of the young prince of Scotland, as the pope might think proper<sup>92</sup>.

It was not, however, long before these intrigues reached the ear of Elizabeth. She ordered sir Thomas Brunkard to reproach the king with his duplicity: he affected the utmost surprise, and protested that he was wholly ignorant of the proceedings. Ogilvy and Drummond were examined and committed, the former to the castle of Edinburgh, the latter to the house of his mother: and the Scottish minister at the English court was ordered to complain of the queen's jealousy, and to require from her the proofs of the charge, that the prisoners might be brought to trial, and receive punishment, if it should be proved that they were guilty. We know of no further proceedings; and it is

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1599.  
Sep. 23.

Complaints by  
Elizabeth.

1601.  
Feb. 5.

<sup>91</sup> See the original letter in Rushworth, i. 166.  
<sup>92</sup> From Rushworth it is plain that Drummond received verbal instructions: that these proposals were parts of them, appears from Brunkard's charge in Birch, i. 420.



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X.Valentine  
Thomas.1598.  
July.1599.  
May.

probable that the king, for his own honour, was careful to protract, or suspend, the inquiry till the death of Elizabeth<sup>93</sup>.

There was another subject which contributed to widen the breach between the two princes. In 1598, Valentine Thomas, a prisoner on the charge of felony, privately confessed that he had been hired by the king of Scots to murder the queen. This avowal was received with surprise and horror. Valentine was repeatedly examined; his depositions were embodied in the form of an indictment; and a true bill was found by the grand jury of the county. Elizabeth now communicated the fact to James, with an assurance that she did not believe him capable of so atrocious a crime. The Scottish monarch at first treated the charge with silence and contempt: but, fearing that it might afterwards be urged as an objection to his claim to the crown, requested his good sister to send him an attestation of its falsehood under the great seal. The queen complied: but he had no sooner read the instrument, than he returned it, saying, that it was so worded as to appear rather a pardon of guilt, than a declaration of innocence. Elizabeth complained of this conduct as an insult: recrimination followed recrimination; but it was not for the interest of either party to come to an open rupture; and after mutual remonstrances, the matter was suffered to re-

<sup>93</sup> Birch, *ibid.* Cecil a priest, and one of the Spanish party, who opposed Ogilvy in Spain, on some cause of discontent went over to Paget and the politicians; and became a correspondent of the earl of Essex. There is reason to believe that he communicated to the English government the copies of Ogilvy's negotiation in Spain. Compare Winwood, i. 52. 108. with Birch, i. 263. 407. ii. 306. From these and the intercepted dispatches of the duke of Sessa, Elizabeth had sufficient evidence as far as regarded Ogilvy. Neither can there be any doubt respecting the mission

of Drummond. Bellarmine published the letter of James: and, to excuse the king, Balmerino his secretary confessed that he had sent it without the royal warrant. He lost his office; but retained an ample fortune and the royal favour. That Creighton was also employed on the same mission as Drummond, appears from an original letter in the possession of the Rev. G. Oliver, to whose industry and research we owe the "History of Exeter, and Historic Collections relative to the Monasteries in Devon."

main dormant<sup>94</sup>. The charge, however, sunk deep into the mind of James. He considered it as a convincing proof of the hostility of Cecil; and probably suspected, as the trial of Valentine was only suspended during his good behaviour<sup>95</sup>, that it was but the first step taken to exclude him from the succession.

<sup>94</sup> Camden, 781. Rym. xvi. 358. 373.—  
378.

<sup>95</sup> “We have stayed his arraignment; and  
“will do, so long as the king shall give no

“cause to the contrarie, whereof you may as-  
“sure him.” Ibid. 357. When James came  
to the throne, he ordered his accuser to be  
hanged. Camden, Annales Jacobi, 2.

## CHAP. XI.

## ELIZABETH.

TRANSACTIONS IN IRELAND—ADMINISTRATION OF PERROT—HIS TRIAL AND DEATH—REBELLION OF TYRONE—HIS VICTORY AT BLACKWATER—ESSEX LORD DEPUTY—HIS DISOBEDIENCE OF THE QUEEN'S ORDERS—CONFERENCE WITH TYRONE—RETURN TO ENGLAND—IMPRISONMENT AND TRIAL IN THE STAR-CHAMBER—HIS ATTEMPT TO RAISE THE CITY—HIS FAILURE, TRIAL, AND CONDEMNATION—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—OPPOSITION TO MONOPOLIES—VICTORIES OF MOUNTJOY IN IRELAND—SUBMISSION OF TYRONE—SECRET UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JAMES OF SCOTLAND AND CECIL—DECLINING HEALTH AND LOW SPIRITS OF THE QUEEN—HER LAST SICKNESS AND DEATH—HER CHARACTER.

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XI.

Perrot lord  
deputy.  
1585.

**I**N Ireland the lord Grey, by his cruelty and rapacity, had earned the hatred of all descriptions of people. He was replaced by sir John Perrot, supposed to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII.; a man equally severe, but strictly impartial, who made no distinction between the English or the Irishman, but



inflicted punishment on all offenders, according to their demerits. During his administration the late earl of Desmond was attainted by parliament, and the lands comprised within his earldom, amounting to almost 600,000 acres, were forfeited to the crown. Grants of these lands were made to English settlers: and most of the royal favourites obtained ample districts, on the condition, that one family should be settled on every 240 acres; and that no native of Irish origin should be admitted among the new colonists. But it was difficult both for the crown to enforce, and for the grantees to fulfil, these conditions. The number of acres planted did not amount to one-half of the county; and among the settlers was a considerable number of the former inhabitants, who, rather than abandon the place of their birth, consented to hold of foreigners the lands, which had descended to them from their progenitors.

1586.

Perrot had reduced Ireland to a state of tranquillity hitherto unknown in its annals. The indigenous Irish, observing the severity with which he punished the injuries inflicted on them by the English adventurers, looked up to him as their friend: but those who suffered from his justice, sought to ruin him in the estimation of his sovereign. His hasty temper occasionally betrayed him into unseemly expressions: his words, his actions, and his friendships were misinterpreted and misrepresented; and Elizabeth began to doubt his loyalty, and to think him capable of seeking a kingdom for himself. Wearied out with insults and opposition he solicited his revocation; and on his return was admitted into the council in England. For some years the queen's jealousy seemed to sleep: but Perrot had spoken irreverently not only of her, but also of her "dancing" chancellor; the revenge of Hatton awakened her suspicions; and in 1591, a secret inquiry was made into the conduct of the

Is tried and  
condemned  
for high  
treason.

1588.

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late deputy during his authority in Ireland. The men whose excesses he had repressed and punished, eagerly supplied materials for his ruin ; and the unfortunate Perrot was arraigned in Westminster hall, on a charge of high treason. The principal witnesses were Williams, formerly his secretary, O'Regan, an Irish priest, who having conformed and married, had been employed by him as a spy<sup>1</sup>, and Walton, a stranger, of disreputable character. As far as their evidence went to shew, that he had favoured the catholic clergy, negociated with the duke of Parma and the Spaniards, and secretly encouraged the insurrections of the O'Ruarc's and the Burks, it was undeserving of credit : but he could not deny, that in moments of irritation, when he found his plans for the melioration of Ireland rejected by his enemies in the Irish council, and these supported against him by their friends in the English cabinet, he had let fall expressions highly disrespectful to the queen and her advisers. That he was innocent of treason, there cannot be a doubt : yet he was found guilty, and two months later received judgment of death. His son had married the sister of Essex ; whose influence in his favour was balanced by the powerful combination of his enemies. For six months his fate was kept in suspense ; but a broken heart, or a poisonous potion, deprived him of life. He died in the Tower : an instance, says Camden, how difficult it is for a prince to forgive the wounds inflicted by a slanderous tongue<sup>2</sup>.

June 26.

Rebellion of  
Tyrone.

1585.

Among the native Irish who had distinguished themselves in the war against the earl of Desmond, was Hugh the son of the late baron of Dungannon. His services had merited the approbation of the lord Grey, and had been rewarded by the queen,

<sup>1</sup> For his services on this trial he received a pension of 40*l.* per annum. Camden, 647. Murdin, 799.

<sup>2</sup> State Trials, 1315—1334. Camden, 645—647. Perrot's testament in Hearne's Camden, 922—927.

first with the earldom of Tyrone, and afterwards with all the rights and lands, which his grandfather Conn had formerly possessed. To this title of English origin he soon added, without her consent, another which rendered him far more respectable in the eyes of the natives. On the death of Tirlough Linnogh, he proclaimed himself the O'Nial, and was considered by his countrymen as the Irish sovereign of Ulster. It would fatigue the reader to listen to the suspicions entertained of his fidelity, and his contrary protestations of loyalty: to examine the charges brought against him by the English governors, and their acts of violence alleged by him as justifications of his conduct: to notice the temporary hostilities, the repeated truces, the illusory negociations, which occupied the time, and perplexed the judgment, of several succeeding deputies. *He* required liberty of conscience; they replied that such liberty was dishonourable to God: he demanded the enjoyment of the rights possessed by his grandfather; they curtailed them to diminish his power and resources. The queen, whose attention was absorbed by the transactions on the continent, bore with impatience the very mention of Ireland. It was a kingdom which brought her nothing but expense and vexation<sup>3</sup>: nor did she blame the O'Nial so much as the interested policy of her officers, who (so she suspected) sought to carve out fortunes for themselves by driving the natives into rebellion. Hence she wished to extricate herself from the contest with Tyrone, provided she could do it with honour. She listened to his apologies, gave credit to his protestations, and instead of reinforcing her army, ordered her generals to negotiate a peace. If we may believe them, it was the

<sup>3</sup> This was the opinion of many, "esteem-  
"ing bothe Calayes and Ireland rather a  
"burden and a chardge: and therefore do  
"thinke it fit to leave them bothe, but for this  
"onely respect; that where Ireland hath the very

"good tymbre and convenient havens, yf the  
"Spaigniard might be master of them, he  
"wold in short space be master of the sease."  
Lodge, ii. 231.



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XI.

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1598.  
Aug. 14.

object of Tyrone to procrastinate the war, till he could receive the succours, which he had solicited from the pope and the king of Spain. If we give credit to him, he was sincere but cautious : he was content to live the subject of Elizabeth, but would not submit to be trampled into the dust by the oppression of her officers. After many alternations of peace and war, of victory and defeat, a decisive battle was fought at the fort of Blackwater in Tyrone. Bagnal, the English commander in chief, with 1500 of his followers, was slain ; the artillery, the ammunition, and the fortress itself fell into the hands of the enemy. The O'Nial was celebrated in every district as the saviour of his country ; and the whole of the indigenous population, and many of the chieftains of English origin, arose in arms to assert the independence of their country<sup>4</sup>.

Essex, lord  
deputy.

1599.  
March.

When the state of Ireland was debated in the council, Essex, by his objections to the appointment of every other person, betrayed his wish to obtain, though he scorned to solicit, the office of lord deputy. His enemies, eager to remove him from court, sought to gratify his ambition ; and the queen was induced, though it cost her a long struggle, to grant all his demands. To the remission of a debt of 8000 pounds was added a present of almost thrice that sum : the army, to be placed under his command, was fixed at 18,000 men, comprising the best levies in the counties, and some of the veteran companies in the Netherlands ; and his commission invested him with privileges never enjoyed by his predecessors, the power of pardoning all crimes and treasons without exception, and of concluding peace, or continuing the war, according to his discretion<sup>5</sup>. Even his in-

<sup>4</sup> Camden, 688. 708. 715. 755. 783. Birch, i. 379. ii. 76. 273. 394. Sydney papers, i. 351. 362. ii. 84. Lodge, iii. 66.

<sup>5</sup> Bacon's Works, iii. 127. 129. 142. Sydney papers, ii. 146.

structions were drawn in conformity with his own suggestion, that he should in the first place proceed with his whole disposable force against Tyrone, and reduce, if it were possible, the province of Ulster, the great focus of the rebellion. To superficial observers he appeared to have regained his former place in the royal favour: and even the queen at his departure had dismissed him with expressions of kindness. But her mind was still prejudiced against him: some of his officers received orders to transmit to her faithful reports of his conduct; and his adversaries in the council smiled at the alacrity with which he precipitated himself into the snare, that had been laid for his destruction. His first act, after his arrival in Ireland, was in direct contradiction to the royal will. Elizabeth had forbidden him to give the command of the cavalry to his friend, the earl of Southampton, who, by marrying in opposition to her pleasure, had incurred her dislike. Essex asked, if she meant to revoke the powers specified in his commission. The queen made no reply; but the moment she heard that Southampton had been named to the office, she ordered him to be removed. Essex remonstrated with spirit, and it required a second and more peremptory letter before he would obey<sup>6</sup>.

He offends  
the queen.  
Apr. 17.

July 11.

But at this moment the royal attention was called from Ireland by the alarm of invasion. The Spanish ministers, aware of the parsimony of the queen, sought to incline her to peace, by driving her into extraordinary expense. She was informed that the adelantado had again prepared a formidable armament at Corunna; next that he had sailed; and lastly that he had crossed the bay of Biscay, and had been actually seen near the coast of Bretagne. The usual precautions were immediately taken: one army was ordered to be raised for the defence of the

Alarm of in-  
vasion.

<sup>6</sup> Birch, ii. 421. 423.

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XI.

Aug. 5.

royal person, and another to oppose the invaders; and the earl of Nottingham was appointed commander in chief of all the forces<sup>7</sup>. At the same time the queen, apprehensive that Essex might return to make a tender of his services, forbade him to quit his charge in Ireland without a warrant under her own hand. Soon, however, the alarm subsided. The adelantado had indeed sailed, but his fleet divided itself into two squadrons: the larger proceeded to the Canaries in quest of the Hollanders; the other, consisting only of six galleys, directed its course towards England, and, to the surprise of the public, passed unobserved through the channel, and anchored safely in the waters of Sluys<sup>8</sup>.

Essex dis-  
obeys orders.

May 21.

June 4.

July 30.

Essex had gone to Ireland for the express purpose of marching against Tyrone. Contrary to the expectation even of his enemies, he proceeded towards Munster, penetrated as far as Limerick, and, taking Cork and Waterford in his way, returned by the coast to Dublin. The reduction of two castles, and the feigned submission of three native chieftains, formed the sum of his exploits; and, if he magnified the importance of these advantages in his dispatches, he was at the same time compelled to own that three months of the summer season had been consumed, and that his army had dwindled away by desertion, disease, and the casualties of war<sup>9</sup>. But the queen would listen to no apology: his demand of reinforcements only inflamed her anger, and he received a peremptory order to undertake the promised expedition. About the end of August, with only three thousand men,

<sup>7</sup> Camden represents the real object of these preparations to have been to prevent the earl from bringing over the Irish army to England, for the purpose of driving his enemies from court (Camden, 797): but it is plain, from Winwood's memorials, that the alarm actually existed. See Winwood, 88. 91, 92. 95. Also the Sydney papers, ii. 112, 113.

<sup>8</sup> Winwood, 103. Camden, 802.

<sup>9</sup> The journal of this expedition is in Birch, ii. 398, and Nugæ Ant. 268. His excuse was, that it would be dangerous to march into Ulster before there was a certainty of fine weather, in the month of June. Winwood, i. 40.



a force inadequate to its object, he met Tyrone on the banks of the Brenny. Instead of fighting, the two chieftains conversed together in private: the next day a public conference was held: and an armistice was concluded, to be renewed every six weeks during the winter, on condition that the lord deputy should transmit to the queen the several demands of the O'Nial. Of these the most important were, that the catholic worship should be tolerated: that the chief governor should be an earl with the title of viceroy: that the principal officers of state and the judges should be natives: that the O'Nial, O'Donnell, Desmond, and their associates, should enjoy the lands possessed by their ancestors for the last two hundred years; and that one half of the army in Ireland should consist of natives<sup>10</sup>.

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Makes a truce  
with Tyrone  
Aug. 24.  
Sept. 8.

This termination of the campaign, so contrary to his promises, completed the ruin of the earl in the mind of his sovereign. If the disappointment of her hopes revived her resentment, her ignorance of what had passed between him and Tyrone in their private interview, provoked a suspicion of his loyalty. He might perhaps seek only to perpetuate his command by protracting the war; but it was also possible that his ambition might aspire to obtain the crown of Ireland, through the aid of the O'Nial<sup>11</sup>. Essex, however, did not allow her time to brood over these thoughts. To her astonishment, on the morning of Michaelmas-eve, just after she had risen, but before she was dressed, the door of her bed-chamber opened, and she beheld Essex himself on his knees at her feet. He begged of her to pardon the intrusion, to attribute it to zeal for her service, which had brought him from Ireland to lay before her the true state of that kingdom. Elizabeth knew not whether to be angry or pleased. She gave

Returns to  
England  
without leave.

Sept. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Winwood, 118. 137. Nugæ Ant. 293.  
301, 302.

<sup>11</sup> Bacon, iii. 145, 146.

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him her hand to kiss, and he retired with a cheerful countenance, observing to his friends, that though he had met with many storms abroad, he had found a perfect calm at home. About noon he was admitted to an audience, and entertained in the same delusion: but in the evening the tempest burst upon his head. He was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his room, and within a few days was delivered to the lord keeper, to be kept in free custody under his charge<sup>12</sup>.

The queen's  
displeasure.

The sudden return of Essex had been occasioned by an angry letter from the queen, which he attributed to the envious suggestions of his rivals. His first plan was to embark a body of 2000 cavalry, to land on the coast of Wales, to hasten to London, and to drive his political antagonists from the court. But he abandoned this dangerous expedient by the persuasion of his friend the earl of Southampton, and of Christopher Blount, formerly the supposed paramour, now the husband, of his mother: and consented, in imitation of the late earl of Leicester, to endeavour, by his unexpected appearance at court, to disconcert the intrigues of his enemies<sup>13</sup>. But Elizabeth did not allow the same artifice to succeed a second time. Her obstinacy had grown with her age; and her passion was kept alive by the representations of sir Robert Cecil, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, and their associates. She vented it on all who had accompanied the earl. "When I came  
"into her presence," says sir John Harrington, "she chafed

<sup>12</sup> Winwood, 118. Sydney papers, ii. 127—130, 131. Camden, 796. Bacon, iii. 121. A prisoner was said to be in free custody, when he was permitted to remain in a private house, under the charge of a person who was responsible for his appearance. The degree of indulgence in these cases was regulated by the council: but whether he were

confined to his chamber, or had the liberty of the whole house, or were permitted to take the air to a certain distance, he was always under the eye of a keeper, appointed by the council, or by the person, to whose custody he had been committed.

<sup>13</sup> State Trials, 1415.

“ much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in  
 “ her visage, and, I remember, caught at my girdle, when I  
 “ kneeled to her, and swore, ‘ By G—d’s son I am no queen.  
 “ ‘ That man is above me. Who gave him command to come  
 “ ‘ here so soon? I did send him on other business.’ She bid  
 “ me go home. I did not stay to be bidden twice. If all the  
 “ Irish rebels had been at my heels, I should not have made  
 “ better speed <sup>14</sup>.”

But without the precincts of the court the public voice fear-  
 lessly declared itself in his favour. Men openly pitied his mis-  
 fortune, and condemned the blind severity of the queen: his  
 vindication was published in sermons from the pulpit, and in  
 pamphlets from the press: several ministers had the boldness to  
 pray for him by name in their churches; and even within the  
 palace libels on his supposed enemies were found scattered on  
 the floors, and affixed to the walls. Alarmed by these indica-  
 tions of the public feeling, the earl of Nottingham and sir Robert  
 Cecil assumed to themselves the merit of mitigating the royal  
 displeasure. But the anger of Elizabeth was inexorable; and  
 her desire of vengeance was sharpened by every interposition in  
 his favour<sup>15</sup>. If she condescended to say that she sought “ his

She refuses  
to be recon-  
ciled.

<sup>14</sup> *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 354. Harrington had received a hint to keep a journal of the proceedings in Ireland. The queen now demanded to see it. After she had heard it read, “ she swore by G---d’s son we were “ all idle knaves, and the lord deputy worse, “ for wasting our time and her commands in “ such wise, as my journal doth write of.” *Ibid*.

<sup>15</sup> At this time Hayward, a civilian, published his history of the deposition of Richard II., and dedicated it to Essex, with expressions of high esteem for his character. The queen ordered him to be imprisoned,

and inquired of Bacon, whether the offence of Hayward did not amount to high treason. Afterwards she persuaded herself that Hayward was only the publisher, and wished him to be racked that he might discover the real author. “ Nay, madam,” said Bacon, “ he “ is a doctor. Never rack his person, but “ rack his style. Let him have pen, ink, and “ paper, and help of books, and continue the “ story where it breaketh off, and I will un- “ dertake, by collating the styles, to judge “ whether he be the author or not.” *Cabala*, 81.



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Dec. 12.

“amendment and not his destruction,” it was not till she had consulted the judges, and had learned, to her disappointment, that he could not be charged with high treason. Still the solicitations of his friends were rejected: his offers of submission were requited with expressions of contempt: nor could his relations, not even his countess, obtain access to his prison. Anxiety of mind produced indisposition of body: but experience had taught the queen that such ailments were generally feigned, and she at first refused to allow her physician to see the patient. When, however, she was assured that there was little probability of his life, she began to relent; she even sent him a mess of broth from her own hand; and added, with tears in her eyes, that she would have visited him herself, if it had not been inconsistent with her honour. The earl, like Wolsey, was recalled to life by the hope of repossessing the royal favour: and the queen, like her father, relapsed into her former antipathy in proportion as the sick man recovered<sup>16</sup>.

His trial and  
censure.1600.  
June 5.

In this manner the fate of Essex occupied for several months the attention of the court. Elizabeth revolved in her mind a variety of plans: each was successively approved and rejected; and the earl, though he obtained permission to be confined in his own house, saw no prospect of a favourable result. At last the rashness of his sister, the lady Rich, who had circulated copies of a letter written by her to the queen<sup>17</sup>, compelled Elizabeth, in vindication of her own conduct, to bring him to a

<sup>16</sup> Sydney papers, ii. 146---159.

<sup>17</sup> Her letter began thus: “Early did I hope this morning to have had mine eyes “blessed with your majesty’s beauty;” and ends with these words: “let your majesty’s “divine power be no more eclipsed than “your beauty, which hath shined throughout “all the world; and imitate the Deity, not

“destroying those that trust in your mercy.” Birch, ii. 443. These passages shew what kind of flattery was believed to have the most influence with the queen. Her celestial beauty had then “shined throughout all the “world” during no less a space than sixty-seven years.

trial before eighteen commissioners. But she ordered the proceedings to be held in private; and the determination to be called a censure, not a judgment. The three great offences, his neglect of the war against Tyrone, his dishonourable conference and treaty with that rebel, and his return to England without permission, were urged against him by the counsel for the crown, Yelverton, Coke, Flemming, and Bacon: and he was condemned to be suspended from the exercise of his offices as counsellor, earl marshal, and master of the ordnance, and to remain a prisoner in his own house during her majesty's pleasure<sup>18</sup>. At his trial he submitted to his lot with an appearance of humility, which affected the commissioners, and even mollified the queen: afterwards he devoted his time to practices of devotion: declared that the tears of his repentance had quenched the fire of his ambition; that he had made an eternal divorce from the world; and that if he still desired the royal favour, it was not for any earthly object, but merely that he might quit this life in peace with one, whom he revered as the image of the Almighty. Elizabeth began to look with an eye of compassion on the repentant sinner: she ordered his keeper to be removed, but at the same time warned him not to appear at court, but to consider himself still a prisoner under the charge of his own discretion<sup>19</sup>.

Aug. 27.

The submission and contrition so recently manifested by Essex, were, however, but a mask, under which he covered the turbulent workings of his passions. On his commitment, his friends, particularly the earl of Southampton and the lord Mountjoy, apprehensive for his life, had earnestly laboured to

His dangerous projects.

<sup>18</sup> Moryson's Itinerary, part ii. 68. 74. <sup>19</sup> Bacon, iii. 152. State Trials, 1419. Sydney papers, ii. 187---216. Camden, 828 Winwood, 250. 254. ---830.

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effect his escape. Southampton even offered to be the companion of his flight, and the partaker of his fortunes in a foreign realm. But Essex resolutely replied, that he would never condescend to live in exile: he would either recover his former greatness, or perish in the attempt <sup>20</sup>.

Of the different projects which had offered themselves to his mind, the most flattering, both to his pride and resentment, was that from which he had been dissuaded in Ireland, the forcible seizure of the royal person, and the banishment of his enemies from the council. With this view he now solicited the co-operation of the king of Scots, and of Mountjoy, who had reluctantly accepted the dangerous office of deputy in Ireland. If that nobleman gave, he soon recalled, his assent. He was willing to risk his life to save that of his friend: but the necessity had ceased: and, since his trial, Essex was no longer in danger of dying by the axe of the executioner <sup>21</sup>. The earl bore the disappointment with patience: but at Michaelmas, his monopoly of sweet wines expired, and his petition for a renewal of the lease was eluded by the queen, who replied that she would first inquire into its annual value: that when horses became unmanageable, it was usual to tame their spirit by stinting them in the quantity of their food. He petitioned a second time; and she appointed a commission to conduct the monopoly for her own benefit. He waited till the 17th of November, the anniversary of her coronation, when the courtiers were accustomed to crowd to her levee, to offer presents and addresses. On that day she received from Essex an humble and eloquent letter, well calculated to rekindle her affection, if a single spark were yet alive in her breast. This, in the shipwreck of his fortune, was the last

1599.  
Dec. 26.

1600.  
Sep. 29.

Nov. 2.

Nov. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Birch, ii. 470.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 471.



plank to which he clung. It failed him : the letter remained unnoticed ; and the unfortunate earl abandoned himself to the suggestions of despair <sup>22</sup>.

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Hitherto he had lived in privacy and solitude : now the doors of Essex house were thrown open to every comer : his former dependents were summoned from the country ; and their number was recruited by the accession of bold and needy adventurers. At the same time he invited the most zealous among the puritan preachers, whose daily sermons drew crowds of fanatics around him : and he proposed, to certain theologians, the question, whether it were not lawful, in the case of mal-administration, to compel a sovereign to govern according to law. As another resource, by a trusty messenger he sent professions of his attachment to the king of Scotland, informing him that the earl of Nottingham, Cecil, Raleigh, and Cobham, the faction which ruled at court, were leagued to place the Spanish infanta on the throne at the death of the queen ; advised him to require the immediate recognition of his right to the succession ; and promised on the arrival of the ambassadors to risk his life and fortune in defence of the house of Stuart. James, who had long distrusted the intentions of the secretary, received the offer with pleasure, and resolved to dispatch two envoys to England, ostensibly on a mission to the English queen, but in reality to assure the earl of his approbation and support <sup>23</sup>.

He solicits  
the aid of the  
king of Scots.

To elude suspicion, the principal of the conspirators were accustomed to assemble at Drury house, the residence of the earl of Southampton. Thence they communicated by writing with Essex, and discussed the several plans which he suggested. That

Breaks into  
rebellion.

<sup>22</sup> Winwood, i. 271. Birch, ii. 462.

<sup>23</sup> Birch, ii. 508, 509.

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Feb. 2.

which appeared least objectionable was, that they should proceed in force to the palace, that sir Christopher Blount with his party should take possession of the gate, sir John Davis of the great chamber, and sir Charles Davers of the guard; and that the earl, with certain noblemen, should throw himself on his knees before the queen, and refuse to rise till she had granted his petition. Nothing, however, was finally determined: and while he waited with impatience for the answer of the king of Scots, he was precipitated into a new course by the vigilance of the ministers, whose suspicions had been excited by the concourse of people at Essex house, and whose fears were now confirmed by a secret communication from sir Henry Nevil. To secretary Herbert, who brought the earl an order to appear before the council, he replied that he was too unwell to leave his apartment: in a few minutes he received a note from an unknown writer, warning him to provide without delay for his own safety; and this was followed by intelligence that the guards had been doubled at the palace and in its neighbourhood. His only hope of success depended on expedition. During the night he dispatched messengers to assemble his friends: on their arrival in the morning, he informed them that a plot was laid for his life, and requested their company, while he proceeded to the queen, and solicited her protection against the malice of his enemies. It was Sunday; at ten in the forenoon, the lord mayor, aldermen, and companies, would assemble at St. Paul's cross: and he had determined to join them at the conclusion of the sermon, and to call on them to follow him to the palace. To a cool observer the experiment must have appeared hazardous and uncertain: but he was buoyed up with the belief of his own popularity, and the knowledge that a few years before the duke of

Feb. 7.

Guise, in similar circumstances, had, with the aid of the Parisians, successfully braved the authority of his sovereign.

From the execution of this project, he was diverted by an unexpected arrival. A little before ten, he was told that Egerton, the lord keeper, the earl of Worcester, Knollys, the comptroller of the household, and the lord chief justice, stood at the gate demanding admission. He gave orders that they should be introduced through the wicket, but that all their attendants, with the exception of the purse bearer, should be excluded. Egerton demanded the cause of this tumultuary meeting; to whom Essex, raising his voice, replied, "There is a plot laid for my life: letters have been counterfeited in my name; and assassins have been appointed to murder me in my bed. We are met to defend our lives; since my enemies cannot be satisfied, unless they suck my blood." "If such be the case," said Popham, "let it be proved: we will relate it fairly; and the queen will do impartial justice." At the mention of impartial justice, the earl of Southampton complained of the assault made upon him by the lord Grey: but was told that the guilty party had suffered imprisonment for the offence<sup>24</sup>. Egerton desired Essex to explain his grievances in private: when several voices exclaimed, "They abuse you, my lord, they are undoing you. You lose your time." Egerton, turning round and putting on his cap, commanded, in the queen's name, every man to lay aside his arms, and to depart. But Essex immediately entered

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Imprisons the  
lords sent by  
the queen.

Feb. 8.

<sup>24</sup> In Ireland Southampton had put Grey under arrest for one night, because he had charged the enemy without orders. This had occasioned several challenges, which had been defeated by the queen's vigilance.

On the 28th of January, Grey assaulted Southampton in the street, and was committed to prison for the offence. Winwood, i. 47. 292.



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the house : the lords followed ; and the crowd shouted, “ Kill “ them, keep them for pledges, throw the great seal out of the “ window.” Having passed through two rooms, guarded by musketeers, they were introduced into a back parlour ; when the earl desiring them to have patience for half an hour, ordered the door to be bolted ; and intrusted his prisoners to the care of sir John Davis, Francis Tresham, and Arden Salisbury.

Calls on the  
citizens to  
arm.

Returning to the court, Essex drew his sword, rushed into the street, and was followed by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sands and Mounteagle, and about eighty knights and gentlemen ; to whom were afterwards added, through friendship or fear, the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and about two hundred others. At Ludgate he prevailed on the guard to let him pass, protesting that his object was to save his life from the violence of lord Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, and their accomplices. But he found the streets empty : there was no meeting at St. Paul’s cross : and the citizens, in consequence of orders from the lord mayor, remained quiet within their houses. The earl proceeded, shouting “ For the queen, my mistress !” till he arrived at the residence of Smith, one of the sheriffs, and, as he believed, his devoted partisan. But Smith was not to be found ; his absence convinced the unfortunate nobleman of the failure of his plan ; and, unable to conceal his agitation, he retired to a private room, to compose his spirits.

Is compelled  
to return.

At court the earl possessed so many friends, that the ministers knew not whom to trust. By their orders the guards were mustered ; the gates of the palace were closed and fortified ; and every passage in the neighbourhood was obstructed with chains and carriages. The queen alone had the boldness to talk of going in search of the insurgents. Not one of them would dare

to meet a single glance of her eye: they would flee at the very notice of her approach. About two in the afternoon lord Burleigh with a herald, and the earl of Cumberland with sir Thomas Gerard, ventured to enter the city in different quarters, and proclaimed Essex a traitor, offering a reward of £1000 for his apprehension, and a full pardon to such of his associates as should immediately return to their duty. The earl had by this time left the house of sheriff Smith, with blasted hopes and diminished numbers. Lord Burleigh retreated before him: but he was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate, and, returning to Queenhithe, proceeded by water, with fifty companions, to Essex house. Here his disappointment was converted into despair. The imprisoned lords, whom he had considered as hostages for his own safety, were gone. They had been liberated by the command of his confidant sir Ferdinando Gorge, who sought by this service to purchase his own pardon. As a last resource he began to fortify the house: in a few minutes it was surrounded by the royalists under the lord admiral. A parley ensued between sir Robert Sydney in the garden, and Essex and Southampton on the roof. The demands of the earls were refused: but a respite of two hours was granted, that the ladies and their female attendants might retire: and about six, when the battering train had arrived from the Tower, the summons was repeated. Lord Sands proposed a desperate sally: they would either cut their way through the enemy, or die, as brave men ought to die, with their swords in their hands. But Essex, who still cherished a hope of life, consented to surrender on the promise of a fair trial. That night the chief of the prisoners were lodged in Lambeth palace: the next morning they were conveyed to the Tower<sup>25</sup>.

And made  
prisoner.

<sup>25</sup> See Camden, 845. The State Trials, 1333---1350. 1410---1451. The very words

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XI.Execution of  
Thomas Lee.  
Feb. 12.

The preceding evening Thomas Lee, a soldier of fortune, had offered his services to sir Robert Cecil: four days later he was heard to say, that if the friends of Essex meant to save him from the block, they should petition for his pardon in a body, and refuse to depart till it had been granted. Sir Robert Cross communicated this remark to the secretary: orders were issued for the apprehension of Lee; and the pursuivants discovered him the same evening, in the crowd at the door of the presence chamber, during the queen's supper. In the morning he was arraigned on a charge of intending to murder the sovereign; and the next day suffered the death of a traitor. No man, who will read the report of his trial, can entertain a doubt of his innocence. But his conviction produced this effect, it persuaded the queen that her safety was incompatible with the life of Essex<sup>26</sup>.

Feb. 13.

Feb. 14.

Trial of the  
two earls.  
Feb. 19.

In a few days the two earls were arraigned before the lord Buckhurst, as lord steward, and twenty-five other peers. Essex, looking round from the bar, observed that he saw among the lords, several who were known to be his personal enemies. These he should challenge; it was the privilege of the lowest subject in the land; it could not be refused to one belonging to the first order in the state. The judges were consulted, and replied, that the law had drawn a broad distinction between peers and jurors. The former gave their verdict on their honour; and, as they could not be sworn, so neither could they be challenged<sup>27</sup>.

employed during the parley are published in the Life of lord Egerton, p. 57. from a manuscript, N<sup>o</sup>. 16. in the library of the dean and chapter of Durham.

<sup>26</sup> It is published in Howell's State Trials, i. 1403. Camden's observation is, *pro temporum ratione salutaris hæc visa est severitas*, p. 847.

<sup>27</sup> Camden, 848. The peers were the earls of Oxford, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Derby, Worcester, Cumberland, Sussex, Hertford, and Lincoln; the viscount Bindon; the lords Hunsdon, Delaware, Morley, Cobham, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Windsor, Rich, Darcy, Chandos, St. John of Bletso, Burleigh, Compton, and Howard of Walden.



The indictment charged the prisoners with having imagined the deposition and the death of the queen. It was supported with great vehemence by the crown lawyers, Yelverton, Coke, and Bacon, who drew their arguments from the open and acknowledged facts, that Essex and Southampton had imprisoned the four counsellors, had entered the city in arms, had called on the inhabitants to rise, had refused to disperse at the royal command, intimated by a herald at arms, had assaulted the military force posted at Ludgate, and had fortified and kept Essex house against the army under the command of the earl of Nottingham. Essex replied, that he did not speak to preserve his life—it was not worth the preserving—but he stood there to preserve his honour. He had never entertained a thought of injuring the queen; nor were the acts assigned any proof of such an intention. If he had taken up arms, and had invoked the aid of the citizens, he could justly plead that it was done through necessity. The lord Cobham and sir Walter Raleigh sought to take his life: that the queen's authority afforded little protection, had been shewn by the late atrocious assault, committed in the open street by the lord Grey on the earl of Southampton; and in such circumstances he could conceive no other means of safety than to repel force by the employment of force.

In refutation of this plea, it was urged that at Drury house the conspirators had proposed to seize the person of the queen, and to compel her to govern according to the pleasure of Essex; that the irruption into the city was the result of that project; and that this fact would be proved to the satisfaction of every impartial man, by the evidence of some, and the confessions of others among the conspirators.

At the mention of Drury house, the earl betrayed symptoms of agitation. He had carefully destroyed every suspicious pa-

Defence of  
Essex.

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per, and rested with entire confidence on the secrecy of his associates. However, he soon recovered himself; and when sir Ferdinando Gorges appeared as a witness, examined him sharply, extorted from him an acknowledgment that no injury was intended to the queen, and inferred from his manner and hesitation that he had been tampered with in the Tower, and was, therefore, unworthy of credit. In conclusion he observed that, whether the consultations at Drury house were criminal or not, was a question which did not concern him: they were held by other persons; he had never been present.

Of South-  
ampton.

Southampton adopted a different line of defence. He maintained that, though many projects had been mentioned in these meetings, nothing had been concluded; that to consult was not to determine; that there was no connexion between the meetings in question, and the attempt to raise the city; that the latter arose entirely from occurrences, which could not have been foreseen, from the information of immediate danger to the life of Essex, and the unexpected arrival of the four counsellors<sup>28</sup>.

Altercation  
with Cecil.

As the trial proceeded, the earl was reproached with having said, that the kingdom was bought and sold. He vindicated the expression on the ground, that sir Robert Cecil, who ruled as if he were the sovereign, had maintained the right of succession to be in the infanta of Spain. Cecil, who was present, but unseen, instantly started from a private box; and, having obtained permission to speak, insisted that the earl should either name the person from whom he received the information, or be content to have his assertion accounted a calumny. Essex refused: but in his anxiety to repel the charge of falsehood, remarked that his fellow prisoner had heard it, as well as himself.

<sup>28</sup> Camden, 849---851. State Trials, 1333---1350.

The secretary, turning to Southampton, conjured him by their former friendship, and as he was a Christian man, to name the informer. In this trying moment, Southampton appealed to the court, whether it were consistent with reason or with honour, that he should betray the secret. All replied in the affirmative, and he named sir Robert Knollys, comptroller of the household, and uncle to Essex<sup>29</sup>.

While a serjeant at arms was dispatched for Knollys, sir Edward Coke arose, and accused Essex of hypocrisy and irreligion, because, while he pretended to be a protestant, he had promised toleration to Blount, his father-in-law, a known catholic. The earl replied, that the charge was false: that he had always lived, and should die, a protestant: that he had never made any promise of toleration to Blount; but that he did not consider it an essential part of the reformed worship, to put catholics to death on account of their religion<sup>30</sup>.

When Knollys arrived, he gave a new but unsatisfactory version of his conversation with the two earls. If we may believe him, what he had heard from Cecil, and had repeated to his nephew, was, that the right belonged to the infanta, not in the opinion of Cecil, but of Doleman, who had dedicated his book to Essex. The earl shortly replied, that he had understood him in a very different sense. "Your misunderstanding arose," exclaimed the secretary, "from your opposition to peace. It was your ambi-

<sup>29</sup> Camden, 854. The French ambassador, who was present, says that the reply of Essex "picqua si fort le secretaire (pour en "estre paraventure quelque chose) qu'il se prit "à crier tout hault, qu'il ne feroit jamais ser- "vice à sa majesté, si on ne lui ostoit la teste "comme à un traistre." He adds, "il n'avoit "pas oublié ce jour la petite boîte: car en ma "vie je ne le vois plus beau"---and a little la-

ter, that the peers "à leur contenance redoubtoy. "ent plus ce petit homme, que leur conscience, "et que leur roync." Winwood, i. 299. This letter soon became public, and, to appease the secretary, was disavowed by the ambassador.

<sup>30</sup> It is singular that the editors in the first edition substituted the milder expression, *cruciarentur*, for that in the original, *morte afficerentur*. Hearne's Camden, 855.



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“ tion that every military man should look up to you as his patron, and hence you sought to represent me and the counselors, who wished to put an end to the war, as the pensioners of Spain”<sup>31</sup>.

They are  
found guilty,

To certain questions put by the lords, the judges replied, that it was rebellion in a subject to attempt to raise a force, which the sovereign could not resist: and that in every rebellion the law supposed a design against the crown and life of the sovereign, because it became the interest of a successful rebel, that the sovereign should not reign nor live to punish the rebellion. After an hour's deliberation the peers pronounced both the prisoners guilty. Essex observed, that as he should not solicit, so neither should he refuse mercy; that, though the lords had found him guilty according to the letter of the law, he believed that they had acquitted him in their own consciences; and that he hoped they would intercede for the life of his fellow-prisoner, who had offended more through affection for him, than through any other motive. Southampton followed. His only object had been to obtain redress for his friend, whom he believed to have been treated harshly. The law might suppose in him the intention of deposing and killing the queen, but he knew that no such thought had ever suggested itself to his mind. His crime was a crime of ignorance. Yet he submitted to his fate, and threw himself on the mercy of the queen. He had spent the best part of his patrimony, and endangered his life in her service: and if, in pity of his ignorance, she were pleased to make him the object of mercy, he should receive it with humility and gratitude.

And con-  
demned.

The lord steward pronounced judgment: the edge of the axe was turned towards the prisoners; and Essex observed, as he left

<sup>31</sup> Winwood, i, 300. Camden, 854.

the bar, that his body might have rendered better service to his sovereign : but it would be as she pleased : if his death proved an advantage to her, it was well. He begged that Ashton his favourite minister might attend him ; made an apology to the counsellors whom he had confined ; and asked pardon of the lords Morley and Delaware, whose sons, though entirely ignorant of the plot, had been drawn by him into the same danger with himself<sup>32</sup>.

Essex was followed to the Tower by Dove, dean of Norwich, who exhorted him to make his peace with the Almighty by the confession of his treason. The earl replied, that in what he had done, he had committed no offence against God. He attempted to justify his refusal to appear before the council by the example of David, who had disobeyed the summons from Saul ; and contended that his office of earl marshal authorized him to reform the abuses in the government. To Dove succeeded Ashton, who, it was believed, had previously received his lesson from the secretary. This divine assumed a bolder and harsher tone. He rejected the earl's protestations of innocence as the sinful evasions of a guilty conscience ; and threatened him with the vengeance of an omniscient Judge, unless he should make a full and sincere confession. Whether it was through the fear of death, or the menaces of the preacher, the spirit of Essex was at last subdued. He sent for the lord keeper, the treasurer, the admiral, and the secretary, solicited their forgiveness, and made an ample avowal of every ambitious and unlawful project which had entered his mind ; betrayed the secrets of the men whom he had seduced to aid him with their counsel and exertions ; and disclosed the object of the negociation between himself and the

Confession of  
Essex.

<sup>32</sup> Camden, 855—857. State Trials, 1350—1358.

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Elizabeth  
signs the war-  
rant.

king of Scots. His confession filled four sheets of paper : but its accuracy has been doubted ; and his associates complained that he had loaded both himself and them with crimes, of which they were not guilty<sup>33</sup>.

The eyes of the public were now fixed on Elizabeth. Some persons maintained that she had not the heart to put her favourite to death—her affection would infallibly master her resentment ; others, that she dared not—resentment might urge him on the scaffold to reveal secrets disreputable to a maiden queen<sup>34</sup>. But his enemies were industrious : and while they affected to remain neutral, clandestinely employed the services of certain females, whose credulity had been formerly deceived by the earl, and whose revenge was gratified by keeping alive the irritation of their mistress. From them she heard tales of his profligacy, his arrogance, and his ingratitude to his benefactress, whom he had pronounced “an old woman, as crooked in mind as she was in body”<sup>35</sup>. This insult to her “divine beauty” sunk deeply into her breast, and jointly with his obstinacy in refusing to sue for mercy, steeled her against the apologies, the solicitations, and the tears of his friends. She signed the fatal warrant ; but, with her usual indecision, first sent her kinsman, Edward Carey, to forbid, and then the lord Darcy to hasten, its execution<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Winwood, 301. 303. State Trials, 1430. 1442. 1447. Birch, ii. 478—480. Camden, 865.

<sup>34</sup> Osborn, Miscellany, 212. Many believed that this was the real cause of his execution within the Tower. There is, indeed, something suspicious in the earnestness with which Cecil instructs Winwood to declare in the French court, that Essex had petitioned to die in private (Winwood, i. 302). When the envoy performed the commission to Henry

IV. that monarch exclaimed, “nay, rather the clean contrary : for he desired nothing more than to dye in publik.” Ibid. 309. Barlow, however, in his sermon, says, that according to the earl himself, he had asked for a private execution, “lest the acclamations of the citizens should hove him up.” Birch, ii. 482.

<sup>35</sup> Osborn, Memoirs, 93.

<sup>36</sup> Camden, 860.



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About eight in the morning Essex was led to the scaffold, which had been erected within the court of the Tower. He was attended by three divines, whose words, to use his own expression, had ploughed up his heart. Never did a prisoner behave with greater humility, or manifest a deeper sorrow. He acknowledged his numerous transgressions of the divine law: but when he came to his offence against the queen, he sought in vain for words to express his feelings. He called it “a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and infectious sin, for which he begged pardon of God and his sovereign.” Whether he still indulged a hope of pardon, is uncertain: but it was remarked that he never mentioned his wife, or children, or friends: that he took leave of no one, not even of his acquaintances then present, and that, when he knelt down to pray, he betrayed considerable agitation of mind<sup>37</sup>. The first stroke took from him all sense of pain: the third severed his head from the body.

He is executed,  
Feb. 25.

Thus, at the premature age of thirty-three, perished the gallant and aspiring Essex. At his first introduction to Elizabeth, he had to contend against the dislike with which she viewed the son of a woman, who had been her rival, and a successful rival, in the affections of Leicester. If he overcame this prejudice, it was not owing to personal beauty or exterior accomplishments<sup>38</sup>. In these respects, if we except the exquisite symmetry of his hands, he was inferior to many gentlemen at court. But there was in him a frankness of disposition, a contempt of all disguise, an impetuosity of feeling, which prompted him to pour out his whole soul in conversation; qualities which captivated the old queen, accustomed as she now was to the cautious and measured

His character.

<sup>37</sup> Bacon, iii. 179. Winwood, i. 301. ungracefully, and was slovenly in his dress.  
Birch, ii. 481—484. Camden, 859. Wotton, Reliquæ, 170.

<sup>38</sup> He stooped forward, walked and danced

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language of the politicians around her. She insisted on his constant presence at court, and undertook to form the young mind of her favourite: but the scholar presumed to dispute the lessons of his teacher: and the spirit with which he opposed her chidings, extorted her applause. In every quarrel his perseverance was victorious: and his vanquished mistress, in atonement for the pain which she had given, loaded him with caresses and favours. Hence he deduced a maxim, which, however it might succeed for a few years, finally brought him to the scaffold; that the queen might be driven, but could not be led; that her obstinacy might be subdued by resistance, though it could not be softened by submission.

Contrary to the lot of most favourites, he had enjoyed at the same time the affection of the sovereign and of the people. To the latter he was known only by the more dazzling traits in his character, his affability and profusion, his spirit of adventure and thirst of glory, and his constant opposition to the dark and insidious policy of the Cecils. His last offence could not, indeed, be disguised: but it was attributed not so much to his own passions, as the secret agents of his enemies, working upon his open and unsuspecting disposition. To silence these rumours, an account of his treason was published by authority, charging him, on his own confession, and the confessions of his associates, with a design to place himself on the throne. But the charge obtained no credit: and the popularity of the queen, which had long been on the wane, seemed to be buried in the same grave with her favourite. On her appearance in public, she was no longer greeted with the wonted acclamations: her counsellors were received with loud expressions of insult and abhorrence<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Osborn, Miscellany, 204. Birch, ii. 510.

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The death of Essex saved the life of Southampton. The ministers, alarmed by these indications of popular feeling, solicited the queen in his favour, and extorted from her a reprieve from the block, though they could not obtain his discharge from the Tower. Cuffe, the secretary, and Merrick, the steward of Essex, suffered the usual punishment of traitors; which was commuted into decapitation in favour of Blount, his step-father, and of Davers, the friend of Southampton. For it was in this ill-advised enterprise, as it had been in the more atrocious conspiracy of Babington. Men risked their lives through affection for others. If Southampton adhered to Essex, or Davers to Southampton, it was because they deemed it a duty prescribed by friendship, to live or perish together<sup>40</sup>.

Southampton  
is spared.

March 13.

The king of Scots, in consequence of his engagement with the conspirators, had previously appointed the earl of Marr, and Bruce, abbot of Kinloss, his ambassadors to England. Though the failure of the attempt was known in Edinburgh before their departure, they were authorized to promise that James would put himself at the head of the party, if there still remained any reasonable prospect of success. They found the adherents of Essex plunged in the deepest despair, the people in a state of discontent, and Cecil possessing in reality the exercise of the sovereign power. Veiling their object, they congratulated the

Demands of  
the king of  
Scots.

<sup>40</sup> Ille nihil contra nisi quod periculum fortunarum et capitis in hac causa præ amore erga Southamptonium neglexerit. Camden, 865. State Trials, 1448. Sir John Daves, sir Edward Baynham, and Mr. Lyttleton were also condemned. But the first obtained a pardon after a year's imprisonment; Baynham purchased his with a sum of money to sir Walter Raleigh; and Lyttleton having surrendered his estate of £7000 per annum, and paid a fine of £10,000, was removed from Newgate to the king's bench, where he died

three months afterwards. Birch, 496. Camden, 858. Sir Henry Neville, the ambassador to the court of France, had been invited to Drury house before his departure. If we may believe himself, he only heard some disloyal conversation, which he condemned, and then departed. The confession attributed to Essex made him more criminal. He was confined in the Tower till the queen's death. Winwood, 302, 325. Camden, 871. Yet Cecil affirmed that the first hint of the plot was received from him. State Trials, 1441.



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queen on her escape from the control of the conspirators; affirmed in strong language the innocence of their master, not only as to that, but as to all other attempts against her life or authority; requested in his name that she would pardon such of her subjects as were imprisoned for the sole offence of having visited him in Scotland; and demanded an addition to his annual pension, and a promise that nothing should be done to the prejudice of his right to the succession. James dared not hope for success in this negotiation. He knew that Essex had betrayed the secret connexion between them, and he expected every bad office from the presumed hostility of Cecil. Under this impression he had instructed the two envoys to inform the queen, when they took leave, that he would never give her any cause of grief during her time, but that the day must come, when there would exist no bar between him and the base instruments that she trusted, and that from them he would exact a severe account of their present injustice and presumption<sup>41</sup>. But the envoys were spared the necessity of employing this menace. Cecil was a thorough-bred politician, whose friendships and enmities were regulated by personal interest. When Elizabeth was tottering on the brink of the grave, it was not for him to brave the resentment of her successor. The lord Henry Howard offered his services as mediator, and it was agreed that all past causes of offence should be mutually forgotten; that the king should receive an addition of two thou-

<sup>41</sup> James had certainly been persuaded that Cecil would oppose his succession. But in favour of whom? I suspect of Arabella Stuart. In the secret correspondence between them after their reconciliation, many sneers are thrown out against the claim of that lady, and lord Shrewsbury and his mother are represented as seeking to raise her to the throne, though the letters in Lodge (iii. 124. 153) shew, that at the same time Cecil pretended

to be a sincere friend to the earl. In the very first letter, written to be shewn to James, Arabella is called "Shrewsbury's idol, who, "if she follows some men's counsels, will be "made higher by as many steps as will lead "to the scaffold." The earl has no influence, and his mother can make no friends to the cause. Secret Correspondence of sir Robert Cecil with James, vi. p. 14, 15.

sand pounds to his annuity; and that Cecil should silently pave the way for the accession of James at the death of Elizabeth. But the secretary required silence as an indispensable condition. Should the secret transpire, should even a suspicion be provoked of any concert between him and the Scottish king, the jealousy of Elizabeth would pronounce Cecil a traitor, and James a rival: and it should be remembered that the court contained many, who through interested motives would gladly infuse such notions into the royal mind. His advice was approved and adopted. The correspondence passed through the hands of the lord Henry in England, and of Marr and Bruce in Scotland. Cecil continued to act, as if he had no eye to the succession of James: and James affected to speak of him as of one, from whom he had no reason to expect any service<sup>42</sup>.

Essex, in his confession, had betrayed the project for his release from captivity, to which the lord Mountjoy had formerly given his assent. Though that nobleman had conducted the war in Ireland with a vigour and success, which raised him to a high pre-eminence above all former deputies; he knew that he had reason to dread the resentment of the queen, and had made every preparation to seek, at the first summons, an asylum on the continent. Cecil, however, convinced her that it stood not with her interest to irritate a favourite general at the head of a victorious army. Dissembling her knowledge of his guilt, she acquainted him, in a long and gracious letter, with the trial and execution of Essex; assured him that in her distress it afforded her consolation to think of his loyalty and attachment; begged him to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the officers, who had received commissions from his predecessor; and instructed him to be prepared against

Proceedings  
of Mountjoy.

<sup>42</sup> See the letters in Birch, ii. 310—313. and the secret correspondence, 1—26.

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Sept. 21.

the armament destined to invade Ireland from the coast of Spain. In a short time four thousand men, under the command of don Juan D'Aguilar, arrived. They landed at Kinsale, fortified the town, and called on the natives to join them against a princess, who had been excommunicated and deposed by several succeeding pontiffs<sup>43</sup>.

Complaint of  
monopolies in  
parliament.

Whilst Mountjoy assembled an army to oppose the invaders, Elizabeth summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster. Unwilling that men should notice her increasing infirmities, she opened the session with more than usual parade: but her enfeebled frame was unable to support the weight of the royal robes; and she was actually sinking to the ground, when the nearest nobleman caught and supported her in his arms. The only object of the minister was to obtain a supply of money for the Irish war: and his wish was gratified by the unexampled vote of four subsidies, and eight tenths and fifteenths. But if the members were liberal in their grant to the crown, they were obstinate in demanding the redress of their grievances. The great subject of complaint, both within and without the walls of parliament, was the multitude of monopolies bestowed by the queen on her favourites<sup>44</sup>. By a monopoly was understood a patent signed by her, and vesting in an individual, as a reward for his real or pretended services, the exclusive right of vending some particular commodity. This custom began in the seventeenth year of her reign, and grew in a short time into an intolerable abuse. If it supplied her with the means of satisfying importunate suitors without cost to herself; yet, to the public, each patent operated as a new tax on the consumer. Sometimes the patentee exercised the right

<sup>43</sup> Camden, 880—886.

<sup>44</sup> Secret correspondence, 25, 26.



himself; often he sold it to another; but in both cases all subordinate venders throughout the kingdom, were compelled either to purchase the article in the first instance from the monopolist, or to pay him a yearly premium for the permission to sell it. Hence, wine, vinegar, oil, salt, starch, tin, steel, coals, and numerous other commodities, among which were several of universal consumption and the first necessity, had of late years been advanced to double the usual price; and the representatives of most counties and boroughs had been instructed, by their constituents, to demand the abolition of so oppressive a grievance. The motion was soon made: by the advisers of the crown it was met with the argument, that the granting of monopolies was a branch of the prerogative; that whoever only touched the prerogative, would incur the royal indignation; that to proceed by bill was useless and unwise, because though the two houses might pretend "to tie the queen's hands by act of parliament, she still could loose them at her pleasure;" and that the speaker was blameable to admit such motions, contrary to the royal commandment given at the opening of the session. It was, however, replied that the patentees were the blood-suckers of the commonwealth; that the people could no longer bear such burthens; that the close of the last parliament had shewn how little redress was to be expected from petition; and that the only sure remedy was to abolish all monopolies by statute. This perseverance of the commons shook the resolution of the minister, who was terrified by the execrations of the people as he hastened in his carriage through the streets; and subdued the obstinacy of the queen, who, though she annually became more attached to what she deemed the rights of the crown, yielded at length to his suggestions and entreaties. Sending for the speaker, she assured

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Nov. 20.

The queen  
yields.  
Nov. 25.

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him, in the presence of the council, that she never signed a patent of monopoly, till she had been told that it would prove beneficial to the nation; that she was under obligations to the members who had brought the abuse to her knowledge; that she would, by proclamation, revoke every patent prejudicial to the liberties of the subject; and would suspend all others, till their validity should be ascertained in the courts of law. The commons, happy to obtain redress without engaging in a contest with their sovereign, returned her thanks in language little short of blasphemy: and Cecil prided himself on the dexterity with which he had satisfied the people, without surrendering the prerogative of the crown <sup>45</sup>.

Defeat of the  
Spaniards in  
Ireland.

In the mean while, the lord deputy in Ireland had united his forces with those of the president of Munster, and besieged D'Aguilar with his Spaniards within their lines at Kinsale. Tyrone watched the operations of the besiegers. He had collected six thousand natives, and four hundred foreigners: and early on the morning of Christmas eve advanced to surprise the English in their camp. But his project had been betrayed to lord Mountjoy. The O'Nial was anticipated by the vigilance of his enemy, and was defeated with the loss of 1200 men. The result of this action convinced D'Aguilar that success was hopeless: he surrendered Kinsale, and the forts in possession of the Spaniards, and obtained permission to return to Corunna with his men, their arms, and ammunition. Elizabeth received the news with warm expressions of gratitude: and a hope was cherished, that by this signal service, Mountjoy had atoned for his former disloyalty <sup>46</sup>.

Dec. 24.

1602.  
June 2.

<sup>45</sup> D'Ewes, ii. 644—654.

<sup>46</sup> Camden, 886—892. Winwood, i. 369,

370. 378. Lodge, iii. 152.

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XI.

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Submission of  
Tyrone.

The departure of the Spaniards was followed by the reduction of Munster. The superiority of the English force, and the destructive ravages of famine, plunged the natives into despair: after a few contests, in which neither party gave quarter, resistance seemed at an end; and the conquerors remained in undisputed possession of a province which was now become no better than an extensive wilderness. From Munster Tyrone sought his usual asylum in the north; but the deputy allowed him no leisure to breathe; he was continually hunted by the garrisons from Blackwater, Charlemont and Mountjoy: his followers perished by hundreds through extremity of want; and the spirit of the O'Nial was at last subdued. He offered to submit on honourable terms; the pride of Elizabeth demanded an unconditional surrender.

In England the lords of the council laboured to mollify the obstinacy of the queen. They represented to her, that the Spaniards had adopted her own policy; that they kept alive the flame of rebellion in Ireland to exhaust her finances, and detain her forces at home; that for several years she had been compelled to maintain in that island an army of 20,000 men at an annual expense of more than £300,000; that she had it now in her power, by a few trifling concessions, to relieve herself from this intolerable burthen, and to secure the English ascendancy in Ireland. But they had an additional reason, which they dared not mention. They wished to effect the pacification of that kingdom before her death: lest the Spanish monarch should find there a powerful party already in arms, to support his pretensions to the Irish, as well as to the English, crown. After a long contest she began to relent: but it was still impossible to fix the indecision of her mind; and each succeeding week new and contra-



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1603.

dictory instructions were forwarded to the deputy. Mountjoy was perplexed: he knew not what answer to give to Tyrone; and the time was consumed in useless messages from one to the other. But the moment he heard that the life of the queen was in danger, he sent for the Irish chieftain, who made his submission on his knees; renounced the title of O'Nial, and all dependence on foreign authority; and solicited the restoration of his rights and honours from the mercy of his sovereign. Mountjoy, in return, granted him a full pardon for himself and his followers, and promised that his lands, with one or two exceptions, and his former title, should again be vested in him by a patent from the crown. From Mellifont they proceeded to Dublin, where they first heard of the death of Elizabeth. Tyrone burst into tears; but, though he condemned his precipitancy, it was too late to recede: he renewed his submission; and the few natives, who refused to imitate his conduct, retiring to the continent, sought for support by fighting the battles of foreign powers<sup>47</sup>.

Expedition by  
sea.  
March 19.

Sep.

To prevent the Spaniards from making a second descent in Ireland, the admirals Levison and Monson had been dispatched to cruise off the Spanish coast. Unable to intercept the fleet from the Indies, they consoled themselves for the disappointment by the capture of a carack of immense value in the small haven of Sesimbria. While the English fleet convoyed their prize into port, Spinola seized the opportunity to sail for the coast of Flanders. He was discovered in his passage up the channel: several actions took place: and of his six galleys, three were sunk, the other three escaped into the harbour of Sluys. Thus closed the naval operations of Elizabeth's reign<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Moryson, 200—300. Camden, 892.    <sup>48</sup> Camden, 893---896.  
905—909.

The time, so long dreaded by the queen, had at length arrived; when, to use her own expression, men would turn their backs on the setting, to worship the rising, sun. It was in vain that she affected the vigour and gaiety of youth: that, in opposition to the unanimous advice of the council, she persisted in making her annual progress: and that every other day she fatigued her decrepit frame, proceeding on horseback to view the labours of the chase, and the other sports of the field<sup>49</sup>. No art could conceal her age and infirmities from the knowledge of her subjects: the consequences of her approaching demise became the general topic of conversation at court; and every man who dared to give an opinion, was careful to name her successor the king of Scots<sup>50</sup>. Some apprehension, however, was excited by the mysterious silence of Cecil. No artifice could draw his secret from his breast. To every question he warily replied, that he was the minister of Elizabeth: it was his duty to serve her; he had nothing to do with the appointment of her successor. James also was true to his engagement. Many attempts were made to elicit his opinion of the secretary; but his answer was uniformly the same; that though he had no reason to rely on the services of that minister, yet he saw nothing in his conduct which proved him to be an enemy<sup>51</sup>.

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The queen's  
infirmities.

Sept.

The apparent apathy of Cecil might damp, it did not ex-

Cecil's coun-  
sels to James.

<sup>49</sup> Lord Henry Howard writes to the earl of Marr, only five months before her death, "the queen our sovereign was never so gallant many years, nor so set upon jollity." Not to offend her, the council had objected against her progress, that it would hinder the harvest, by taking up carts, &c.; but she was obstinate. "Order is given yesterday for the remove the same day seven-night; hunting and disporting in the mean time every other day, which is the people's ague." The earl of Worcester says, Sept. 19, "We

"are frolyke heare in courte; mutche dawncing in the privi chamber of countrey dawnces befor the Q. M. whoe is exceedingly pleased therewith." Lodge, iii. 148.

<sup>50</sup> Secret correspondence, 127.

<sup>51</sup> Secret correspondence, 17. 30. 88. 122. 192. "Never was the world both within and without, more finely cozened, which proves that both honest men and good workmen have the cause in handling, and therefore non transibit ista generatio donec evenerint omnia."

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tinguish, the eagerness of others. All who had any thing to hope or fear from a new reign, sought to assure James of their attachment, and to make him the tender of their services. But of no individuals was the secretary more jealous than of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh. They had been his associates against Essex, they were now his opponents at court. All three met regularly at Durham house, undertook to form a party in favour of James, and through the duke of Lennox, the political opponent of Marr, assured him of their readiness to hazard their lives and fortunes in his service. Cecil, who hoped to monopolize the royal favour, was instantly alarmed, nor did he spare the most calumnious insinuations to ruin them in the estimation of the king. He warned him to give no credit to their professions: they were men poor in fortune, and destitute of friends; without the ability, even if they had the will, to serve him; atheists in principle, and capable of every crime to accomplish their purposes. They might indeed assume the garb of friendship, but they would prove enemies at heart; their object was to discover his secrets, that they might betray them: to procure food for the jealousy of the queen, that they might remove Cecil from her councils, and make themselves the arbiters of the succession<sup>52</sup>.

But the secretary marred his own purpose, by the vehemence with which he pursued it. Pleading in excuse his superior knowledge and experience, he presumed to trace a plan of conduct for James, to point out the names of the persons, to whom, and to whom alone, application should be made for their support, and to dictate the contents of the very letters which should be

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 28—52. 66, 67. 107. Lord Henry Howard, who wrote by direction of Cecil, calls them "the diabolical triplicity," p. 26½: and afterwards, speaking of Cobham and

Raleigh, "your lordship may believe that "hell did never spew up such a couple, when "it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon," 132.



written to them by the king. He had been able to govern Elizabeth by exciting unfounded alarms in her mind<sup>53</sup>; and he sought by the same artifice to render James dependent on himself. He began to talk of conspiracies against the life and rights of that monarch; told him that he cherished enemies in his very court; and intimated some apprehension that the indiscretion and passions of his queen, unless they received a timely check, might prove fatal to the royal hopes<sup>54</sup>. James, however, had sufficient discernment to perceive the object of the secretary; and the offers which he had received from every other quarter, encouraged him to assume a bolder and independent tone. He gave Cecil and his confidant to understand, that he would not stoop to become the tool of private enmity or ambition: that he should accept the services of all who tendered them, and afterwards apportion their rewards to their deserts; that he expected, in place of dark and mysterious hints, an open manifestation both of the conspirators and of their designs; and that he considered as a personal insult the irreverent language, in which they had spoken of his consort. This answer convinced the secretary that he had formed a false notion of the character of James. He hastened to apologize for his imprudence, and begged the king to excuse those alarms, which had proceeded solely from attachment to his person, and solicitude for his interests<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> "The queen," says Howard, "is a lady that rather hears than compares, numbers than weighs, and by consequence would make all probable that is poetry," (mere imagination) p. 95. It requires some acquaintance with the enigmatical style of this writer to understand him. He means to say, that Elizabeth believes all that is told her: it is sufficient that a thing may happen, for her to be convinced that it will happen.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. 143---168. They complain of the

king's clemency; he was satisfied with the apology of Dethick for some offence imputed to him. "Were he now with us," they say, "as he is with you, we should teach him which way judicare came into the creed." They then observe that the king's life must be preserved by miracle: for it cannot be from the manner in which justice is administered, p. 225.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 106, 107. 170---180. 218.

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 Designs of  
the exiles.

 Of the Spanish  
party.

The question of the succession was as warmly agitated among the exiles abroad, as among the courtiers and politicians at home. The reader is acquainted with the plan of the Spanish faction, to place the infanta on the English throne. As long as she was at liberty to marry either the king of Scots, or an English nobleman, it was hoped that the nation might be induced to admit her claim: but from the moment of her union with the archduke Albert, the most sanguine of her partisans began to despond. After the death of cardinal Allen, in 1594, Persons left the court of Spain to reside at Rome. He now professed to limit his views to the succession of a catholic sovereign: who that sovereign might be, was not for him to determine: it was a question which he left to the decision of the pontiff, the neighbouring princes, and the people of England<sup>56</sup>. But there could be no doubt that, on the death of Elizabeth, many competitors would appear; and, that on such an occasion the catholic monarchs, in union with the catholic natives, might form a powerful party in favour of a catholic claimant. Attempts had formerly been made to steal away the lady Arabella Stuart as a dangerous rival to the infanta: she now became the favourite of the faction: it was proposed that she should marry the cardinal Farnese, who could trace his descent from John of Ghent; and that all catholics should be exhorted to support their united pretensions. When this visionary scheme was suggested to Clement VIII., he appeared to entertain it with pleasure; but was careful not to commit himself by any public avowal of his sentiments. He signed, indeed, two breves addressed to the

<sup>56</sup> "I am indifferent to any man lyving, that hath or shall have right thereto, of what place or people soever he be, so that he be a catholyke; but if he be no catholyke, as it belongeth not to my vocation to stryve against him, so I must con-

fesse, that soe long as he is soe, nothing under heaven can move my heart and will to favour his pretensions." Persons to the earl of Angus, Jan. 24, 1600. Plowden's Remarks on Panzani, 359. See also Winwood, i. 388.

English nobility and clergy. But in them he mentioned no name. He merely exhorted the catholics to refuse their aid to every claimant, who would not promise to support the ancient worship, and to take the oath which had formerly been taken by the catholic monarchs. These instruments were forwarded to the nuncio at Brussels, and through him to Garnet the superior of the jesuits, with an injunction to keep them secret till the death of Elizabeth. Garnet obeyed: and on the succession of the king of Scots, prudently committed them to the flames<sup>57</sup>.

The opposite faction, under the control of Paget and his friends, pursued a contrary course. They pretended not to wish for a catholic sovereign to the prejudice of the lawful heir: they acknowledged the right of the Scottish king; and professed to hope from his gratitude or his justice, the mitigation of their sufferings, and the toleration of their religion. Affecting the praise of loyalty and patriotism, they openly condemned the conduct of Persons and his adherents; they even submitted to act the part of spies, and betrayed the plans and proceedings of their adversaries to both the English and Scottish governments<sup>58</sup>. Every year the division grew wider between these two

Of their opponents.

<sup>57</sup> Lettres D'Ossat, ii. 502---509. Butler's Memoirs, 259. One great obstacle, which they could not remove, was the opposition of the king of France, whose interest it was that England should never be possessed by a prince allied to the king of Spain. On this account Henry refused to listen to any overtures from the Spanish party. When Aldobrandini suggested to him, that he and Philip might consult together on the subject, he replied, that it was impossible they should agree, for two reasons; "à cause de la jalousie, que la condition et proximité de leurs états les obligeoient d'avoir l'un de l'autre: et pour être leurs intelligences audit Royaume fort contraires: d'autant que tous les prestres et catoliques du pais pratiquent par les jesuites regardoient

"le roi d'Espagne, et ceux, qui leur étoient opposés, inclinoient de son côté." D'Ossat, ii. App. 12. Persons, however, did not despair. About three months before the queen's death, he renewed the proposal to the cardinal D'Ossat, and appears to have brought him over to his opinion. Ibid. 580.

<sup>58</sup> Winwood, i. 51, 52. 89. 94. 101. 161. The ambassador Neville pleaded much in their favour with the secretary, though he despaired of success. "There is none of them but offer oath of absolute obedience to the temporal government, and to employ body, goods and life against any invaders, renouncing all benefit of dispensation or other evasion from it." P. 162.



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XI.Controversy  
respecting the  
archpriest.

parties: it crept into the seminaries abroad; it began to disunite the missionaries in England. A notion was propagated, that the severity of the government had been provoked and sharpened by the proceedings of the Spanish faction: several clergymen consulted together: they formed associations among themselves, and resolved to petition for the appointment of catholic bishops, that, like their brethren in other countries, they might live under episcopal authority, and might be more widely separated from the men, whose connexion with the leaders of the opposite party had rendered them, whether justly or unjustly, objects of suspicion to the queen. At first Persons supported, soon he opposed, their design: instead of several bishops, one archpriest was appointed; and *he* received secret instructions to consult the provincial of the jesuits in England, on all points of particular importance. It is plain, from the subsequent conduct of Clement, that the pontiff sought only to put an end to the dissensions among the missionaries: but the projectors of the measure had in view a great political object. They had persuaded themselves, that by subjecting all the secular priests to the government of a single superior attached to their party, they should be able, at the death of the queen, to employ the influence of the whole body in support of a favourite candidate for the crown<sup>59</sup>. But their hopes were deceived. The appointment gave dissatisfaction; several clergymen appealed from the authority of the archpriest, and sent deputies to Rome to prosecute the appeal. Clement, after a long hearing, listened in part to their complaints. For, though

1602.  
Oct. 5.

<sup>59</sup> This was asserted by Winwood, and D'Ossat, ii. 506. It is proved by a memorial in favour of the archpriest in my possession. "La principale ragione é non solo per con-  
"servare l'unione vivente la regina, sino molto

"piú dopo la sua morte per procurare qualche  
"successore cattolico conforme a certi brevi,  
"che S. S. ha scritto gia prudentissimamente  
"alli cattolichi."

he confirmed Blackwell, the new superior, in his office, he reprimanded him for his intemperate conduct, and forbad him, for the sake of peace, to ask or receive, in the discharge of his duty, the advice of Garnet, or of any of his brethren<sup>60</sup>.

Proclamation  
against the  
missionaries.

The queen's ministers had noticed the origin, and watched the progress, of this controversy. Their hostility to the Spanish party induced them to favour the cause of the appellants, who, through the intermediate agency of Bancroft, bishop of London, were indulged with the means of corresponding with each other, with facilities for the publication of tracts in their own defence, and with passports for the deputies whom they sent to Rome<sup>61</sup>. But the connexion could not long be concealed. The zealots among the puritans were scandalized: they openly accused the ministers of a secret and mysterious understanding with the popish missionaries; and Cecil deemed it necessary to furnish public and unequivocal proof of his orthodoxy. A proclamation was issued in the name of Elizabeth, in which she noticed the division of the catholic clergy into two parties, one of the jesuits and their adherents, the other of the secular priests, their opponents. The former she pronounces traitors, without any exception: the latter, though less guilty, are disobedient and disloyal subjects, who, under the vizard of a pretended conscience, steal away the hearts of the simple and common people. She then complains, that in consequence of her clemency towards both these classes of men, they even "adventured to walk the streets at noon-day," and carried themselves so as to breed a suspicion, that she proposed to grant a toleration of two reli-

<sup>60</sup> See the breve in Dodd, ii. 262.

<sup>61</sup> In these passports they were said to have been banished. Winwood, i. 373. He adds, "which party soever shall gain, the

"common cause must needs lose, whose  
"nakedness shall be discovered, and shewn  
"displayed, to the view of the world." Ibid.  
Jan. 6, 1602.

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gions ; though God knew that she was ignorant of any such imagination, and that no one had ever ventured to suggest it to her. In conclusion, she commands all jesuits, and all priests, their adherents, to quit the kingdom within thirty days, and all others, their opponents, within three months, under the peril of suffering the penalties enjoined by law against persons who had received ordination by authority of the bishop of Rome<sup>62</sup>.

Their protestation of allegiance.

1603.  
Jan. 29.

The proclamation was followed by the establishment of a new commission, for the sole purpose of banishing the catholic clergymen. It consisted of the archbishop, the lord keeper, lord treasurer, and several other counsellors and judges, of whom six were a sufficient number to form a court. They were empowered to call before them every priest whom they thought proper, whether he were in prison or at large ; and, without observing any of the usual forms of trial, to send him into banishment, under such conditions and limitations as they should choose to prescribe<sup>63</sup>. These proceedings, though they wore the semblance of hostility, were hailed by many of the missionaries, as the commencement of a new era : the distinction admitted in the proclamation, and the discretionary power given to the judges, encouraged a hope of further indulgence ; and they resolved to deserve it, by presenting to the queen a protestation of civil allegiance, drawn in the most ample and satisfactory form. In this instrument they declared, 1<sup>o</sup>. that she had a right to all that civil authority, which was possessed by her predecessors ; that they were bound to pay to her the same obedience in civil causes which catholic priests had ever been bound to pay to catholic sovereigns ; and that no authority on earth could discharge them from that obligation : 2<sup>o</sup>. that in cases of conspiracy and inva-

Jan. 31.

<sup>62</sup> Rymer, xiv. 473---476.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 489.



sion, even under pretence of restoring the catholic religion, they conceived it their duty to stand by her against all her opponents, and to reveal to her all plots and treasons which might come to their knowledge: 3<sup>o</sup>. that, were any excommunication to be issued against them, on account of their performance of this duty, they should look upon it as of no effect: and lastly, that by this protestation of their loyalty, they did not trench upon that obedience, which was due to the spiritual supremacy of the pontiff, but as they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their queen and country, so would they rather lose their lives, than infringe the lawful authority of the catholic church<sup>64</sup>. What influence such an address might have had, we cannot tell: it never reached the hands of the queen: she was no longer in a condition to reward, or to punish.

Elizabeth had surprised the nations of Europe by the splendour of her course: she was destined to close the evening of her life in gloom and sorrow. The bodily infirmities which she suffered, may have been the consequences of age: her mental afflictions are usually traced by historians to regret for the execution of Essex. That she deeply bewailed his fate, that she accused herself of precipitancy and cruelty, is certain: but there were disclosures in his confession, to which her subsequent melancholy may with greater probability be ascribed. From that document she learned the unwelcome and distressing truth, that she had lived too long; that her favourites looked with impatience to the moment which would free them from her control, and that the very men on whose loyalty she had hitherto reposed with confidence, had already proved unfaithful to her. She be-

The queen's  
melancholy.

<sup>64</sup> Dodd, ii. 292.

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came pensive and taciturn: she sate whole days by herself, indulging in the most gloomy reflections: every rumour agitated her with new and imaginary terrors: and the solitude of her court, the opposition of the commons to her prerogative, and the silence of the citizens when she appeared in public, were taken by her for proofs that she had survived her popularity, and was become an object of aversion to her subjects. Under these impressions, she assured the French ambassador that she had grown weary of her very existence<sup>65</sup>.

1601.  
Oct. 9.

Sir John Harrington, her godson, who visited the court about seven months after the death of Essex, has described in a private letter, the state in which he found the queen. She was altered in her features, and reduced to a skeleton. Her food was nothing but manchet bread and succory pottage. Her taste for dress was gone: she had not changed her clothes for many days. Nothing could please her: she was the torment of the ladies who waited on her person. She stamped with her feet, and swore violently at the objects of her anger. For her protection she had ordered a sword to be placed by her table, which she often took in her hand, and thrust with violence into the tapestry of her chamber. About a year later he returned to the palace, and was admitted to her presence. "I found her," he says, "in a most pitiable state. She bad the archbishop ask me, if I had seen Tyrone. I replied, with reverence, that I had seen him with the lord deputy. She looked up with much choler and grief in her countenance, and said, 'O, now it mindeth me, that you was one who saw this man elsewhere;' and hereat she dropped a tear, and smote her bosom. She held in her hand a golden cup, which she often put to her lips:

1602.  
Dec. 27.

<sup>65</sup> Birch, ii. 505.

“but, in truth, her heart seemed too full to need more  
“filling<sup>66</sup>.”

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In January she was troubled with a cold, and about the end of the month removed, on a wet and stormy day, from Westminster to Richmond. Her indisposition increased: but, with her characteristic obstinacy, she refused the advice of her physicians. Loss of appetite was accompanied with lowness of spirits, and to add to her distress, it chanced that her intimate friend, the countess of Nottingham, died<sup>67</sup>. Elizabeth now spent her days and nights in sighs and tears: or, if she condescended to speak, she always chose some unpleasant and irritating subject; the treason and execution of Essex, or the pretensions of Arabella Stuart, or the war in Ireland, and the pardon of Tyrone. At last she fell into a state of stupor, and for some hours lay as dead. As soon as she recovered, she ordered cushions to be brought and spread on the floor. On these she seated herself, under a strange notion, that if she were once to lie down in bed, she should never rise again. No prayers of the secretary, or the archbishop, or the physicians, could induce her to remove, or to take any medicine. For ten days she sate on the cushions, generally with her finger in her mouth, and her eyes open, and fixed on the ground. Her strength rapidly decayed: it was evident she had but a short time to live.

Her last illness.  
1603.  
Jan. 31.

March 10.

<sup>66</sup> *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 317. 320. He adds, “she rated most grievously at noon at some one, who minded not to bring up some matter of account. Several men have been sent to, and when ready at hand, her highness hath dismissed them in great anger; but who shall say ‘your highness hath forgotten’?”

<sup>67</sup> I do not notice the story of the ring, said to have been sent by Essex to Elizabeth, but not delivered by the countess, who revealed her treachery on her death-bed. Had it been true, it would have been mentioned by some of those who have related the occurrences of the queen’s malady.



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She appoints  
James her suc-  
cessor.

March 21.

March 22.

Her death.  
March 24.

Elizabeth's  
reputation.

Sir Robert Cecil now took the necessary measures to fulfil his engagements to the king of Scots. He sent for his confidential friends to Richmond, and requested others to repair to London. Partly by entreaty, and partly by force, the queen was put to bed, and listened attentively to the prayers and exhortations of the archbishop. The next day she lay on her side, motionless and apparently insensible. On the following morning the lord admiral, with the lord keeper, and the secretary, approached the dying queen, and begged to remind her of what she had said to him at Whitehall, that her throne was the throne of kings. We are told that, at his voice, she started as from a dream, repeated the words, and added, "I will have no rascal to succeed me. "Who should succeed me but a king?" Cecil, wishing to elicit a more intelligible answer, requested her to explain what she meant by "no rascal." She replied that a king should succeed, and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland? The archbishop again prayed: she became speechless, but twice beckoned to him to continue. In the evening the three lords came a second time, and desired her to make sign, if she continued in the same mind. She raised her arms in the air, and closed them over her head. In a few minutes she began to doze: and at three the next morning tranquilly breathed her last. By six, the lords from Richmond joined those in London; and a resolution was taken to proclaim James as heir to the queen by proximity of blood, and by her own appointment on her death-bed<sup>68</sup>.

In the judgment of her contemporaries, and that judgment has been ratified by the consent of posterity, Elizabeth was numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our princes.

<sup>68</sup> Camden, 909---911. Somers' Tracts, ii. 506---508. D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature, second series, iii. 107---109. i. 246, 247. Carey's Memoirs, 122. Birch,

The tranquillity, which, during a reign of nearly half a century, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighbouring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom or the vigour of her government : and her successful resistance against the Spanish monarch, the many injuries which she inflicted on that lord of so many kingdoms, and the spirit displayed by her fleets and armies, in expeditions to France and the Netherlands, to Spain, to the West and even the East Indies, served to give to the world an exalted notion of her military and naval power. When she came to the throne, England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms ; before her death it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe.

Of this rise two causes may be assigned. The one, though more remote, was that spirit of commercial enterprise, which had revived in the reign of Mary, and had been carefully fostered, in that of Elizabeth, by the patronage of the sovereign, and the co-operation of the great. Its benefits were not confined to the trading and sea-faring classes, the two interests more immediately concerned. It gave a new tone to the public mind : it diffused a new energy through all ranks of men. Their views became expanded : their powers were called into action ; and the example of successful adventure furnished a powerful stimulus to the talent and industry of the nation. Men in every profession looked forward to wealth and independence : all were eager to start in the race of improvement.

The other cause may be discovered in the system of foreign policy, adopted by the ministers ; a policy, indeed, which it may be difficult to reconcile with honesty and good faith, but which, in the result, proved eminently successful. The reader has seen them perpetually on the watch to sow the seeds of dissension, to foment the spirit of resistance, and to aid the efforts of rebel-

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lion in the neighbouring nations. In Scotland the authority of the crown was almost annihilated; France was reduced to an unexampled state of anarchy, poverty, and distress: and Spain beheld with dismay her wealth continually absorbed, and her armies annually perishing, among the dikes and sand-banks of the Low Countries. The depression of these powers, if not a positive, was a relative benefit. As other princes descended, the English queen appeared to rise on the scale of reputation and power.

Her disputes  
with her mi-  
nisters.

In what proportion the merit or demerit of these and of other measures should be shared between Elizabeth and her counselors, it is impossible to determine. On many subjects she could see only with their eyes, and hear with their ears; yet it is evident that her judgment or her conscience frequently disapproved of their advice. Sometimes, after a long struggle, they submitted to her wisdom or obstinacy; sometimes she was terrified or seduced into the surrender of her own opinion: generally a compromise was effected by mutual concessions. This appears to have happened on most debates of importance, and particularly with respect to the treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots. Elizabeth may perhaps have dissembled: she may have been actuated by jealousy or hatred: but, if we condemn, we should also remember the arts and frauds of the men by whom she was surrounded, the false information which they supplied, the imaginary dangers which they created, and the dispatches which they dictated in England to be forwarded to the queen through the ambassadors in foreign courts, as the result of their own judgment and observation<sup>69</sup>.

Her irresolu-  
tion.

It may be, that the habitual irresolution of Elizabeth was partially owing to her discovery of such practices: but there is

<sup>69</sup> Of these artifices many instances occur i. 20. ii. 93. in the preceding pages. See also Winwood,



reason to believe that it was a weakness inherent in the constitution of her mind<sup>70</sup>. To deliberate appears to have been her delight: to resolve was her torment. She would receive advice from any; from foreigners as well as natives, from the ladies of her bed-chamber no less than the lords of her council: but her distrust begot hesitation; and she always suspected that some interested motive lurked under the pretence of zeal for her service. Hence she often suffered months, sometimes years, to roll away before she came to a conclusion: and then it required the same industry and address to keep her steady to her purpose, as it had already cost to bring her to it. The ministers, in their confidential correspondence, perpetually lamented this infirmity in the queen: in public they employed all their ingenuity to skreen it from notice, and to give the semblance of wisdom to that which, in their own judgment, they characterized as folly<sup>71</sup>.

Besides irresolution, there was in Elizabeth another quality Her economy. equally, perhaps more, mortifying to her counsellors and favourites; her care to improve her revenue, her reluctance to part with her money. That frugality in a sovereign is a virtue deserving the highest praise, could not be denied; but they contended that, in their mistress, it had degenerated into parsimony, if not into avarice. Their salaries were, indeed, low: she distributed her gratuities with a sparing hand; and the more honest among them injured their fortunes in her service: yet there were others who, by the sale of places, and patronage<sup>72</sup>, and monopo-

<sup>70</sup> I consider it natural to her, because she betrayed it in matters of little importance. Even in her progresses no one could be certain when, or to what place, she would go. She is described as changing her mind almost every day.

<sup>71</sup> See particularly Digges, 199. 203.

<sup>72</sup> The sale of patronage extended even to the ladies of the court. From a letter in Birch, it appears, that lady Edmonds had

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lies, were able to amass considerable wealth, or to spend with a profusion almost unexampled among subjects. The truth, however, was, that the foreign policy of the cabinet, had plunged the queen into a gulf of unfathomable expense. Her connexion with the insurgents in so many different countries, the support of a standing army in Holland, her long war with Spain, and the repeated attempts to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, were continual drains upon the treasury, which the revenue of the crown, with every adventitious aid of subsidies, loans, fines, and forfeitures, was unable to supply. Her poverty increased as her wants multiplied. All her efforts were cramped: expeditions were calculated on too limited a scale, and for too short a period; and the very apprehension of present, served only to entail on her future and more enormous expense.

Her state and  
deportment.

An intelligent foreigner had described Elizabeth, while she was yet a subject, as haughty and overbearing: on the throne she was careful to display that notion of her own importance, that contempt of all beneath her, and that courage in the time of danger, which were characteristic of the Tudors. She seemed to have forgotten that she ever had a mother: but was proud to remind both herself and others that she was the daughter of a powerful monarch, of Henry VIII. On occasions of ceremony she appeared in all her splendour, accompanied by the great officers of state, and with a numerous retinue of lords and ladies dressed in their most gorgeous apparel. In reading the accounts of her court, we may sometimes fancy ourselves transported

refused the offer of £100 for her interest with the queen in a cause in chancery. "This ruffianry of causes," says the writer, "I am daily more and more acquainted with: which

"groweth by the queen's straitness to give these women: whereby they presume thus to grange, and huck causes." Birch, i. 354.

into the palace of an eastern princess. When Hentzner saw her, she was proceeding on a Sunday from her own apartment to the chapel. First appeared a number of gentlemen, barons, earls, and knights of the garter; then came the chancellor with the seals, between two lords carrying the sceptre and the sword. Elizabeth followed: and wherever she cast her eyes, the spectators instantly fell on their knees. She was then in her sixty-fifth year. She wore false hair of a red colour, surmounted with a crown of gold. The wrinkles of age were imprinted on her face; her eyes were small, her teeth black, her nose prominent. The collar of the garter hung from her neck; and her bosom was uncovered, as became an unmarried queen. Behind her followed a long train of young ladies dressed in white; and on each side stood a line of gentlemen pensioners, with their gilt battle-axes, and in splendid uniforms.

The traveller next proceeded to the dining room. Two gentlemen entered to lay the cloth, two to bring the queen's plate, salt, and bread. All, before they approached the table, and when they retired from it, made three genuflexions. Then came a single and a married lady, performing the same ceremonies. The first rubbed the plate with bread and salt: the second gave a morsel of meat to each of the yeomen of the guard, who brought in the different courses; and at the same time the hall echoed to the sound of twelve trumpets, and two kettle-drums. But the queen dined that day in private: and, after a short pause, her maids of honour entered in procession, and with much reverence and solemnity, took the dishes from the table, and carried them into an inner apartment<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Hentzner, translated by Walpole, 34—37.



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Her love of  
popularity.

Yet while she maintained this state in public and in the palace, while she taught the proudest of the nobility to feel the distance between them and their sovereign, she condescended to court the good will of the common people. In the country, they had access to her at all times; neither their rudeness nor importunity appeared to offend her: she received their petitions with an air of pleasure, thanked them for their expressions of attachment, and sought the opportunity of entering into private conversation with individuals. Her progresses were undoubtedly undertaken for pleasure: but she made them subservient to policy, and increased her popularity by her affability and condescension to the private inhabitants of the counties in which she made her temporary abode<sup>74</sup>.

Her talents  
and acquire-  
ments.

From the elevation of the throne, we may now follow Elizabeth into the privacy of domestic life. Her natural abilities were great: she had studied under experienced masters; and her stock of literature was much more ample than that of most females of the age. Like her sister Mary, she possessed a knowledge of five languages: but Mary did not venture to converse in Italian, neither could she construe the Greek Testament, like Elizabeth<sup>75</sup>. The queen is said to have excelled on the virginals, and to have understood the most difficult music. But dancing was her principal delight: and in that exercise she displayed a grace and spirit, which was universally admired. She retained her partiality for it to the last: few days passed in which the young nobility of the court were not called to dance before their sovereign; and the queen herself condescended to perform her part

<sup>74</sup> Naunton, 88.

<sup>75</sup> Lansdowne MSS. N<sup>o</sup>. 840. B. p. 159.

in a galliard with the duke of Nevers, at the age of sixty-nine<sup>76</sup>.

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Of her vanity the reader will have noticed several instances in the preceding pages : there remains one of a more extraordinary description. It is seldom that females have the boldness to become the heralds of their own charms : but Elizabeth by proclamation announced to her people, that none of the portraits, which had hitherto been taken of her person, did justice to the original : that at the request of her council she had resolved to procure an exact likeness from the pencil of some able artist : that it should soon be published for the gratification of her loving subjects : and that on this account she strictly forbade all persons whomsoever, to paint or engrave any new portraits of her features without licence, or to shew or publish any of the old portraits, till they had been reformed according to the copy to be set forth by authority<sup>77</sup>.

Her vanity.

The courtiers soon discovered how greedy their sovereign was of flattery. If they sought to please, they were careful to admire : and adulation the most fulsome and extravagant, was accepted by the queen with gratitude, and rewarded with bounty. Neither was her appetite for praise cloyed, it seemed rather to become more craving, by enjoyment. After she had passed her grand climacteric she exacted the same homage to her faded charms, as had been paid to her youth ; and all who addressed her, were still careful to express their admiration of her beauty in the language of oriental hyperbole.

<sup>76</sup> Stanhope writes in 1589, "The Q. is so well as I assure you VI or VII galliards in a morninge besides musycke and synging is her ordynary exercyse." Lodge, ii. 41. Sydney papers, i. 375, 385. ii. 262. Lodge, iii. 148.

<sup>77</sup> From the original corrected by Cecil, in 1563, and printed in the *Archæologia*, ii. 169, 170.

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Her fondness  
for dress.

But however highly the queen might think of her person, she did not despise the aid of external ornament. At her death, two, some say three, thousand dresses were found in her wardrobe, with a numerous collection of jewellery, for the most part presents, which she had received from petitioners, from her courtiers on her saint's day, and at the beginning of each year, and from the noblemen and gentlemen, whose houses she had honoured with her presence<sup>78</sup>. To the austere notions of the bishop of London, this love of finery appeared unbecoming her age, and in his sermon he endeavoured to raise her thoughts from the ornaments of dress to the riches of heaven: but she told her ladies, that if he touched upon that subject again, she would fit *him* for heaven. He should walk there without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him<sup>79</sup>.

Her irritability.

In her temper Elizabeth seemed to have inherited the irritability of her father. The least inattention, the slightest provocation, would throw her into a passion. At all times her discourse was sprinkled with oaths: in the sallies of her anger it abounded with imprecations and abuse. Nor did she content herself with words: not only the ladies about her person, but her courtiers and the highest officers in the state felt the weight of her hands. She collared Hatton, she gave a blow on the ear

<sup>78</sup> In the lists of presents which she received on these occasions, we find every article of dress, even to body linen. The following account may perhaps amuse the reader. "At her first lighting at the lord keeper's she had a fine fanne with a handle, garnisht with diamonds; in the midle was a nosegay, and in yt a very rich jewel, valued at 400l. at least. After dinner in her privy chamber he gave her a faire paire of virginals: in her bed-chamber he presented her with a fine gown and a juppin (petticoat), which things were pleasing to her highness: and

"to grace his lordship the more, *she of herself tooke from him* a salte, a spoone, and a *forcke of faire agatte.*" Sydney papers, i. 376. As late as December 6th before her death, she dined with sir Robert Cecil, and accepted from him presents to the value of 2000 crowns. Carte from Beaumont's Dispatches, iii. 701.

<sup>79</sup> Nugæ Antiquæ, 176. "Perchance," says Harrington, "the bishop hath never sought her highness' wardrobe, or he would have chosen another text."



to the earl marshal, and she spat on sir Matthew ———, with the foppery of whose dress she was offended <sup>80</sup>.

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Her amours.

To her first parliament she had expressed a wish that on her tomb might be inscribed the title of “the virgin queen.” But the woman who despises the safeguards, must be content to forfeit the reputation, of chastity. It was not long before her familiarity with Dudley provoked dishonourable reports. At first they gave her pain: but her feelings were soon blunted by passion: in the face of the whole court she assigned to her supposed paramour an apartment contiguous to her own bed-chamber: and by this indecent act proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame <sup>81</sup>. But Dudley, though the most favoured, was not considered as her only lover: among his rivals were numbered Hatton and Raleigh, and Oxford and Blount, and Simier and Anjou: and it was afterwards believed that her licentious habits survived, even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age <sup>82</sup>. The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to Faunt, “all enormities “reigned in the highest degree <sup>83</sup>,” or according to Harrington,

<sup>80</sup> Nugæ Ant. 167. 176.

<sup>81</sup> Quadra, bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador, in the beginning of 1561, informs the king, that according to common belief, the queen “lived with Dudley:” that in one of his audiences Elizabeth spoke to him respecting this report, and, in proof of its improbability, shewed him the situation of her room and bed-chamber: *la disposition de su camera y alcoba*. But in a short time she deprived herself of this plea. Under the pretext that Dudley’s apartment in a lower story of the palace was unwholesome, she removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber: *una habitacion alta junto a su camera, pretestando que la que tenia era mal sana*. The original dispatches are at Simancas, with se-

veral letters from an English lady, formerly known to Philip, (probably the marchioness of Winchester,) describing in strong colours the dissolute manners both of Elizabeth, and her court.—I may here add that, although some writers have refused to give any credit to the celebrated letter from Mary, in Murdin, 558; yet almost every statement in it has been confirmed by other documents.

<sup>82</sup> Osborn, *Memoirs*, 33.

<sup>83</sup> Birch, i. 39. In another letter he says, “the only discontent I have, is to live where “there is so little godliness and exercise of “religion, so dissolute manners and corrupt “conversation generally, which I find to be “worse than when I knew the place first.” 1 August, 1582. Birch, i. 25.

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“ where there was no love, but that of the lusty god of gallantry,  
 “ Asmodeus”<sup>84</sup>.

Her govern-  
 ment despotic.

Elizabeth firmly believed, and zealously upheld, the principles of government, established by her father, the exercise of absolute authority by the sovereign, and the duty of passive obedience in the subject. The doctrine, with which the lord keeper Bacon opened her first parliament, was indefatigably inculcated by all his successors during her reign, that, if the queen consulted the two houses, it was through choice, not through necessity, to the end that her laws might be more satisfactory to her people, not that they might derive any force from their assent. She possessed by her prerogative whatever was requisite for the government of the realm. She could, at her pleasure, suspend the operation of existing statutes, or issue proclamations which should have the force of law. In her opinion the chief use of parliaments was to vote money, to regulate the minutiae of trade, and to legislate for individual and local interests. To the lower house she granted, indeed, freedom of debate; but it was to be a decent freedom, the liberty of “ saying aye or no;” and those who transgressed that decency were liable, as we have repeatedly seen, to feel the weight of the royal displeasure<sup>85</sup>.

Corruption of  
 courts of jus-  
 tice.

A foreigner, who had been ambassador in England, informs us, that under Elizabeth the administration of justice was more corrupt than under her predecessors<sup>86</sup>. We have not the means of instituting the comparison. But we know that in her first year the policy of Cecil substituted men of inferior rank in the place of the former magistrates; that numerous complaints were heard of their tyranny, peculation, and rapacity; and that a justice of the peace was defined in parliament to be “ an animal,

<sup>84</sup> *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 166. April 4, 1594. 675.

<sup>86</sup> *D'Ewes*, 460. 469. 640. 644. 646. 651. <sup>85</sup> *Du Vair* apud *Carte*, iii. 702.

“ who, for half a dozen chickens would dispense with a dozen laws<sup>87</sup> :” nor shall we form a very exalted notion of the integrity of the higher courts, if we recollect that the judges were removable at the royal pleasure, and that the queen herself was in the habit of receiving, and permitted her favourites and ladies to receive, bribes as the prices of her or their interference in the suits of private individuals.

Besides the judicial tribunals, which remain to the present day, there were in the age of Elizabeth, several other courts, the arbitrary constitution of which was incompatible with the liberties of the subject ; the court of high commission, for the cognizance of religious offences ; the court of star-chamber, which inflicted the severest punishments for that comprehensive and undefinable transgression, contempt of the royal authority ; and the courts martial, for which the queen, from her hasty and imperious temper, manifested a strong predilection. Whatever could be supposed to have the remotest tendency to sedition, was held to subject the offender to martial law ; the murder of a naval or military officer, the importation of disloyal or traitorous books, or the resort to one place of several persons who possessed not the visible means of subsistence. Thus in 1595, under the pretence that the vagabonds in the neighbourhood of London were not to be restrained by the usual punishments, she ordered sir Thomas Wyllford to receive from the magistrates the most notorious and incorrigible of these offenders, and “ to execute them upon the gallows, according to the justice of martial law”<sup>88</sup>.

Another, and intolerable grievance was the discretionary power assumed by the queen, of gratifying her caprice or resentment

Imprisonment  
at her pleasure.

<sup>87</sup> D'Ewes, 661.

<sup>88</sup> Rymer, xvi. 279, 280.



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by the restraint or imprisonment of those who had given her offence. Such persons were ordered to present themselves daily before the council till they should receive further notice, or to confine themselves within their own doors, or were given in custody to some other person, or were thrown into a public prison. In this state they remained, according to the royal pleasure, for weeks, or months, or years, till they could obtain their liberty by their submission, or through the intercession of their friends, or with the payment of a valuable composition.

Extension of  
the law of  
treason.

The queen was not sparing of the blood of her subjects. The statutes inflicting death for religious opinion have been already noticed. In addition, many new felonies and new treasons were created during her reign; and the ingenuity of the judges gave to these enactments the most extensive application. In 1595 some apprentices in London conspired to release their companions, who had been condemned by the star-chamber to suffer punishment for a riot: in 1597 a number of peasants in Oxfordshire assembled to break down inclosures, and restore tillage: each of these offences, as it opposed the execution of the law, was pronounced treason by the judges; and both the apprentices in London, and the men of Oxfordshire, suffered the barbarous death of traitors<sup>89</sup>.

Subsidies and  
forced loans.

We are told that her parsimony was a blessing to the subject, and that the pecuniary aids voted to her by parliament were few and inconsiderable, in proportion to the length of her reign. They amounted to twenty subsidies, thirty tenths, and forty fifteenths. I know not how we are to arrive at the exact value of these grants: but they certainly exceed the average of the preceding reigns; and to them must be added the fines of recusants, the profits of monopolies, and the monies raised by forced

<sup>89</sup> Howell's State Trials, 1421.

loans : of which it is observed by Naunton, that “ she left more “ debts unpaid, taken upon credit of her privy seals, than her progenitors did take, or could have taken up, that were a hundred “ years before her”<sup>90</sup>.

The historians, who celebrate the golden days of Elizabeth, have described with a glowing pencil, the happiness of the people under her sway. To them might be opposed the dismal picture of national misery, drawn by the catholic writers of the same period. But both have taken too contracted a view of the subject. Religious dissension had divided the nation into opposite parties, of almost equal numbers, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under the operation of the penal statutes, many ancient and opulent families had been ground to the dust : new families had sprung up in their place : and these, as they shared the plunder, naturally eulogized the system to which they owed their wealth and their ascendancy. But their prosperity was not the prosperity of the nation : it was that of one-half obtained at the expense of the other.

It is evident that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers understood the benefits of civil and religious liberty. The prerogatives which she so highly prized, have long since withered away : the bloody code which she enacted against the rights of conscience, has ceased to stain the pages of the statute-book : and the result has proved, that the abolition of despotism and intolerance adds no less to the stability of the throne, than to the happiness of the people.

<sup>90</sup> Naunton, p. 88.

## NOTES.

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### NOTE (A), Page 10.

THE history of their interview is interesting. Ridley waited on Mary September 8, 1552, and was courteously received. After dinner he offered to preach before her in the church. She begged him to make the answer himself. He urged her again: she replied that he might preach: but that neither she, nor any of her's, would hear him. *Ridley*. "Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word." *Mary*. "I cannot tell what you call God's word. That is not God's word now which was God's word in my father's time." *Ridley*. "God's word is all one in all times: but is better understood and practised in some ages than in others." *Mary*. "You durst not for your ears have preached that for God's word in my father's time, which you do now. As for your new books, thank God, I never read them. I never did, nor ever will do." Soon afterwards she dismissed him with these words. "My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you: but for your offer to preach before me, I thank you not." As he retired, he drank according to custom with sir Thomas Wharton, the steward of her household; but suddenly his conscience smote him: "Surely," he exclaimed, "I have done wrong. I have drunk in that house in which God's word hath been refused. I ought, if I had done my duty, to have shaken the dust off my shoes for a testimony against this house." Fox, ii. 131.

### NOTE (B), Page 10.

It has been asserted, on the authority of Fox (iii. p. 12), that the protestants of Suffolk, before they would support the claim of Mary, extorted from her, as an indispensable condition, a promise to make no alteration in the religion established under Edward. Is this statement correct?

Fox himself has preserved a document, which proves that it is not. During the persecution, these very persons presented to the queen's commissioners a long petition in favour of their religion. It was certainly the time for them to have urged the promise, if



any had been given. But they appear to have no knowledge of any such thing. They do not make the remotest allusion to it. They speak, indeed, of their services: but instead of attributing them to the promise of the queen, they insinuate the contrary, by asserting that they supported her claim, because their religion taught them to support the rightful heir (Fox, iii. 578—583). To me, their silence on this occasion seems conclusive.

It has been thought a confirmation of the assertion of Fox, that Cobb presented to the queen, soon after her accession, a supplication in favour of the reformed creed, signed by 100 persons from Norfolk. But we know not the contents of the supplication: and it was proved that Cobb was an impostor, and that the signatures were forgeries. For the offence he stood in the pillory, November 24th, 1553.

A better confirmation may be found in Noailles, (iii. 16.) from whom we learn that Wyat and his accomplices charged the queen with having broken two promises: one not to make alterations in religion, another not to marry a foreigner. Yet little credit can be given to reports circulated by rebels to justify their rebellion. Both are probably fictions, the object of which was to irritate the people.

The only thing approaching to a promise which I can discover, is in the queen's speech to the lord mayor, on occasion of the tumult at St. Paul's cross. "She  
"meaned gratically not to compell or straine other men's consciences otherwise then  
"God should, as she trusted, put in their heartes a perswasyon of the truth thorough  
"the openinge of his worde unto them." (Council book, Archæol. xviii. 173.) However, as if she were apprehensive that her meaning might be misunderstood, in a few days she published a proclamation, in which she repeated the same, but with this addition: "untill such time as further order by common consent may be taken therein." Wilk. Con. iv. 86.

### NOTE (C), Page 34.

The principal persons restored were Gertrude the widow, and Courteney the son of the marquess of Exeter, Thomas Howard, son of the earl of Surrey, and the two daughters of lord Montague, who had suffered under Henry; Edward Seymour, son to the duke of Somerset, and the heirs of Arundel, Stanhope, and Partridge, who had been beheaded with Somerset, under Edward. The duke of Norfolk, who was supposed to have been attainted on the last day of Henry's life, did not ask for the same benefit. He denied the validity of the attainder. The case was argued before the judges at Sergeant's inn. The duke produced the original act, and the commission to give to it the royal assent. His counsel remarked, that, contrary to custom, the king's signature was placed, not above, but below the title; and that the letters were too perfect to have been made by a person at the point of death: whence they inferred that there was no

sufficient evidence of the royal assent having been given, and that of course the attainder was of no force. For greater security, however, a bill was passed, "to avoid" the attainder. When it was sent to the lower house, lord Paget appeared as a witness, and declared on his honour that the king did not sign the commission, but that a servant of the name of William Clark impressed on it the royal stamp. The patentees, who had purchased some of the duke's property, petitioned to be heard by counsel; but they afterwards referred the matter to arbitration, and the bill passed. Journals, 32. Dyer's Reports, 93. The duke had, however, taken the precaution to obtain a general pardon of all offences from the queen. Rymer, xv. 337.

### NOTE (D), Pages 100 and 106.

It may be asked why I have omitted the affecting martyrdom of the three women of Guernsey, and the preternatural death of Gardiner. My answer is, that I believe neither. 1°. The first rests on the doubtful authority of Fox, whose narrative was immediately contradicted and disproved by Harding. Fox replied, and Persons wrote in refutation of that reply. I have had the patience to compare both, and have no doubt that the three women were hanged as thieves, and afterwards burnt as heretics: that no one knew of the pregnancy of one of them, a woman of loose character; and that the child was found dead in the flames after the body of the mother had fallen from the gibbet. The rest we owe to the imagination of the martyrologist or of his informer. See Fox, iii. 625, and Person's Examination of Fox, part ii. p. 91.

2°. Fox tells us that Gardiner, on the 16th of October, invited to dinner the old duke of Norfolk: but so eagerly did he thirst after the blood of Ridley and Latimer, that he would not sit down to table, but kept the duke waiting some hours till the messenger arrived with the news of their execution. Then he ordered dinner: but in the midst of his triumph God struck him with a strangury: he was carried to his bed in intolerable torments; and never left it alive. (Fox, iii. 450.) Burnet has repeated the tale. (Burnet, ii. 329.) Yet it is plainly one of the silly stories palmed upon the credulity of the martyrologist: for,

1°. The old duke of Norfolk could not have been kept waiting; he had been twelve months in his grave. He was buried October 2d in the preceding year.

2°. Gardiner had already been ill for some time. Noailles (v. 127) informed his court, on the 9th of September, that the chancellor was indisposed with the jaundice, and in some danger.

3°. On the 6th of October he was worse, and in more danger from the dropsy than the jaundice. There was no probability that he would live till Christmas (v. 150.)

From the 7th to the 19th he was confined to his chamber; and left it for the first time that day to attend the parliament. These dates are irreconcilable with the story in Fox: according to which, he must have been seized with his disease on the 16th, and could never have appeared in public afterwards.

## NOTE (E), Page 133.

These distempers began during the drought in 1556. During the summer fevers prevailed: in the winter quartan agues, which generally proved fatal to those who had previously recovered from the fever. In 1557, the mortality was greater than before; and in 1558 it increased in a more alarming degree. "About August," (says Cooper) "the fevers raged again in such manner, as never plague or pestilence, I think, killed a greater number. If the people of the realm had been divided into four parts, certainly three parts out of those four, should have been found sick..... In some shires no gentleman almost escaped, but either himself or his wife or both were sick, and very many died..... In most poor men's houses, the master, dame, and servant were all sick in such manner, that one could not help another." Apud Strype, iii. 476.

## NOTE (F), Page 153.

In the first year of her reign, the queen gave the following explanation of her supremacy, in "an admonition to simple men, deceived by malicious."

"Her majesty forbiddeth all manner of her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notify to her loving subjects, how by words of the said oath it may be collected, that the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the church, wherein her said subjects be much abused by such evil-disposed persons. For certainly her majesty neither doth, nor ever will challenge any other authority, than that was challenged and lately used by the noble kings of famous memory, king Henry the eighth, and king Edward the sixth, which is, and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person, that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the said oath, shall accept the same oath with this interpretation,



“ sense or meaning ; her majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf,  
 “ as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties  
 “ contained in the said act against such, as shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to  
 “ take the same oath.”

This explanation satisfied many of the puritans: the catholics objected to it, that it seemed to give to her spiritual as well as civil authority, and at the same time excluded all spiritual jurisdiction derived from any foreign bishop.

### NOTE (G), Page 155.

It should be observed, that deprivation was not the only punishment inflicted on the catholic bishops for their nonconformity. They were objects of persecution, with perhaps one exception, as long as they lived. Those who had attended in parliament, were deprived immediately: the others were sent for from the country, and shared the fate of their brethren. All were placed under custody: and during the winter the sentence of excommunication was published against Heath and Thirlby, and in the summer against Bonner. By that time Tunstal of Durham, Morgan of St. David's, Ogilthorp of Carlisle, White of Winchester, and Baines of Coventry, had died of the contagious malady which prevailed. Scot of Chester, Goldwel of St. Asaph, and Pate of Worcester, found the means to retire to the continent. Of the remaining seven, Heath, after two or three imprisonments in the Tower, was permitted to live on his own property at Cobham in Surrey, where the queen, by whom he was greatly respected, occasionally honoured him with a visit. Bonner, after a confinement of ten years, died in the Marshalsea: Watson of Lincoln remained a prisoner twenty-three years, and died in Wisbeach castle. Thirlby of Ely, lived in the custody of archbishop Parker, and Bourne of Bath and Wells, in that of Dr. Carew, dean of Exeter. Turberville of Exeter, and Pool of Peterborough, were suffered to remain at their own houses on their recognizances not to leave them without licence. Feckhenham, abbot of Westminster, passed from the Tower to the custody of the bishop of London, then to that of the bishop of Winchester, and was at last confined in Wisbeach castle.

### NOTE (H), Page 156.

It may, perhaps, be expected that I should notice a story, which was once the subject of acrimonious controversy between the divines of the two communions. It was said that Kitchin and Scorey, with Parker and the other bishops elect, met in a tavern called the Nag's head, in Cheapside; that Kitchin, on account of a prohibition from

Bonner, refused to consecrate them, and that Scorey, therefore, ordering them to kneel down, placed the bible on the head of each, and told him to rise up bishop. The facts that are really known, are the following. The queen, from the beginning of her reign, had designed Parker for the archbishopric. After a long resistance he gave his consent; and a *cong   d'elire* was issued to the dean and chapter, July 18, 1559. He was chosen Aug. 1. On Sept. 9, the queen sent her mandate to Tunstal, bishop of Durham, Bourne of Bath and Wells, Pool of Peterborough, Kitchin of Llandaff, Barlow, the deprived bishop of Bath under Mary, and Scorey of Chichester, also deprived under Mary, to confirm and consecrate the archbishop elect. (Rym. xv. 541.) Kitchin had conformed: and it was hoped that the other three, who had not been present in parliament, might be induced to imitate his example. All three, however, refused to officiate; and in consequence the oath of supremacy was tendered to them (Rym. xv. 545); and their refusal to take it was followed by deprivation. In these circumstances no consecration took place: but three months later, (Dec. 6) the queen sent a second mandate, directed to Kitchin, Barlow, Scorey, Coverdale the deprived bishop of Exeter under Mary, John suffragan of Bedford, John suffragan of Thetford, and Bale bishop of Ossory, ordering them, or any four of them, to confirm and consecrate the archbishop elect: but with an additional clause, by which she, of her supreme royal authority, supplied whatever deficiency there might be according to the statutes of the realm, or the laws of the church, either in the acts done by them, or in the person, state, or faculty of any of them, such being the necessity of the case, and the urgency of the time. (Rym. xv. 549.) Kitchin again appears to have declined the office. But Barlow, Scorey, Coverdale, and Hodgskins suffragan of Bedford, confirmed the election on the 9th; and consecrated Parker on the 17th. The ceremony was performed, though with a little variation, according to the ordinal of Edward VI. Two of the consecrators, Barlow and Hodgskins, had been ordained bishops according to the Roman pontifical, the other two according to the reformed ordinal. (Wilk. Con. iv. 198.) Of this consecration on the 17th of December, there can be no doubt: perhaps in the interval between the refusal of the catholic prelates, and the performance of the ceremony, some meeting may have taken place at the Nag's head, which gave rise to the story.

### NOTE (I), Page 167.

Elizabeth's objections to Knox, arose from two causes; his antipathy to the English liturgy, which had been shewn at Frankfort and Geneva; and his doctrine respecting the incapacity of women to exercise the sovereign authority. This he had published in his "first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment (government) of wo-

“men :” to which he had threatened to add two other blasts still more sharp and vehement. In the first, he taught that the rule of a woman was “repugnant to nature, “a contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally the subversion of all equity and justice :” in the second blast he intended to teach, that governors ought to be chosen according to God’s ordinance : that no manifest idolator, no notorious transgressor of God’s holy word, should be promoted to any regiment : that no oaths nor promises could bind the people to obey and maintain tyrants against God and his known truth : and that those who had appointed a governor, might lawfully depose and punish him, if he shewed himself unworthy of the regiment over the people of God. Strype, 122. Knox, Hist. 478. At the time of the first blast, Mary of England was alive : nor did he foresee the elevation to the throne of another woman, a friend to the reformation. To recover her favour, he acknowledged to her and to Cecil, that she was an exception from the general rule ; that her whole life had been a miracle, which proved that she had been chosen by God ; that the office, which was unlawful to other women, was lawful to her ; and, that on these grounds he was ready to obey, and maintain her authority. Strype, 121. Elizabeth did not suffer herself to be cajoled by the flattery of the apostle, nor persuaded by the policy of Throckmorton, who interceded in his favour. “Considering what Knoke is hable to do in Scotland, whiche is very muche, all this turmoil there being by him “stirred as it is, it shuld stand your majesty in stede his former faultes were forgotten.” Forbes, 130. Cecil was obliged to caution his correspondents not to mention the name of Knox. “Of all others, Knoxees name, if it be not Goodman’s, is most “odiose here : and therefore I wish no mention of hym hither.” Cecil to Sadler and Croft. (Sadler, i. 532.)

Goodman had been joint minister with Knox at Geneva, and had published, in 1558, his celebrated treatise : “How superior powers ought to be obeyd, and wherein they “may lawfully by God’s worde be disobeyed and resisted.” In it he repeated the doctrine of his associate respecting the political incapacity of females, and taught that kings and magistrates might lawfully be deposed and punished by their subjects, if they became wicked or tyrannical. He joined Knox in Scotland : but, though he had many friends, it was long before Elizabeth would allow him to set his foot in England. At his return, he submitted to recant his obnoxious doctrine, first in 1565, and again in 1571. Strype, i. 126. ii. 95, 96.

As soon as Elizabeth ascended the throne, the exiles, after some consultation, appointed Aylmer to appease the queen, by writing in favour of female government against Knox and Goodman. His tract was entitled “An Harborowe for faithful and “trewe subjectes against the late blowne blaste concerning the government of women. “MDLIX. at Strasborowe the 26th of April.” This tract made his fortune : the queen gave him preferment in the church, and in due time he was raised to the see of



London. In his work he had advised the prelates to be content with "priest-like," and not to seek after "prince-like fortunes:" but the bishop forgot the lessons of the exile: and being reminded of his doctrine, he replied: "when I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things." 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

## NOTE (K), Page 183.

Whitaker, in his vindication of Mary, persuaded himself that he had made an important discovery with respect to this treaty. In a long and laboured note, appended to his third volume (p. 463.) he contends, that the treaty is a forgery, executed with the connivance of Cecil and Wotton, for the purpose of depriving Francis and Mary of all real authority within the kingdom of Scotland. The same opinion has been recently maintained, and enforced with additional arguments, by Mr. Chalmers in his valuable *Life of Mary* (vol. ii. p. 411). Feeling myself obliged to dissent from these authorities, I may be allowed to state the reasons why I believe in the authenticity of the treaty.

No one acquainted with the real history of the time can, in my opinion, doubt of the following facts: 1°. that an accord or treaty of some description or other was negotiated at Edinburgh, between the lords of the congregation and Montluc and Randan, the French commissioners. (See Haynes' *State papers*, i. 329. 331—341.)

2°. That the substance of that treaty, as it was communicated by Cecil and Wotton to Elizabeth (July 6, Haynes, 351), agrees with the articles of the treaty, the authenticity of which is now called in question; whence it follows that, if the forgery was committed at all, it was committed at the very time, when the real treaty was concluded. (Haynes, 351. 355.)

3°. That within a month afterwards the treaty, now said to be a forgery, was laid before the Scottish parliament, and was acted upon by it as if it were a real treaty. (Keith, 152.)

4°. That the same treaty was sent to France by the lord of St. John's, with a request to the king and queen to ratify it as if it were a real treaty. (Keith, *ibid.* Hardwicke *State papers*, i. 126.)

5°. That they refused the ratification, on the ground that the Scottish lords had not complied with the obligations prescribed by it. (*Ibid.* 126—138.)

Now these facts seem to me to place the authenticity of the instrument beyond contradiction. Would Cecil and Wotton have dared to deceive their own sovereign by palming on her a spurious in place of a real treaty? Would the fabricators of the supposed forgery have ventured to lay it immediately before the parliament, in which sate many

persons both able and interested to detect the fraud? Would they have had the effrontery to ask the ratification of a forgery from the king and queen, who must have had the real treaty in their possession? Or would Francis and Mary have hesitated to ground their refusal of ratification on the fraud, if any fraud had existed? I see not how these questions can be satisfactorily answered in the hypothesis maintained by Whitaker.

But the reader will ask what are the reasons which induced him to pronounce the treaty a forgery? 1°. The originals do not exist either in the archives of France or those of Scotland. How comes it that we have only an attested copy preserved by Cecil?—But surely the non-existence of the originals at present does not prove that they did not exist formerly. As the treaty was not ratified, the originals may have been destroyed by order of Mary.

2°. The commission before the treaty is dated in the sixteenth instead of the eighteenth year of Mary. This anachronism is, in the judgment of Whitaker, a convincing proof of the forgery. To me it appears to prove nothing more than the error of the copyist. Had Cecil and Wotton, or the lord James and Maitland, forged the commission, we may be assured that they would have been careful to date it correctly.

3°. But the commission contradicts itself. On the 2d of June, it orders the ambassadors to proceed to the frontiers of Scotland, though the French ministers must have known that they were already preparing for that journey in virtue of a previous commission, dated May 2. The answer is easy. The first commission did not empower them to treat with the Scots: to remedy this defect, they wrote for a second commission, and desired it might be sent after them.

The other arguments adduced against the authenticity of the treaty, are all founded on mere conjectures, and appear to me of no force whatever, when opposed to the facts already mentioned.

### NOTE (L), Page 185.

By the 13th article, it was stipulated that “if any bishops, abbots or ecclesiastical persons should make complaint, that they had received any harm either in their person or goods, these complaints should be taken into consideration by the estates in parliament, and such reparation should be appointed, as to the said estates might appear reasonable.” On this article, Cecil observed at the time, “which reparation me thinketh shall be light ynough.” (Haynes, 356.) So it proved. Numbers of complaints were delivered; but no answer could be procured till the last day of parliament. Then the bishops and abbots were compelled to leave the house, on account of their refusal to subscribe the confession of faith prepared by Knox: at five o’clock, when they were all departed, they were called, and “because na man comparit of the kirkmen, that gaif in thair billis of complaint, nor nain for tham to declare in special

“quhairin they wer hurt, efter thai war twyse callit upon, the lordis and nobilitie had  
“don thair dutie conform to the articles of the peac.” (Keith, 151. 488.)

### NOTE (M), Page 207.

By the adoption of the thirty-nine articles the seal was put to the reformation in England. A new church was built on the ruins of the old: and it will be the object of this note to point out to the reader how far these churches agreed, how far they disagreed, in their respective creeds.

1°. They both taught that there is but one God, that in the unity of the Godhead are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: that the Son took to himself the nature of man; that he offered himself a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual; and that his is the only name whereby man must be saved.

2°. They equally admitted the three symbols, usually denominated the apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds.

3°. They equally revered the holy scriptures as the true word of God. But here they began to differ. 1°. Several books of the Jewish scriptures were pronounced apocryphal by the new, while they were admitted as canonical by the old church. 2°. The former maintained that all doctrines, taught by Christ and his apostles, had been recorded in the scriptures; the latter that many things, such as the baptism of infants, the obligation of observing the Sunday instead of the Sabbath, &c., had been taught by Christ or his apostles, and yet had not been recorded in the scriptures, but were known only by tradition.

4°. Both agreed that “the church hath a right to decree rites and ceremonies, and hath authority in controversies of faith;” but the articles seemed to nullify this authority by restrictions. The church could decide nothing but what is contained in the scriptures; could not assemble in general council without the command and will of princes; and when so assembled, was liable to err, and had actually erred. The old church allowed not such authority to princes, and maintained that Christ, according to his promises in the scripture, would so watch over his church assembled in general council, as not to suffer it to fall into any essential error, either in faith or discipline.

5°. Both equally required vocation and mission in their ministers; and both intrusted the government of the church to bishops, as the highest order in the hierarchy. But the old church, while it admitted no ecclesiastical authority in the prince as prince, acknowledged in the bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, a primacy of order and jurisdiction throughout the universal church: the new refused to the bishop of Rome any jurisdiction within the realm, and considered the sovereign as supreme, even in ecclesiastical government.



6°. Both equally taught that the justification of the sinner cannot be acquired or deserved by any natural effort, and that it is given gratis on account of the merits of Christ; but in this they differed, or perhaps seemed to differ, that the one inculcated justification by faith only, the other, in addition to faith, required both hope and charity.

7°. That the sacraments are efficacious signs of grace, by which God worketh invisibly in us, was taught by both: but the seven sacraments of the catholics,—viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, holy order, extreme unction, and matrimony, were by the articles reduced to two,—viz. baptism and the eucharist.

8°. The most important points, in which they differed, regarded the eucharist. The English reformers taught, that in the sacrament “the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner:” the catholics, “after a real though spiritual and sacramental manner:” the former declared, that the doctrine of transubstantiation could not be proved from the words of scripture; the latter, that it necessarily followed from the words of scripture—the first, that the communion ought to be administered to laymen under both kinds, according to the institution and the command of Christ; the others, that communion under both kinds does not follow from the institution, and is not prescribed by the command of Christ.

9°. By the articles the mass was pronounced a blasphemous forgery, on the ground that there can be no other sacrifice for sin, than that which was offered upon the cross: according to the catholics, the mass is a true propitiatory sacrifice, commemorative of that formerly offered on the cross.

10°. The articles condemned, but in general terms, and without any explanation, the doctrines of—1, purgatory; 2, pardons; 3, the veneration and adoration of relics and images; and 4, the invocation of the saints. The catholics taught—1°. that the souls of men who depart this life, neither so wicked as to deserve the punishment of hell, nor so pure as to be admitted there, “where nothing defiled can enter,” are immediately after death placed in a state of purgation: 2°. that pardons of the temporal punishment of sin, called indulgences, are useful, and to be retained: 3°. that it is lawful to shew an inferior respect or veneration to the remains of holy persons, and to the images of Christ and his saints: 4°. that it is also lawful to solicit the departed saints to join their prayers with ours, “to beg for us benefits from God through his Son “Jesus Christ, our only saviour and redeemer.” *Con. Trid. Sess. xxv.*

### NOTE (N), Page 217.

1. By act of parliament the crown had been limited to the three children of Henry VIII., Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, and failing them, to such persons as the king, by his last will, signed with his own hand, should appoint.

2. After his death, a will, purporting to be his, was produced: and by it the succession was limited, after the heirs of his own children, to the heirs of his second sister Mary, wife of the duke of Suffolk, to the exclusion of the heirs of his eldest sister, Margaret, married first to James, king of Scotland, and afterwards to Archibald, earl of Angus.

3. Considerable doubt was entertained of the authenticity of the will attributed to Henry. Under Mary it was pronounced spurious by the privy council: by Elizabeth it was never suffered to be mentioned.

4. By hereditary descent, Mary of Scotland was the next claimant, as the representative of her grandmother Margaret, and after her the countess of Lennox, as the daughter of the same Margaret, by her second husband, the earl of Angus.

5. The protestants dreaded the succession of Mary, on account of her religion. To remove her, it was contended that by the law of England, no person born of foreign parents, and in a foreign realm, could inherit in England: and therefore that, as she came under this description, being born in Scotland, and the daughter of king James and Mary of Lorrain, the succession belonged to the next of blood, the countess of Lennox, whose mother was an English woman, and who had been born in England. To this it was victoriously answered, that the law in question was confined to private inheritances, and did not regard the succession to the crown.

6. The partisans of the house of Suffolk maintained that the objection was valid; and that it applied not only to the Scottish queen, but also to the countess of Lennox. They argued that, when the father and mother were of different conditions, the child followed the father; and that as he was a foreigner, his daughter was a foreigner too: nor did it matter that she was born at Harbottle in England, for the earl and his wife did not dwell here as subjects to the king, but were merely strangers on their passage through the kingdom.

7. Elizabeth herself would give no opinion, nor suffer others to give any opinion, on these pretensions. Sensible of the insecurity of her own claim, she looked with a jealous eye on all, who had any pretensions to the succession, and seemed to fear that, if the right were decided in favour of any person, that person might supersede her on the throne.

8. Mary, from whom the house of Suffolk claimed, left two daughters, Frances and Eleanor. Of the three daughters of Frances, one only, by name Catharine, left issue. She was first married to the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards divorced from him. In August, 1561, it was perceived that she was pregnant. She declared that she had been married privately to Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford; but was committed by Elizabeth to the Tower, who pretended to believe that "since the death of the lady Jane (her sister), she had been privie to many great practices and pur-  
" poses," Haynes, 369; though Cecil asserts that he could find nothing in it. A child

1561.  
Aug. 17.

1562.  
Feb.

was born: Hertford was sent for from France: and the queen ordered the archbishop to inquire into the validity of their union. "Nobody appeared privy to the marriage, nor to the love, but maids," (Hardwicke papers, i. 177)—and the archbishop pronounced them both guilty of an illicit intercourse, and ordered them to be punished according to the queen's pleasure. The lady Catharine was still kept in confinement: but Hertford again found access to her, and she was delivered of another child in the Tower. He had appealed from the sentence of the archbishop, and maintained that the marriage was valid: but was now called before the star-chamber, fined in the sum of £5000, and kept in custody for the space of nine years. She also continued a prisoner till her death. Camden, 89, 90.

Hales, clerk of the hanaper, was the legal adviser of Hertford. In his zeal to serve his client, he committed himself so far as to write a book, in which he attempted to prove the claim of the house of Suffolk to the succession, and that of course the next heir was the lady Catharine. Cecil, from motives of policy or interest, supported, as far as he durst, the same opinion: Bacon was less cautious, and even assisted Hales. The queen sent the latter to the Tower; and to shew her displeasure to Bacon, excluded him from the council, and ordered him to confine himself to the business of the chancery.

If the succession were in the house of Suffolk, it undoubtedly belonged to the lady Catharine, as representative of her mother, the eldest daughter of the French queen. In parliament, however, there appeared a party, which supported the claim of Margaret, married to Ferdinando Stanley, son of the earl of Derby, as the representative of the lady Eleanor, her mother, who was second daughter of the French queen. On what ground this party excluded the lady Catharine, I know not.

There was another party in parliament which maintained the exclusion of the issue of Margaret, the Scottish queen, for the reasons already alleged; and also the exclusion of the issue of Mary, the French queen, because, as they asserted, she could not be the lawful wife of the duke of Suffolk, he having at the time a lawful wife living, of the name of Mortimer (Haynes, 412). Hence they sought the true heir among the descendants of the house of York, and fixed on the earl of Huntingdon, sprung from George, duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. His mother was daughter to lord Montague, and grand-daughter to the countess of Salisbury, executed by Henry VIII. The very mention of a successor alarmed the jealousy of Elizabeth: and the earl, fearful of becoming the object of her displeasure, wrote to the earl of Leicester, maintaining his own loyalty, and soliciting the protection of that favourite. See the letter in the Hardwicke papers, i. 187.



## NOTE (O), Page 243.

From a contemporary drawing in the Paper-office, a print of which has been given by Mr. Chalmers, i. 204, it appears that the house of Kirk-o'-field was not so solitary as has been represented. It stood on one side of a large quadrangular court. Of the other three sides, that on the left hand was occupied by an extensive building, probably Hamilton house; that on the right by seven small cottages. The opposite side presented a dead wall.

The only apartments of the house which are mentioned, are a gallery, in which the servants slept, the king's bed-chamber, the queen's bed-chamber immediately under it, a kitchen and a cellar. Into the latter a door opened through the town wall. It was locked, and the key was retained by the owner of the house.

From this description, and the fact that the building was destroyed even to "the grund-stone," it is natural to conclude that the powder was introduced through the outer door into the cellar. But a very different story is told in the confessions of those who were executed.

If we believe these instruments, the powder was conveyed on horseback on the evening of the murder, between the hours of ten and eleven, from Bothwell's lodgings in Holyrood house, by the Netherbow, up the high street, and down Blackfriars wynd, to the door which led into the garden of the Blackfriars. This was done twice, as there was too great a quantity for one horse load. It was then poured out of the trunks into bags, carried through the garden and over the wall, which separated the garden from the Kirk-o'-field, to the back door of the house. There it was found that an empty barrel, which the conspirators had also brought with them, was too large for admission. They left it without, and poured the powder in a heap on the floor of the queen's bed-chamber.

1°. Now the space of an hour, the time allotted for all this, seems much too short; particularly if we consider that the distance was nearly a mile, which, with the returns, made the space travelled over by the horse alone equal to almost four miles.

2°. It is difficult to conceive how, in this case, the conspirators could escape detection. They could not pass the Netherbow four times without being seen and remarked by the sentinels; and as they led the horse four times through the most frequented streets of the city, they must have been met by some of the inhabitants. Then at Kirk-o'-field itself they would incur considerable danger, as the queen with several noblemen was there, and their servants were in waiting to conduct them back by torch light.

3°. The confessions were not voluntary : they were wrung from the prisoners by torture, before their trials. On such occasions men are often willing to give any answers which may be desired.

4°. Powrie's first confession is contradicted by his second. In the first he has two horses, and makes one journey ; in the second he has but one horse, and makes two journeys.

On these accounts I am inclined to refuse credit to these confessions ; at the same time, I must own that I cannot assign any adequate cause for the falsehood. Certainly the object could not have been to connect Mary with the murder : for the confessions do not accuse her—nor to divert the public attention from the real mine in the cellar ; for the first confession was made four months after the murder, and the others much later. It is a difficulty which I cannot solve.

Besides these confessions made under torture, the unhappy men spoke to the spectators at their execution. "We can tell you," says the bishop of Ross, addressing the king's lords, "and so can five thousand and more of their own hearing, that John Hepburn did openly cry and testify, as he should answer to the contrary before God, that you were principal authors, counsellors and assisters with his master (Bothwell) of this infamous murder, and that his said master told him so : we can tell you that Hay, Powrie, Dalgleish, and Paris, took God to record at the time of their death ; that this murder was by your counsel, invention, and drift committed, who also declared that they never knew the queen to be participant or aware thereof." Anderson, i. 76, 77. Mr. Laing boldly asserts all this to be falsehood ; I do not see how he proves it.

### NOTE (P), Pages 262 and 279.

Whether the letters produced by Murray at York and Westminster, were genuine or not, is a question which has given birth to a voluminous controversy. If the reader wish to see it treated at length, he may have recourse to Goodall, Tytler, Robertson Hume, Stuart, Whitaker, and Laing. I shall only subjoin a few remarks.

1°. From the mere perusal of the letters, the reader would conclude that Bothwell and Mary were the only conspirators. If she were an accomplice, she must have known how deeply Maitland and Morton were concerned in the plot : and yet, with respect to them, she is as guarded in the letters, as if they had been written by themselves. I observe the same in all the confessions taken before the conferences at York and Westminster. There Maitland and Morton are never mentioned. But after the conferences, Maitland deserted the party : the confession of Paris was taken ; and

here for the first time we meet with hints of the guilt of Maitland. All this wears the appearance of fraud.

2°. When the casket was exhibited before the English commissioners, it contained, besides letters, contracts and sonnets, which Morton swore had been found in it at the time it first came into his possession. Yet in the preceding December, nothing but letters were produced from it, either in the council, or the parliament. How came the contracts and sonnets to be then suppressed, if they existed at all?

Mr. Laing pretends that the objection arises from ignorance. Englishmen are not aware that almost all kinds of writings were called letters in the Scottish dialect. But, admitting this, it may be asked, whether any writings but epistolary correspondence, were called "*privie* letters." They were privy letters, on which the act of council, and the act of parliament, were founded.

3. On the 4th of December, Murray and twenty-seven privy counsellors described these letters as written and *subscribed* by the queen: ten days later the parliament represented them, not as subscribed at all by her, (nor was it ever afterwards pretended,) but as "written *halelie*," (wholly) with her own hand. This alteration furnishes another cause to suspect fraud.

I shall not notice the answers of Hume and Robertson. Mr. Laing suggests that *and* is a mistake of the copyist for *or*; and that it was in the original "written or subscribed with her own hand:" in the same manner as Murray and his associates, in their declaration make oath, that they are written *or* subscribed by her. (Goodall, ii. 92.)

This appears to me the best answer which has yet been given. It does not, however, entirely do away the difficulty. That some correction in the act of council was thought necessary, preparatory to its being laid before parliament, appears from the introduction of the word "*halelie*," and the omission of the word "subscribed;" and it should be observed that, in the passage quoted from Murray, the letters are expressly distinguished from the contracts and sonnets. No such distinction is to be found in the act of council.

4°. There is a strong chronological objection, which Mr. Laing labours in vain to remove. The two first letters are said to have been written on the 23d and 24th of January; and to have been answered from Edinburgh by Bothwell on the 24th and 25th. The last answer was written by him after dinner. Now, if we believe Murray's Diary, Bothwell left Edinburgh to go into Liddesdale, on the night of the 24th, and returned only on the 28th. Here is evidently a contradiction.

To solve the difficulty, Mr. Laing pretends that Bothwell did not leave Edinburgh till the evening of the 25th; that he then went in company with Maitland to consult Morton at Whittingham; and that they returned together on the 28th. To conceal their



conference, it was thought best to say, that they had been into Liddesdale, and to antedate the time of their departure, on account of the greater length of the journey.

But, 1°. if this be true, what credit can be given to any documents produced by such witnesses? The men who could falsify the Diary to screen Morton and Maitland, might equally falsify letters to convict Mary. 2°. The whole is a fiction. The earl of Bedford, on the 23d, wrote to Elizabeth, that the meeting at Whittingham had already taken place. Of course the 25th is several days too late.

5°. Mary is represented as writing two of the letters, one on a very trifling subject, on the two nights that she remained at the house of Kirk-o'-field. This almost exceeds belief. Bothwell had but just left her; he was gone no further than his lodgings in Holyrood house; he would be in her company in the morning; and yet the queen, instead of retiring to rest, sits up to write to him letters of no consequence, and sends a servant after midnight to awaken him out of his sleep, and deliver them into his hands!

6°. If Mary wrote the letters at all, it would be in the French language. It has been proved beyond contradiction, that the French letters which we have, are not originals, but translations. This was thought a most victorious proof of the forgery. But Mr. Laing has victoriously refuted it, by shewing that our French letters are not copies of the original French letters, but, by the avowal of the editor, translations made by him from a Latin translation. The letters had been "*traduites entieres-ment en Latin;*" and the editor, "*n'ayant connoissance de la langue Escossoise, aima mieux exprimer tout ce qu'il avoit trouvé en Latin.*" Apud Laing, i. 270. There is little probability, therefore, that the original French letters will ever be laid before the public. A copy of one only has been discovered and published by Laing, from the state-paper office. (ii. 102.) It is one of the least important, No. IV. but much more intelligible than any of the translations, and of a nature to make us regret the loss of the others.

7°. For my own part I have little doubt that the letters were for the most part written by Mary. But, in this hypothesis, two questions will arise, to which her adversaries will not be able to give satisfactory answers. 1°. To whom were they written? Those in the casket were exhibited without any address. For ought we know, they might be written to different persons. Two of them appear to me to have been letters sent by her long before to Darnley. 2°. Were they originally written, as they afterwards appeared? It was easy to collect several of the queen's letters, to omit some passages, alter others, insert hints here and there, and by describing them as written to Bothwell, and on particular occasions, to give to them a character of criminality, which they did not originally possess. This appears to me to have been the meaning of the queen's lords in their instructions, Sep. 12, 1568, where they say, that "in the writings produced in

“parliament, there was no plain mention made, by the which her highness might be convicted, albeit it were her own hand writ, as it was not; and also the same was *culled by themselves in some principal and substantious clauses.*” Goodall, ii. 361. Laing, i. 208.

8°. We have before seen, that a copy of the Scottish translation had been furtively communicated to the queen before the conferences. Hence she was better prepared to instruct her commissioners. Her words to them are, “In case they allege they have any writings of mine, which may infer presumption against me in this case, you shall desire the principals (originals) to be produced, and that I myself have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto. For ye shall affirm in my name, I never writ any thing concerning that matter to any creature: and, if any such writings be, they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves, only to my dishonour and slander: and there are divers in Scotland, both men and women, that can counterfeit my hand-writing, and write the like manner of writing which I use, as well as myself, and principally such as are in company with themselves. And I doubt not, if I had remained in my own realm, but I would have gotten knowledge of the inventers and writers of such writing ere now, to the declaration of my innocence, and confusion of their falsehood.” Goodall, ii. 342.

#### NOTE (Q), Pages 291 and 295.

It must be admitted that both the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and the chief of their followers, were catholics: that Morton had informed them of the papal process against Elizabeth, and of the sentence which in a short time would be published against her: and that in their proclamation at Durham, and in their applications for aid to foreign powers, they professed to have in view the restoration of the catholic worship.

This, however, was only a secondary object. They sought in the first place the liberation of the Scottish queen. All of them had been her partisans from her first arrival in England; they had lately undertaken to intercept Murray in his return from the conferences, and they were impatient advocates for her marriage with Norfolk. It was the decided opinion of Elizabeth, of her ministers, and of their own agents, that the restoration of religion was only a pretext to cover their real design, and to multiply their adherents. This will appear from the following quotations.

“It is very true that they only coloured outwardly their rebellious attempts with a pretence of religion. It is well known that the principal cause of that rebellion was wrought (you will not say by the queen of Scots) but sure you are, by her ministers both here and in Scotland, and by some of the principal parties of the nobility in

“Scotland that do hate Roman religion.” Digges, 3. “She by her ministers entered into such an intelligence with certain of our noblemen in the north part of our realm, as they now since Michaelmas burst out into open rebellion, making their outward show of intent to change the state of religion contrary to the laws of our realm: but in very deed, as manifestly it is to us more known and truly discovered, their meaning was to set her up, not only in her own country, but in this our realm.” Ibid. 15. The queen writes to Sussex: “These rebels do make religion to be the shew of their enterprise, where in very deed, as yourself well knoweth, their intention is grounded upon another devise.” Haynes, 556. She desires Shrewsbury “to look to the person of her, whom the world beholdeth to be the principal hidden cause of these troubles.” Haynes, 563. “The rebels make religion the colour of their rebellion.” Sadler, ii. 43. 55. “Their meaning was to have kept the Scots queen in England after her deliverance, if they had been able, and if not, then to have gone into Flanders or Scotland.” Murdin, 64. Hamelyn, Northumberland’s agent, says in his confession, “that the setting up the mass was meant to provoke the people, but the principal intent was to put the quene of Scots to liberty, and, as he thinketh, to make her quene of England.” Haynes, 596. Bishop wrote to Mary to stay the rebellion, because “he was resolved in his own opinion that the cause of the rebellion was for the cause of the said Scots queen.” Murdin, 216.

### NOTE (R), Page 311.

During these conferences Morton received a letter from Frederick king of Denmark, directed to Lennox the Scottish regent. A captain Clark, who had formerly received a commission to levy soldiers for the Dane in Scotland, had been persuaded to aid, with the troops under his orders, the associated lords, when they met Mary and Bothwell on Carberry hill. Bothwell, who had fled to Denmark, remembered the injury, and revenged himself by some accusation, which he brought against Clark, perhaps on this very ground, that he had employed Danish soldiers against the Scottish queen. Both Elizabeth and Lennox wrote earnestly to Frederick in favour of the accused, and demanded that Bothwell should be sent to England or Scotland, that he might be punished for the murder of Darnley. (See the letters in Laing, ii. 331. 1569, 1570.) It was the answer of the king (January 20, 1571), sent by Thomas Buchanan, which fell into the hands of Morton. His anxiety to know the contents induced him to open it: and he kept it by him nearly a month before he forwarded it to the regent. His excuse for opening it was, that “he judged some things might be specified in it, which it might be expedient to be remembered upon there” (in London): and for not sending it,



his apprehensions that it might be intercepted, "for that he had no will the contents of the same should be known, fearing that some words and matters mentioned in the same being dispersed as news, should rather have injured than furthered the cause." Elizabeth requested to see the letter: but he, pretending that he had sent the original away, gave her a copy, in which he omitted what he "thought not meet to be shewn." (March 24, 1571. Goodall, ii. 382.)

It is probable that in this letter there was some account of Bothwell's defence of himself, implicating Morton, and perhaps vindicating Mary: for it was calculated "to hinder, not further the cause." The letter was never seen afterwards: but it appears that the king refused to deliver up Bothwell, unless the English queen and the estates would bind themselves by solemn writings, which should be sent to Denmark against the 24th of August, that Bothwell should have a fair trial. Lennox (May 25) asked the advice of Elizabeth on this subject. With her answer we are not acquainted. Tytler, ii. 198—204.

I will here add, on the subject of Bothwell, a clause in the act of forfeiture against him, which was purposely omitted in the copy sent to Elizabeth. "*In dicto mense Aprilis dilectos consiliarios nostros Georgium comitem de Huntlie cancellarium nostrum, Wilelmum Maitland de Lethingtoun Juniozem secretarium, secreti consilii ac sessionis dominos, quum alloquium eorum amenter desideraret, quum nihil minus suspicarent, captivos apprehendit, ac in dicto castro de Dunbar incarceravit eos ad spacium decem dierum aut eocirca, detinendo eos, assentire cogendo, saltem dicere quod assentiebant, ad promovendum omnia sua proditoria et nepharia facinora, precipue matrimonium pretensum inter eum et dictam charissimam matrem nostram. Inde manifestissime crimen lese majestatis incurrendo, auctoritatemque regiam in se acceptando, dictis consiliariis nostris minime vocatis, aut pro ullo crimine arrestatis, nullam ad hoc commissionem habendo.*" Act. Parl. iii. p. 8. Hence it appears, that Huntley and Maitland were not dismissed the next morning, as I have asserted from Melville, but remained at Dunbar, probably in concert with Bothwell.

### NOTE (S), Page 319.

It will, perhaps, be expected that I should mention the extraordinary case of Storey, doctor of civil law, and once an eminent speaker in parliament. He had gone abroad in Edward's reign, and returning in that of Mary, had been made assessor to Bonner during the persecution. In the house of commons he openly professed his disapprobation of the lenity shewn to the higher, and the severity practised towards the lower classes. "If," he said, "you wish to destroy the tree, you should go to the root, instead of

“lopping off the branches.” This expression was afterwards construed as an allusion to Elizabeth; and Storey was confined for some years in the Tower. He escaped, obtained leave to go abroad, and settled in Flanders. Here poverty compelled the old man (he was in his sixty-seventh year) to accept a place in the customs: and during the non-intercourse between the two countries, under the administration of Alva, he had been instrumental in the seizure of some goods, belonging to English merchants. They, however, had their revenge. He was decoyed on board a vessel, brought to London, and lodged in the Tower. After several examinations he was placed at the bar, ignorant of the specific charge against him (May 26, 1571). The indictment accused him of treason, for having written letters to excite the late rebellion in the north. If we may believe his protestations at Tyburn, and his last letter to his wife, the charge was groundless: but he refused to plead at all. The queen, he said, had discharged him from his allegiance, and he was become the subject of another prince. When he was told that he was born in England, he replied that every man is born free to leave a country, if he does not approve of its institutions. He had done so, and had sworn allegiance to Philip. Flanders was now his country: they had brought him thence by force, and were bound in justice to carry him back. His denial of allegiance was taken as a sufficient proof against him: and he received the judgment, and suffered the punishment, of a traitor (June 1). To me there appears more of revenge than of justice in his fate. Compare Camden, 243, the government account in Howell’s State Trials, 1087—1096, Strype, ii. 82, and Bridgewater, 43.

#### NOTE (T), Page 335.

I had originally inserted in the text a narrative of this bloody transaction: but as it is not immediately connected with the history of England, I have since preferred to give it a place among the notes. The reader will observe that I have not adopted the usual hypothesis, that the massacre was the result of a premeditated plot, concealed, with infinite cunning, for the space of several months: but he may be assured, that my opinion was not formed till after a diligent perusal and comparison of the most authentic documents on the subject.

From the fall of the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni had been the acknowledged leader of the French huguenots. He maintained accredited agents in most of the foreign courts, that had abandoned the ancient faith, and he ruled among his partisans at home with the authority of a sovereign prince. Monthly contributions for the support of “the cause” were poured into his treasury: officers, whose duty it was

to execute his orders, were stationed in every province, and thousands of soldiers were always ready to hasten into the field at his call<sup>1</sup>. So powerful a nobleman, who had twice led his army against that of the crown, was naturally an object of jealousy to the administration: but he had of late obtained a considerable ascendancy over the mind of the young king, by hinting suspicions of the designs of the queen mother, by exhorting Charles to take a more decided part in the government of the kingdom, and by proposing to him the conquest of the Netherlands, during the contest between the king of Spain and the insurgents. This project gratified the ambition of the young monarch: he allowed the admiral to furnish count Lewis of Nassau with five thousand Gascons to invade the county of Hainault<sup>2</sup>: was perpetually in his company, when he was at court; and if he were absent, maintained an active correspondence with him by letter. The queen mother began to tremble for her own power: she resolved, with the duke of Anjou, to dissuade her son from taking any part in the war in Flanders, and undertook to detach him from all connexion with the leader of the huguenots.

May.

Since the assassination of the duke of Guise, Coligni had ventured but once to enter the city of Paris. He was at last drawn to that capital, by the invitation of Charles, who wished him to be present at the marriage of his sister Margaret with the king of Navarre; by the solicitation of Elizabeth, who requested him to aid and instruct her ambassador; and chiefly, perhaps, by his own anxiety to promote his favourite project of a war against the duke of Alva. The ardour, with which it had been originally received by the king, had been lately cooled by the defeat of Janlis, one of the commanders of the insurgents, and by the warm remonstrances of Catharine. The admiral repeated his former arguments; offered the king an army of ten thousand huguenots; declared that if he refused to aid the protestants in Flanders, those in France would again be compelled to take up arms for their own safety<sup>3</sup>: and exhorted him to throw off the tutelage of an ambitious mother, who kept the sovereign in the back ground, that she might bring forward a favourite son, and perpetuate her own

<sup>1</sup> "Par les quels (his papers) il a apparu au roi, que ledit amiral avoit etabli es seize provinces de son royaume, des gouverneurs, des chefs de guerre, avec certain nombre de conseillers, qui avoient charge de tenir le peuple armé, le mettre ensemble et en armes aux premiers mandemens de sa part, auxquelles estoit donné pouvoir de lever annuellement sur les sujets de sa majesté notable somme de deniers." Bellievre, apud Caveirac.

<sup>2</sup> Digges, 204.

<sup>3</sup> This, though asserted by several French

writers, appeared to me too insolent to deserve credit. I find it, however, confirmed by one of Walsingham's dispatches. "The gentlemen of the religion here have made demonstration to the king, that the enterprise of the prince of Orange lacking good success, it shall not lie in his power to maintain his edict. They therefore desire him to weigh, whether it were better to have foreign war with advantage, or inward war to the ruin of himself and his estate." Digges, 226.



Aug. 22.

authority. These insinuations made a deep impression on the mind of Charles: his words and behaviour warned Catharine and the duke of their danger; and it was determined to remove the admiral, their most formidable enemy, by assassination. As he returned through the city from the council, an arquebuss was discharged at him from an upper window. One ball shattered his hand, a second lodged in the shoulder. The wounds were not dangerous: but his partisans hastened in crowds to his house, and offered to spend their lives in his quarrel.

At the first news Charles burst into lamentations, which were succeeded by threats of vengeance. He proceeded to visit the admiral; and Catharine thought it prudent to accompany him with her two sons, and the chief officers of the court. They found the wounded man in bed: he requested to speak with the king in private, and Charles commanded his mother and brothers to remain at a distance. The queen afterwards acknowledged that these were the most painful moments that she ever experienced. Her consciousness of guilt, the interest with which her son listened to the admiral, the crowds of armed men, in constant motion through the house, their looks, and whispers, and gestures, all conspired to fill her with terror. Unable to remain any longer in such a situation, she interrupted the conference, by pretending that silence and repose were necessary for the recovery of the admiral. During her return in the same carriage with the king, she employed every artifice to draw from him the particulars of the conversation. He disclosed sufficient to add to her alarm.

After a restless night, Catharine spent the morning in anxious deliberation with the duke and her confidants: in the afternoon they communicated their determination to Charles. They reminded him of the two rebellions of the huguenots, and of the formidable power of the admiral: they observed that the man, who could offer a force of ten thousand armed men against the king of Spain, might at his pleasure employ the same number against the king of France: they informed him that the chiefs of the party were at that moment plotting the destruction of their adversaries; and that if he were to wait till the next morning, his mother, brothers, and most faithful officers, perhaps he himself, would be sacrificed to their vengeance: they implored his permission to anticipate the cruelty of their enemies, and to wreak on Coligni, and his friends, that destruction which *they* had prepared for others. The young king was subdued by the ascendancy and entreaties of his mother: he struggled for some hours in favour of the admiral; and, at ten in the evening, retired in considerable agitation, exclaiming, as he left the room, that he hoped no one would be left alive to reproach him afterwards with so foul a deed. Four hours had elapsed before the plan was arranged, and the necessary orders had been given: it wanted two more to the appointed time. To sleep in such circumstances was impossible: and the king, his mother and brothers, repaired to an open balcony, where they stood gazing at the stars, and waiting

the result. A little before the time, the silence of the night was broken by the report of a pistol. They shuddered with horror: their resolution forsook them: and a messenger was dispatched with contrary orders. But the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled: the duke of Guise with three hundred men burst into the admiral's house; and the dead body of that unfortunate chieftain was thrown from a window into the court<sup>4</sup>: the tocsin immediately rung from the parliament house: the duke of Nevers and the marshal de Tavannes, at the head of a troop of guards, rode through the streets crying "treason:" companies of armed citizens, under their respective leaders, hastened to the work of blood: and the populace, whose passions were excited by the example of their superiors, and the circulation of the most alarming reports, imitated and surpassed the cruelty of the original assassins.

Of the objects of their fury those who slept in the fauxbourg St. Germain, had sufficient time to escape: others, in different parts of the city, found an asylum with their friends and relatives: but numbers of both sexes of every rank, not only those proscribed by the court, but many in the lowest situations in life, and in several instances catholics as well as protestants, were immolated to the undistinguishing vengeance of the mob. It was not till the afternoon, that Charles by sound of trumpet ordered every man to return to his home, and to abstain from deeds of violence, under the penalty of death<sup>5</sup>. The massacre had been infinitely more extensive than had been foreseen: even its original projectors stood aghast at the multitude of the slain.

The same day dispatches were forwarded to the governors of the provinces, ordering them to prevent the repetition of such horrors, and to forbid all persons, under the peril of capital punishment, to take up arms and insult others<sup>6</sup>. Subsequent events, however, gave rise to a suspicion that these orders were but a feint. The bloody scenes at Paris were repeated at Orleans, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse, and Bourdeaux: and the sufferers believed that as they were not protected, they were persecuted

<sup>4</sup> These particulars are taken from the narrative of the duke of Anjou, with a few additional circumstances from the Memoirs of queen Margaret, and those of Tavannes. All three were in the Louvre at the time: and two of them were among the devisers of the massacre. Those who believe that this bloody event had been planned six months before (an hypothesis unsupported by contemporary authority, and almost irreconcilable with the intermediate events) will say that the duke had an interest in diminishing the odium of the transaction. But a perusal of the document will shew, that it has all the appearance of truth, that it is the work, not of one who seeks to excuse, but who fairly accuses himself. It was written by Miron, his physician, to whom the duke, during a restless

night, when his conscience was harassed by the recollection of the massacre, unbosomed himself. See Caveirac, xvi—xxi. I may add, that Mathieu asserts the same, concluding with these words: "J'ai écrit plus au long, et je crois plus véritablement que nul autre ce qui s'est passé en cette journée, parce que je l'ai appris de ceux mêmes qui furent au conseil, et à l'exécution." Hist. de Charles IX. Tom. i. p. 347. fol. Paris, 1631.

<sup>5</sup> "A diverses fois le Roi itera vers le soir les premières defences à tout homme sous peine de vie, &c." La Popelinière, ii. 67.

<sup>6</sup> See those to Chabot and Montpezat in Memoirs de l'état sous Charles IX. Tom. iii. p. 214, 215. 12<sup>mo</sup>. Meidlebourg, 1578: and that to Joyeuse in Caveirac, dissertation sur la S. Barthelmi, xxxii.

by the commands of the court. But the memory of Charles needs not to be loaded with additional infamy. There is no evidence that the other massacres had his sanction or permission: and when we consider that they happened at very different periods, and were confined to the places in which the blood of catholics had been wantonly spilt during the preceding insurrections<sup>7</sup>, we shall attribute them rather to sudden ebullitions of popular vengeance than to any previously concerted and general plan. Of the number of the victims in all these towns it is impossible to speak with certainty. Among the huguenot writers, Peretix reckons 100,000, Sully 70,000, Thuanus 30,000, La Popeliniere 20,000, the reformed martyrologist 15,000, and Masson 10,000. But the martyrologist adopted a measure, which may enable us to form a probable conjecture. He procured from the ministers in the different towns, where massacres had taken place, lists of the names of the persons, who had suffered, or were supposed to have suffered. He published the result in 1582; and the reader will be surprised to learn that in all France he could discover the names of no more than 786 persons. Perhaps, if we double that number, we shall not be far from the real amount<sup>8</sup>.

#### NOTE (U), Page 380.

The following were the kinds of torture chiefly employed in the Tower.

1°. The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor: his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame: these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put; and, if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more till the bones started from their sockets.

2°. The scavenger's daughter was a broad hoop of iron, so called, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders, and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half,

<sup>7</sup> The dates are as follow: Paris, Aug. 24. Meaux, 25. La Charité, 26. Orleans, 27. Saumur and Angers, 29. Lyons, 30. Troyes, Sep. 2. Bourges, 11. Rouen, 17. Romans, 20. Toulouse, 23. Bourdeaux, Oct. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Nismes was an exception. Though the

catholics of that city had been twice massacred in cold blood, as lately as the years 1567 and 1569, they remained quiet on this occasion. Menard, Histoire de Nismes, v. 9. 50. iv°. Paris, 1750.

<sup>9</sup> Caveirac, Dissertation xxxviii.



during which time it commonly happened that from excess of compression the blood started from the nostrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet. See Bartoli, 250.

3°. Iron gauntlets, which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to compress the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air, from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. "I felt," says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, "the chief pain in my breast, belly, arms and hands. I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, and began to burst out of my finger ends. This was a mistake: but the arms swelled, till the gauntlets were buried within the flesh. After being thus suspended an hour, I fainted: and when I came to myself, I found the executioners supporting me in their arms: they replaced the pieces of wood under my feet; but as soon as I was recovered, removed them again. Thus I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during which I fainted eight or nine times." Apud Bartoli, 418.

4°. A fourth kind of torture was a cell called "little ease." It was of so small dimensions, and so constructed, that the prisoner could neither stand, walk, sit or lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up into a squatting posture, and so remained during several days.

I will add a few lines from Rishton's Diary, that the reader may form some notion of the proceedings in the Tower.

Dec. 5, 1580. Several catholics were brought from different prisons.

Dec. 10. Thomas Cottam and Luke Kirbye, priests (two of the number), suffered compression in the scavenger's daughter for more than an hour. Cottam bled profusely from the nose.

Dec. 15. Ralph Sherwine and Robert Johnson, priests, were severely tortured on the rack.

Dec. 16. Ralph Sherwine was tortured a second time on the rack.

Dec. 31. John Hart, after being chained five days to the floor, was led to the rack. Also Henry Orton, a lay gentleman.

1581, Jan. 3. Christopher Thompson, an aged priest, was brought to the Tower, and racked the same day.

Jan. 14. Nicholas Roscaroc, a lay gentleman, was racked.

Thus he continues till June 21, 1585, when he was discharged. See his *Diarium*, at the end of his edition of Sanders.

## NOTE (V), Page 385.

Campion and Persons had obtained from Gregory XIII. a declaration that that part of the bull of Pius V. which forbade any person to pay obedience to Elizabeth, should not bind the English catholics in existing circumstances, or till the sentence could be put in execution. (Camden, 348. Philopater, 169.) From this it was inferred, with some appearance of reason, that both missionaries admitted the deposing power; and that, in an attempt to enforce the bull, they would join the enemies of the queen. It is, however, fair to hear what they and their friends said in their behalf; that they disapproved of the bull; and would have procured its revocation, if it had been possible; but, according to the custom of the court of Rome, no censure could be revoked, except at the petition of the party censured. They endeavoured, therefore, to do the only thing in their power; they procured it to be mitigated in the manner mentioned above; and they trusted that in this, they had done an acceptable service to the queen. For hitherto she professed to doubt the loyalty of her catholic subjects, on account of the bull; now she could have no fear on that head, except in case of an actual attempt to enforce it; a case which in all probability would never arrive. The bull of Clement VII. against Henry VIII. had died away unnoticed, that of Pius against Elizabeth would do the same, if the English council would only permit it. State Trials, 1057. Allen, Defence, c. iv. This declaration, which was not known till after the death of Campian, gave birth to the six queries put to the missionaries, respecting their opinions on the deposing power, and their future behaviour in the event of an attempt to execute the bull. There is some reason to suspect that the answers were not correctly given in the report published by authority: but there can be no doubt that most of them were evasive and unsatisfactory. The following is the account, which Campian gives of his own answer to questions of the same import.

“ The self same articles (as had been put to him by the queen) were required of me  
 “ by the commissioners, but I was much more urged to the point of supremacy, and  
 “ to further supposals, than I could think of. I said, indeed, they were bloody ques-  
 “ tions, and very pharisaical, undermining of my life; whereunto I answered as Christ  
 “ did to the dilemma; Give unto Cæsar that is due to Cæsar, and to God that to God  
 “ belongeth! I acknowledged her highness as my governess, and sovereign. I ac-  
 “ knowledged her majesty both *de facto et de jure* to be queen. I confessed an obe-  
 “ dience due to the crown, as to my temporal head and primate. This I said then,  
 “ this I say now. If, then, I failed in ought, I am now ready to supply it. What  
 “ would you more? I willingly pay to her majesty what is her’s; yet I must pay to  
 “ God what is his. Then, as for excommunicating her majesty, it was exacted of me,  
 “ admitting that excommunication were of effect, and that the pope had sufficient au-

“thority so to do, whether then I thought myself discharged of my allegiance or no? I said this was a dangerous question, and they that demanded this, demanded my blood. But I never admitted any such matter; neither ought I to be wrested with any such suppositions. What then, say they, because I would not answer flatly to that I could not, forsooth I sought corners; mine answers were aloof. Well; since once more it must needs be answered, I say generally, that these matters be merely spiritual points of doctrine, and disputable in the schools; no part of mine indictment, not to be given in evidence, and unfit to be discussed at the king’s bench. To conclude, they are no matters of fact; they be not in the trial of the country; the jury ought not to take notice of them; for although I doubt not but they are very discreet men, and trained up in great use and experience of controversies and debates, pertinent to their callings, yet they are laymen, they are unfit judges to decide so deep a question.” (Howell, 1062.)

I have inserted this answer at full length, for two reasons: 1°. It contradicts the account published by government: that, when he was asked “whether he did at that present, acknowledge her majesty to be a true and lawful queen, or a pretended queen, and deprived, and in possession of the crown only *de facto*, he answered, that question depended on the fact of Pius V. whereof he was not judge, and therefore refused further to answer.” (Howell, 1078.) 2°. It shews that the real question between the government and the prisoners was not, that they denied the queen’s right, and strove to withdraw her subjects from their allegiance (for they acknowledged her to be their sovereign both *de facto* and *de jure*, and that obedience was due to her as their temporal head and primate,) but whether, in certain hypothetical cases, the pope possessed the power to depose princes. Three answered in the negative; two candidly confessed that, in their opinion, he had; the others are said to have refused to answer, or to have replied that the question was a matter of dispute among the learned, and that they were unable to pronounce, either one way or the other.

The innocence of the sufferers as to the treason for which they had been condemned, was believed by numbers. Their death was attributed to hatred of their religion; and, to relieve the government from the odium of persecution, lord Burleigh published a tract, entitled; “The execution of justice for maintenance of public and christian peace against the stirrers of sedition, &c.” (It is printed in Somers’s Tracts, i. 192.) He maintained that all were spared, who were willing to renounce their treasons; and those only put to death, who would not disallow the pope’s bull, by which all the queen’s subjects were discharged from their allegiance. Dr. Allen replied by “A true, sincere, and modest defence of christian catholics, that suffered for their faith at home and abroad, &c.” It was easy for him to shew, that many had been put to death, to whom no other treason had been objected, but that of exercising the functions of the priesthood; and that thousands had been



fined, imprisoned and despoiled of all their property, for no other offence but the practice of religious worship. He maintained that the companions of Campian had not been guilty of the treason, for which they suffered: and that the answers they had given to the six queries, ought to have been deemed satisfactory. He observed that the deposing power, and the validity of the bull of Pius V. were subjects never allowed to be debated in the seminaries, or by the missionaries in England; that it was unwise in the government to bring them into public discussion; but since it had been done, he was not unwilling to give his own opinion. The real question was this; could subjects lawfully rise against their prince in defence of their religion? That they could, was plain: 1°. from the authority of Calvin, Beza, Zwingle, Goodman, Knox, Luther, and the Magdeburgh divines, whose opinions he transcribed; 2°. from the conduct of the reformers in Scotland, in France, and in the Netherlands; and, 3°. from the conduct of Elizabeth herself, who would never have aided with money and troops the Scottish, French, and Flemish insurgents, had she not been persuaded that rebellion was lawful in the cause of religion. This being established, he proceeds to inquire, if it be more for the common good of society, that the decision of the fact, whether the grievance is such as to authorize resistance by force, should be left to the judgment of the people aggrieved, or of the pope, the common father of all. Of course he maintains the latter part of the alternative; and then endeavours to support it by the authority of two catholic divines, of the council of Lateran, and of examples from the Old Testament. Allen, Defence, c. iv.

To suppress this tract, Aldfield, who had brought to England a number of copies, was prosecuted on a charge of high treason. In the indictment, several passages were transcribed (some of them very unfairly): wherever Allen spoke of kings in general, the inuendo charged him with meaning the queen in particular; and it was contended, that the object of the work was to raise rebellion in the realm, and to procure the dethronement of the sovereign. Aldfield suffered the death of a traitor. See the indictment in Strype, iii. App. 121.

At the same time another catholic clergyman of the name of Bishop, a zealous missionary, maintained the contrary doctrine. Assuming that the prisoners had suffered themselves to be deceived by the authority of the council of Lateran, he undertook to shew that the celebrated canon of that council was in reality a private decree of Innocent III., that it had never been acknowledged in England, and that no canons whatever had been published by the council itself. Camden, 380. Shortly afterwards, another, of the name of Wright, maintained the same opinion. Strype, iii. 251.

#### NOTE (W), Page 403.

If we may believe Camden, in 1583, the discontent of the catholics induced them to print books, in which they exhorted the queen's maids to treat her, as Judith treated

Holofernes. (Camden, 411.) If this were true, they could not have devised a plan more likely to defeat its own object.

The book to which he alludes, was "a Treatise of Schisme, by Gregorie Martin, "Licentiate in Divinitie, Duaci, apud Joannem Foulcrum, 1578." In the second chapter the author enumerates, from the Old Testament, instances of persons, who had refused to participate in any kind of worship which they deemed unlawful. The third instance is that of Tobias: for the fourth he proceeds thus: "Judith foloweth, "whose godlye and constant wisdom, if our catholike gentlewomen would folowe, "they might destroye Holofernes, the master heretike, and amase all his retinew, and "never defile their religion by communicating with them in anye smale poynt. She "came to please Holofernes, but yet in her religion she would not yeelde so muche as "to eate of his meates, but brought of her owne with her, and told him plainelye, that "being in his house, yet she must serve her Lorde and God stil, desiring for that purpose libertie once a day to goe in and out of the gate. 'I may not eate of that "which thou commandest me, lest I incurre God's displeasure.'"

In 1580, this book was reprinted by William Carter, who, in 1583, was indicted of treason, in as much as by the publication he had imagined the death of the queen and the subversion of the reformed church. At his trial the passage quoted above was that alleged against him. By Holofernes the master heretic, was understood, so the crown lawyers contended, the queen, and by the destruction of Holofernes, was intended the queen's death. Carter replied, 1°. by protesting before God, that he had never taken the passage in that sense, nor ever known it to be so taken by others. 2°. by asserting that every impartial man must see, that it had a very different meaning. The whole object of the author was to warn his brethren against the sin of schism. For this purpose he advised the catholic gentlewomen to imitate Judith; as she abstained from profane meats, so ought they to abstain from all communication with others in a worship which they believed to be schismatical. By doing this, they would destroy Holofernes. The expression was metaphorical. By Holofernes was meant Satan, the author of heresy, and the enemy of their salvation, whom they would overcome by their constancy in their religion, and their rejection of a schismatical service. But Carter's reasoning was not admitted; and he suffered as a traitor. (Bridgewater, 127—134.) After an attentive perusal of the whole tract, I cannot find in it the smallest foundation for the charge.

### NOTE (X), Pages 409 and 420.

I may here collect a few miscellaneous notices respecting the history of Mary at this period.

1°. When the earl of Shrewsbury obtained leave to visit the court for the twofold

purpose of vindicating his character from the aspersions of his wife and two sons, and of procuring his discharge from the ungracious office of guarding the Scottish queen, Mary was intrusted to the custody of sir Ralph Sadler. A little before, an event occurred, which gave her much uneasiness. Topcliffe, the noted persecutor of the catholics, had given out, that the captive queen had borne two children to her keeper, lord Shrewsbury. The countess, who had quarrelled with her husband, countenanced, if she did not propagate, the slander; and it was repeated in foreign courts, as founded on her authority. Mary wrote in the strongest terms, vindicating herself, and requiring that the countess should be compelled to state her reasons for making the charge, or to acknowledge that it was false. (Jan. 2, 1584. Jebb, ii. 557.) Elizabeth appears to have granted the request; for there still remains in the Paper-office a declaration upon oath by the countess and her sons, that they consider the report scandalous, malicious and false, and that they were neither the authors, nor propagators of it. (Chalmers, i. 374. note.)

2°. It was, I conceive, on this occasion, that Mary wrote the celebrated letter in Murdin, 558—560, in answer to one from Elizabeth, who had required from her a faithful account of whatever lady Shrewsbury had said in her hearing to the prejudice of Elizabeth's character. The Scottish queen complied; and related, without much ceremony, a number of facts, or pretended facts, which the countess in conversation had produced, as proofs of the vanity, the irascible temper, and the amours of the queen. For this letter she has been severely censured by some writers, who have attributed it to passion and revenge, while others have represented the charges contained in it as false and calumnious. To the first, it may be replied, that the letter was written in obedience to the wish of Elizabeth; to the second, that in almost every particular it is confirmed by other authorities.

3°. Mary in another letter, published in the Life of lord Egerton, gives a most dismal description of her residence at Tutbury. The house, built of wood, and originally designed for a hunting box, was in a most ruinous state. It was situated on a high hill, exposed to every wind, and surrounded by a lofty wall, which in a great measure excluded the sun. She had two small rooms, petites chambrettes, allotted for herself and her maids; the walls were pierced with fissures; the plaister in many places had separated from the timber; and though they intrenched themselves behind screens, curtains, and blankets, they were always ill with colds. She had no place where she could walk under cover in the house; and no room, to which she could retire, but two little closets, petits trous, about seven feet square, looking on the wall. The house was crowded with servants, guards, &c. without any convenience for so numerous a family; the privies under her window caused a most noisome smell, and were emptied every Saturday. In short, it was such a place, that no lord of the realm, not even one of those enemies of her's, who, less than lords, sought to make her less than themselves,



that would not deem it a most tyrannical punishment, to be compelled to live in it one year, in the manner they forced her to live there. Egerton, p. 0.

4°. In a letter to Elizabeth, having observed that the murder of the young man at Tutbury was owing to puritanical zeal, and that the same zeal was urged by personal interest to seek her death, she proceeds thus, "When I compare the advice which has been  
"so often given to you to take my life, with the recent proceedings in parliament which  
"were checked only by you, and the object of the association, which is in truth a covert conspiracy to massacre me, and all of my religion, I beg of you, madam,  
"with clasped hands, to free me from this long and miserable captivity. Name the  
"conditions; I will submit to them, whatever they may be, provided my conscience  
"be safe; if my past offers are not sufficient for your security, take from me all right  
"to the succession. I am content. I have no doubt of *your* sincerity and truth. Yet  
"when they have murdered me without your knowledge, who can repair the injury to  
"me? You say they will not commit an action so unjust, so degrading to their characters. But who among them will believe, that he has acted unjustly or disgracefully, when he has only done that which he has sworn to do by the association? Parry's  
"confession, though Parry I am told was formerly their spy, will to them be a sufficient justification. Consider to what this oligarchical conspiracy may ultimately  
"lead. I have always condemned it, though I too have voluntarily bound myself to  
"labour for your security, which is not less dear to me than to any of your subjects.—  
"And here allow me to observe, that to persecute, as you do, the catholics for conscience sake, must be dangerous to yourself. When men are urged to despair, no  
"one can calculate the consequences. You told my secretary that you never meant to  
"persecute any man for his religion only; and in the first years of your reign, while you  
"observed this maxim, you were never troubled with conspiracies against you. For  
"God's sake, madam, keep this holy resolution, worthy of you, worthy of all of your  
"rank. The present age has sufficiently proved, in every part of christendom, that  
"human force cannot prevail against conscience. For my part, if my religion be that  
"at which my enemies aim, I am ready by the grace of God to bow my neck under  
"the axe, to shed my blood in the face of all christian nations. I shall esteem it a  
"happiness to be the first victim. This is not an empty boast: you know, that I am  
"not out of danger." Jebb, ii. 582.

### NOTE (Z), Page 450.

I do not think that the charge against the Scottish queen carries with it any great appearance of improbability. It is very possible that a woman who had suffered an unjust imprisonment of twenty years, and was daily harassed with the fear of assassination, might conceive it lawful to preserve her own life and liberty by the death of her oppressor. But the real question is, not what she might have thought, but whe-

ther she actually gave her consent and approbation to the scheme of murder, submitted to her in the name of Babington.

It must be confessed that her accusers made out apparently a strong case against her. They produced the copy of a letter, said to have been written by her order, in which she approved of the projected assassination; the confession of Babington that he received such a letter with her signature; and the attestations of her two secretaries, that they had written such a letter by her command.

When, however, we recollect the artful manner in which Walsingham had conducted the whole intrigue, and the disadvantages under which the Scottish queen laboured at her trial, we shall see abundant reason to doubt the validity of this proof.

1°. She always denied that the passage in approbation of the murder proceeded from her, or that she ever in any manner consented to the death of the queen, or even wished it. This she asserted at the trial: this she repeated upon oath at Fotheringay: and this she re-asserted at her death.

2°. The original letter was never produced. Yet it most probably remained in the hands of Walsingham. We know that it had been copied, and not only copied but also falsified, in his office. This circumstance alone seems to shew that the copy produced at the trial was unworthy of credit.

3°. In the letter attributed to her, she is made to advise the conspirators, 1°. that they make all the preparation in their power to join the invading army: 2°. that, as soon as the six gentlemen have accomplished their design of murdering the queen, she may be delivered out of prison: 3°. that on her delivery she may be placed in the midst of a large army, or in some strong hold, because if the queen should catch her again, she would probably take her life. But how could Elizabeth catch her again, if Elizabeth were already assassinated? May it not be fairly inferred, that the mention of the murder is an interpolation, while the other parts were written by the order of Mary?

4°. The Scottish queen was accustomed to keep rough copies of her letters. Many were found among her papers, but none of the letter to Babington. A minute of it, however, made by Nau for his own use, was discovered among his papers. That minute was favourable to Mary, as it contained no vestige of the controverted passage.

5°. But the word "coup," or stroke, was in Nau's minute; and this, it was contended by the enemies of Mary, must have meant the murder of Elizabeth. When, however, we look into the letter itself, and take it with the context, it evidently refers to the invasion of the realm.

6°. According to the account given by her secretaries, Nau drew the answer to Babington in French, and read it to Mary, who approved of it. Curle translated it into English, and having read his translation to Nau, put it into cipher. From this account it appears that Mary never saw the letter. Nau might have inserted the passage respecting the murder, and yet have designedly omitted to read it to his mistress. She, it should be recollected, always accused him of being the author of her death.

7°. Some passages have been adduced from her correspondence with Morgan and Paget, to shew that she had approved of Babington's plan. But to me they do not appear conclusive. They might equally have been written, whether she had, or had not, been acquainted with the intended murder.

8°. It is plain that, to unravel the mystery, Nau and Curle should have been confronted with her. For that purpose Elizabeth had ordered them to attend; Mary required them to be produced; and yet the ministers kept them back. Does not this furnish a strong presumption in favour of the queen of Scots? There was something in the business, which Walsingham was conscious would not bear the light.

### NOTE (A A), Page 453.

Mary's letter to Sixtus V. dated the 23d of November, 1586, is still preserved in the archives of the Vatican. It is in French. An Italian translation has been published by Tempesti, *Vita e Geste di Sisto Quinto*, i. 311, and an abstract of it by Becchetti, xii. 377.

In this letter she informs the pontiff, that she had that very day been ordered to prepare herself for death by the lord Buckhurst and others; and that it was her intention, if she were allowed to see her almoner, or a catholic priest, to comply with the usual forms established in the catholic church. This, however, she expected would be refused her: and she therefore now confessed herself a sinner at his feet, and implored the mercy of God on her soul. She then continues in this pious strain: "*Entre laquelle (mon ame) et la justice de Dieu, j'entrepose le sang de Jesus Christ, pour moy crucifié et toutz les pecheurs, l'une des plus execrables desquelz je me confesse estre, veu les graces infinies par luy recues, par moy mal recognoncées et employées: ce qui me rend indigne de pardon, si sa promesse faicte a tous ceulz chargés de pechés et afflictions spirituelles d'estre par luy assistez, et sa miserecorde ne m'enhardissoient, suivant son commandement de venir vers luy, portant ma charge afin d'estre par luy deschargée, a l'exemple de l'enfant prodigue, et, qui plus est, offrant aux pieds de sa croix volentierement mon sang pour le maintien, et fidelle zele que je porte à son Eglise, sans la restauration de laquelle, je ne desire jamais vivre en ce monde.*"

She proceeds to recommend to the pontiff the conversion of her son to the catholic faith, for which purpose she wishes him to employ the co-operation of the king of Spain, the only prince who has really aided her during her captivity. If James should continue obstinate, she leaves all her right to the crown of England to the disposal of the pope and of that monarch. Should he repent, she requires of him to look on Philip, and the princes of the house of Guise, as his nearest relatives; and hopes, as the last blessing she can wish for upon earth, that he may marry the infanta of Spain.



I have called the reader's attention to this letter for the following reason. For many years after the death of Mary, it was believed that the queen, on the eve of her execution, made a will, by which she left the kingdom of England to Philip of Spain, in case her son did not become a catholic, and that cardinal Laurea, and Lewis Owen, bishop of Cassano, had attested that it was in the hand-writing of the queen. This will, however, could never be discovered. (Butler's Memoirs, iii. 265. Burnet, iii. rec. 711.) In my opinion there can be little doubt that the report arose from misconception, and that the real will was this letter, in which she leaves the disposal of her right to that monarch and the pontiff; and what confirms this conjecture is, that at the end of it, there is subjoined an attestation of Lewis Owen, bishop of Cassano, that the hand-writing is that of Mary, queen of Scots.

### NOTE (B B), Page 497.

In the present note I purpose to give some account of this tract, which every writer on the armada is careful to mention, though few of them ever had it in their hands. A numerous edition was printed at Antwerp, to be distributed in England at the moment of the invasion: but the invasion did not take place, and care was taken to burn almost all the copies. Hence the book is become extremely scarce. The title is, an "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the present warres made for the execution of his holines sentence, by the highe and mightie kinge catholicke of Spaine, by the cardinal of Englande. Anno "MDLXXXVIII."

It begins thus: "Gulielmus miseratione divina S. R. E. tituli Sancti Martini in "Montibus Cardinalis Presbyter, de Anglia nuncupatus, cunctis regnorum Angliæ et "Hiberniæ proceribus, populis, et personis, omnibusque Christi fidelibus salutem "in Domino sempiternam." After a short preface, it undertakes to shew, 1°. of whom and in what manner Elizabeth is descended; 2°. how intruded into the royal dignity; 3°. how she has behaved at home and abroad; 4°. by what laws of God and man her punishment is pursued; 5°. how just, honest, and necessary causes, all true Englishmen have to embrace and set forward the same.

1°. She is a bastard, the daughter of Henry VIII., by his incestuous commerce with Anne Boleyn.

2°. She was intruded by force, unjustly deposing the lords of the clergy, without whom no lawful parliament could be held, nor statute made; and without any approbation of the see of Rome, contrary to the accord made by king John, at the special request and procurement of the lords and commons, as a thing necessary to preserve the realm from the unjust usurpation of tyrants.

3°. As to her behaviour, she has professed herself a heretic. She usurpeth, by Luciferian pride, the title of supreme ecclesiastical government, a thing in a woman

unheard of, not tolerable to the masters of her own sect, and to all catholics in the world most ridiculous, absurd, monstrous, detestable, and a very fable to the posterity.

She is taken and known for an incestuous bastard, begotten and born in sin, of an infamous courtezan, Anne Boleyn, afterwards executed for advoutery, treason, heresy, and incest, among others with her own natural brother, which Anne Boleyn her father kept by pretended marriage in the life of his lawful wife, as he did before unnaturally know and kepe both the said Anne's mother and sister.

She is guilty of perjury in violating her coronation oath.

She hath abolished the catholic religion—profaned the sacraments—forbidden preaching—impiously spoiled the churches, deposed and imprisoned the bishops, and suppressed the monasteries.

She hath destroyed most of the ancient nobility, putting into their houses and chambers, traitors, spials, delators, and promoters, that take watch for her of all their ways, words, and writings.

She hath raised a new nobility of men base and impure, inflamed with infinite avarice and ambition.

She hath intruded a new clergy of the very refuse of the worst sort of mortal men.

She hath made the country a place of refuge for atheists, anabaptists, heretics, and rebels of all nations.

She hath polled the people, not only by more frequent and large subsidies than any other princes, but by sundry shameful guiles of lotteries, laws, decrets, falls of money, and such like deceits.

She sells laws, licences, dispensations, pardons, &c. for money and bribes, with which she enriches her poor cousins and favourites. Among the latter is Leicester, whom she took up first to serve her filthy lust; whereof to have more freedom and interest, he caused his own wife to be murdered, as afterwarde, for the accomplishment of his like brutish pleasures with another noble dame, it is openly known he made away with her husband. This man overruleth the chamber, court, council, parliament, ports, forts, seas, ships, tenders, men, munition, and all the country.

With the aforesaid person, and with divers others, she hath abused her bodie against God's lawes, to the disgrace of princely majestie, and the whole nation's reproche, by unspeakable and incredible variety of luste, which modesty suffereth not to be remembered, neyther were it to chaste eares to be uttered how shamefully she hath defiled and infamed her person and cuntry, and made her court as a trappe, by this damnable and detestable art to intangle in sinne, and overthrowe the yonger sorte of the nobilitye and gentlemen of the lande; wherebye she is become notorious to the worlde, and in other cuntries a comon fable for this her turpitude, which

in so highe degre, namely in a woman and a queene, deservethe not onlie deposition, but all vengeance, both of God and man, and cannot be tollerated without eternal infamie of our whole countrie, the whole worlde deriding our effeminate dastardie, that have suffered such a creature almost thirty years together to raigne both over our bodies and soules, and to have the chief regiment of al our affaires, as wel spirituall as temporal, to the extinguishinge not onely of religion, but of all chaste livinge and honesty.

She does not marry, because she cannot confine herself to one man; and to the condemnation of chaste and lawful marriage she forced the very parliament to give consent to a law, that none should be named for her successor, savinge the natural, that is to saie, bastard-borne child of her owne bodie (it here alludes "to her unlawfull, "longe concealed, or *fained* issue").

She confederates with rebels of all nations, and is known to be the first and principal fountain of all those furious rebellions in Scotland, France, and Flanders: sending abroad by her ministers, as is proved by intercepted letters and confessions, numbers of intelligencers, spies, and practisers, in most princes' courts, not only to give notice of news, but to deal with the discontented, and hath sought to destroy the persons of the pope's holiness and the king of Spain.

She is excessively proud, obstinate, and impenitent, though she has been excommunicated eighteen years.

She hath murdered bishops, and priests, and the queen of Scots.

4. Having noticed several instances of the deposition of kings in the old testament, and the excommunication of emperors by different popes, it observes that the sentence given by Pius V. hath not been pursued, partly on account of his death, and partly on account of her great power. But her perseverance in sin, her persecution of the catholics, and her aiding of rebels, have induced Sixtus V. to entreat Philip of Spain, to take upon him this sacred and glorious enterprise, to which he hath consented, moved by his own zeal, by the authority of his holiness, and by the cardinal's humble and continuall sute for the delivery of his countrymen.

The fifth part I need not analyze. Its contents may be found in Fuller, l. ix. p. 196, and in Mr. Butler's Memoirs, iii. 213. At the end is given the date.—From my lodgings in the palace of St. Peter in Rome, this 28th of Aprill, 1588. The Cardinall.

The author of this most offensive tract seems to have studied the works, and to have acquired the style, of the exiles who, formerly, at Geneva, published libels against queen Mary, the predecessor of Elizabeth. Who that author was, soon became a subject of discussion. The language and the manner are certainly not like those of Allen in his acknowledged works; and the appellant priests boldly asserted that the book was "penned altogether by the advice of F. Persons." Persons himself, in his answer, though he twice notices the charge, seems by his evasions to acknowledge its



truth. (Manifestation, 35. 47.) But whoever were the real author, the cardinal, by subscribing his name, adopted the tract for his own, and thus became answerable for its contents.

It is, however, but justice to add, that we have in Strype, (iv. 144.) a letter from him, preserved by Cecil, in a very different style. It arose out of a communication from Hopkins, an English agent, that the queen was desirous of peace, and not unwilling to grant some sort of toleration. The cardinal expresses his joy at the news: it is what he has been known to wish for of old: and what he will endeavour to promote to the best of his power. If the queen will only consent to grant toleration, and to restore the Spanish places now in her possession, he will answer that no demand shall be made for reparation of other injuries, &c. and that peace may thus be restored to the Christian world, "whereof," he adds, "if I might by any office of my life or death be a promoter or procurer, I would reckon the remanent of my few years yet to come, more fortunate than the many evil and long years of my life past," &c. Ibid. 146. Part of it is in the *Biographia Britannica*, Art. Allen.

#### NOTE (C C), Page 513.

I shall here add a few particulars respecting this noble person.—His speech to the lieutenant of the Tower, who visited him a few days before his death, will be read with pleasure. On the appearance of that officer he addressed him thus: "Mr. Lieutenant, you have shew'd both to me and my men very hard measure." "Wherin, my lord?" quoth he. "Nay," said the earl, "I will not make a recapitulation of any thing, for it is all freely forgiven. Only I am to say unto you a few words of my last will, which being observed, may, by the grace of God, turn much to your benefit and reputation. I speak not for myself, for God of his goodness has taken order that I shall be delivered very shortly out of your charge; only for others I speak, who may be committed to this place. You must think, Mr. Lieutenant, that when a prisoner comes hither to this Tower, that he bringeth sorrow with him. Oh, then, do not add affliction to affliction: there is no man whatsoever that thinketh himself to stand surest, but may fall. It is a very inhuman part to tread on him, whom misfortune hath cast down. The man that is void of mercy, God hath in great detestation. Your commission is only to keep with safety, not to kill with severity. Remember, good Mr. Lieutenant, that God, who with his finger turneth the unstable wheel of this variable world, can in the revolution of a few days bring you to be a prisoner also, and to be kept in the same place, where you now keep others. There is no calamity that men are subject unto, but you may also taste as well as any other man. Farewell, Mr. Lieutenant: for the time of my small abode here come to me whenever you please, and you shall be heartily wellcome as my friend." MS. life of Philippe Howarde.

His interment in the Tower was conducted with a due regard to economy. His coffin cost the queen 10s. the black cloth which covered it 30s. As he was a catholic, the chaplain deemed it a profanation to read the established service over the grave: and therefore began thus: "Wee are not come to honour this man's religion; we publicly professe, and here openly proteste, otherwyse to be saved; nor to honour his offence, the lawe hath judged him, wee leave him to the Lord. He is gone to his place. Thus we find it true, that is sette downe in our owne booke, 'Man' 'that is born of a woman,' &c. Thus God hath laid this man's honour in the dust. Yet as it is said in the scriptures, 'Go, and bury yonder woman, for she is a king's daughter,' so we commit his bodie to the earth, yet giving God hearty thanks that hath delyvered us of so greate a feare. And thus let us praise God with the song of Deborah." This was followed by the forty-ninth Psalm, and the service was concluded with a prayer composed for the occasion. "Oh! Almighty God! who art the judge of all the world, the lord of lyfe and death, who alone hast the keys of the grave, who shuttest and no man openeth it, who openest and no man can shut, wee give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee in thy mercy to us, to take this man out of this world; wee leave him to thy majesty, knowing by thy worde, that hee and all other shall reyse again to give an account of all that has been done in the fleshe, be it good or evyll, against God or man." Dallaway's Western Sussex, ii. 145. MSS. Lansdowne, vol. 79. No. 34.

### NOTE (DD), Page 515.

That the reader may form a notion of the manner in which the catholic gentlemen were treated during this reign, I have collected the following brief account of the fines paid, and the privations suffered by one of the first recusants convict, Edward Sulyard, esq. of Wetherden, in the county of Suffolk. I have collected it from his papers, which have been preserved in the family, and are in the possession of lady Jerningham.

In 1586, the queen finding that many of the recusants were unable to pay the full amount of the fines, to which they were liable by statute, consented to grant them some indulgence, on condition that they should pay an annual composition. By Mr. Sulyard, £40 per annum was offered. I know not what sum was accepted: but he received permission to remain at his own house, under a protection from secretary Walsingham, forbidding him to be molested, "he having bene a long tyme restrayned of his libertie for matter of religion."

It appears that the fines due from him to the queen, "*eo quod ipse non adivit, Auglice, did not repair, ad aliquam ecclesiam, capellam sive locum usualem communis precationis per spatium 69 mensiam,*" amounted to 1,380*l.* of which he had paid

only 540*l*. For the payment of the remaining 840*l*. within the space of three years, he found two sureties, Thomas Tyrrel and Edward Sulyard of Fenning, esqrs.

On the approach of the armada he was thrown into prison, together with other recusants; but having, in November 1588, subscribed a declaration, that the queen was his lawful sovereign notwithstanding any excommunication whatsoever, and that he would be always ready to defend her with his life and goods against the force of any prince, pope, potentate, prelate, or whatsoever other her enemy, he obtained leave to go to his estate, for the purpose of raising money, but on condition that he should repair to London against the 10th of March, and be confined in a private house. He obeyed, and was bound in a penalty of 2,000*l*. not to depart out of the house, or the appurtenances thereof.

In October 1591 he obtained the liberty of walking out, having first bound himself under the same penalty, 1°. not to go beyond the sea, or more than six miles from the place of his confinement; and, 2°. to present himself before the council, within ten days, whenever notice should be left for that purpose at the house aforesaid, "until he should have conformed and yielded himself unto the order for religion, and for coming and resorting to divine service established by act of parliament."

In 1594, on a rumour of invasion, he was confined with other recusants in the castle of Ely. In autumn, leave was given him to go to his own house for fourteen days; and afterwards to choose the house of some friend, where he might be confined under the usual restrictions, and penalties.

In 1595 he procured the indulgence of having his own house for his prison: and in 1598 was permitted to leave it for the space of six weeks.

In 1599, on another rumour of invasion, he was again confined in the castle of Ely: but, as soon as the danger was over, he returned to his own house, having first paid the expenses of his imprisonment in Ely. The next year he obtained another leave of absence for six weeks.

During this time, besides the composition to the queen, he was occasionally compelled by privy seals to lend money which was never repaid; occasionally to find a trooper fully equipped for the queen's service; and often to appear in person before the council or the archbishop.

Such was the harassing and degrading life, which not only Mr. Sulyard, but every gentleman, known to be a catholic, was compelled to lead, for the sole offence of not conforming to a worship, which was contrary to his conscience: but, if in addition he presumed to practise his own religion, if he heard mass, or received a priest into his house, he was subject to more rigorous fines, to forfeiture, to imprisonment for life, or to death, as in cases of high treason, according to the nature of the offence, and the statute under which he might be indicted.



## NOTE (E E), Page 517.

On the 18th of October, 1591, the queen issued a proclamation, distinguished by the violence of its language, against the king of Spain, the pope, and the missionaries, ordering all householders to make returns of every person who had resorted to their houses during the last twelve months, and to specify, whether they knew any one who was accustomed to absent himself from the established service. To the proclamation were appended instructions for certain commissioners, appointed in each county to receive these returns, and to discover, by all the means in their power, missionaries or persons withdrawn from their allegiance by the arts of the missionaries.

There was much to reprehend in the scurrilous language of this instrument: and several passages in it appeared to call for an answer from the leaders of the Spanish party among the exiles. Two were soon published: one by Persons under the title of *Responsio ad edictum*, for an accurate account of which I shall refer the reader to Mr. Butler's *Memoirs*, iii. 236: and another by F. Cresswell, intituled *Exemplar literarum missarum à Germania ad D. Gulielmum Cecilium, consiliarium regium. Impressum Anno Domini MDXCII.*

In this tract the writer describes the persecution, which the English catholics suffered; and asserts that the author of the proclamation, in order to justify such barbarities, had recourse to calumny, like the pagans of old. He enumerates the offences of Elizabeth; her ingratitude to the king of Spain, to whom she was formerly indebted for her life; the murder of the queen of Scots; her connexions with the rebels of other monarchs, and her friendship with the Turk. To her character he opposes the praise of Philip, his royal virtues, the use he makes of his power, his affection for the English exiles, and his labours to preserve the catholic religion in England by the foundation of seminaries. The author next maintains the right of the pope to employ the arms of catholic princes, and to depose apostate sovereigns, for the benefit of religion; and contends, that if he appointed Allen his legate, and ordered certain priests to attend the invading army under the duke of Parma, it was not to promote the destruction but the salvation of the country, to diminish the horrors of war, and to protect Englishmen from the swords of the invaders. He boasts of the superior force of the Spanish king, and maintains that in the time of danger Elizabeth and her ministers will find, that she possesses not the affection of the nation, and that her own soldiers will turn their arms against her.

It is difficult to speak of these tracts with the severity which they deserve. They might please the king of Spain, might uphold his hope of effecting the conquest of England, but they were calculated to irritate Elizabeth, to throw suspicion on the loyalty of the catholics, and to increase the pressure of persecution. The real motive of the authors may perhaps be discovered from the conclusion of each tract. They seem to have believed that the queen was alarmed, and they hoped, by adding

to that alarm, to extort her assent to the following proposals: that she should make peace with Philip, should tolerate the exercise of the catholic worship, and should allow all men, without distinction of religion, to partake of the favours and protection of government. See Responsio, p. 247. Exemplar literarum, 179.

## NOTE (F F), Page 534.

I have seen many of these prints, and among them one calculated to excite feelings of the strongest abhorrence. It represents the execution of Margaret Middleton, the wife of Clitheroe, a rich citizen of York, who, for standing mute, suffered the *peine forte et dure*. She had harboured a priest in quality of a school-master: and at the bar refused to plead guilty, because she knew that no sufficient proof could be brought against her, or not guilty, because she deemed such a plea equivalent to a falsehood.

As this barbarous mode of punishment is now grown obsolete, I shall describe her death in the words of one who was present in York at the time.

"The place of execution was the tolboth, six or seven yards from the prison. After she had prayed, Fawcet (one of the sheriffs) commanded them to put off her apparel; when she, with the four women, requested him on their knees, that, for the honour of womanhood, this might be dispensed with. But they would not grant it. Then she requested them, that the women might unapparel her, and that they would turne their faces from her during that time.

"The women took off her clothes, and put upon her the long linen-habit. Then very quietly she laied her down upon the ground, her face covered with a handkerchief, and most part of her body with the habit. The dore was laied upon her: her hands she joined towards her face. Then the sheriff saied, Naie, ye must have your hands bound. Then two serjeants parted her hands, and bound them to two posts. (In the print her feet are bound to two others.) After this they laied weight upon her, which, when she first felt, she said, Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, have mercye upon mee: which were the last words she was heard to speake. She was in dying about one quarter of an hower. A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, had been put under her back: upon her was laied to the quantitie of seven or eight hundred weight, which breaking her ribbs, caused them to burst forth of the skinne." March 25, 1586.

## NOTE (G G), Page 558.

If Titus Oates had never existed, the history of this ridiculous plot would suffice to shew, how easily the most absurd fictions obtain credit, when the public mind is under the influence of religious prejudice. The poison, it was said, was contained in a double bladder, which Squires was to prick with a pin, and then to press on the



pommel of the saddle. The queen would undoubtedly touch it with her hand, and afterwards move her hand to her mouth or nose. In either case death must ensue; as the poison was of so subtle and penetrating a nature, that it would instantly reach either her lungs or stomach.

To the account published by the government, Walpole himself opposed another in a pamphlet entitled, "The discoverie and confutation of a tragical fiction devysed and played by Ed. Squyer, yeoman, soldiari, hanged at Tyburne the 23d of Nov. 1598.—Written for the only love and zeal of truth against forgerie, by M. A. priest, that knew and dealt with Squyer in Spaine. MDXCIX."

Both agree that Squires was a soldier under Drake, taken prisoner in the West Indies, and carried to Seville in Spain. There, by the government account, Walpole caused him to be put into the inquisition, then prevailed on him to become a catholic, and, having sworn him to kill the queen, procured him and one Rolles to be exchanged for two Spanish prisoners from England. The poison of course failed; but how came the attempt to be discovered? This is the most clumsy part of the story. Walpole, finding that the queen was still alive, through revenge for the supposed infidelity of Squires, sent Stanley from Spain to reveal his guilt to the council!

According to Walpole, Squires, for his misconduct at Seville, was condemned to two years imprisonment in a convent of Carmelite friars: there, hoping to shorten the term of his punishment, he sent for Walpole, and pretended to become a catholic; but finding this expedient of no avail, he broke out of his prison, reached St. Lucar, and got on board of a ship about to sail for England. Walpole solemnly asserts, that he never gave him any poison, nor ever spoke to him about the murder of the queen. He always suspected his sincerity, and on that account refused to give him a letter of recommendation to any English catholic. Indeed, so little was Walpole known either to Squires, or to Stanley, the pretended messenger, that neither of them could inform the council of his Christian name. They were compelled to guess at it, and in the indictment and pleadings, called him William instead of Richard. "This world," he concludes, "is now grown over well acquainted with the tales of queen-killing, as also that these brutes are inductions to the killing of such innocent servants of God, as light into the hands and power of the bloodthirsty." P. 14. Dated Rome, 1st March, 1599.

END OF VOL. V.











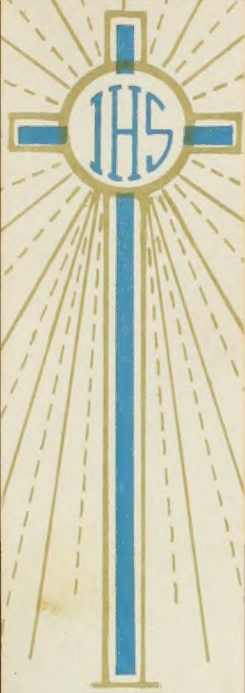
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Let the  
Light of  
Wisdom  
Shine\*  
Before  
Men\*\*

ST. ANTHONY'S GUILD  
PATERSON, N. J.



